1952 – 1962
HIGHLIGHTS OF THE INTER-RACIAL ACTIVITIES FOR 1962

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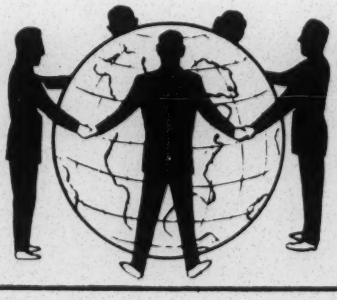
December 18, 1962 – Ministerial Alliance and Ministerial Association, separate Negro and white groups, were merged into the new Lenoir County Ministerial Fellowship, composed of members of both races, which meets monthly for dinner sessions at Hotel Kinston.

Seventh Annual Institute of Human Relations

THEME: EMERGING ASPECTS OF BROTHERHOOD



February 11th and 18th, 1962 8:00 P. M.

NATIONAL GUARD ARMORY
East Highland Avenue
KINSTON, NORTH CAROLINA

Sponsored by

LENOIR COUNTY INTER-RACIAL COMMITTEE

SUNDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 11, 1962
Paul Conrad, Presiding

Invocation ..... Father Aedan Davis
Pastor, Our Lady of the Atonement Catholic Church

Welcome ..... Mr. William Page
President, WELS

Music ..... Southwood Chorus
Mr. Joseph Jackson, Director

Introduction of Speaker ..... Mr. Rufus L. Flanagan
Principal Savannah Consolidated School

Address ..... Rev. William Tycer Nelson
Professor of Sociology and School Minister
Maryland State College

Benediction ..... Rev. H. L. Watson
Pastor, Westminster Methodist Church

Ushers: Members of the Lenoir County Beta Club
William Earl Dail, Joyce Oakes, Pam Odham, Walter Rouse

SUNDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 18, 1962
E. Ray Bryant, Presiding

Invocation ..... Rev. Raymond Morris
Pastor and Educator, Snow Hill, N. C.

Welcome ..... Mr. W. F. Grice
Faculty, Adkin High School

Music ..... State Training School Chorus
Mrs. Geraldine Cheeks, Directress

Introduction of Speaker ..... Mr. Jesse A. Jones
Local Attorney

Address ..... Dr. Frank Porter Graham
United Nations Mediator for Pakistan and India

Benediction ..... Rev. M. C. Reid
Rector, St. Mary Episcopal Church

Ushers: Members of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority
Mrs. Thelma Best, Miss LaForest Jones
Mrs. W. O. Rhem, Mrs. Catherine Russell

Piano — Courtesy of Johnson Piano Company

EXECUTIVE GROUP

E. Ray Bryant ..... Chairman
Paul Conrad ..... Vice Chairman
Miss Bessie M. Cox ..... Secretary
Mrs. Eleanor H. Smith ..... Treasurer
Members-at-Large ..... Mrs. J. J. Rowland, C. B. Stewart
William Page, E. K. Best, Jr., Jake Strother
Mrs. Sallie C. Hill, Douglas Bell, James A. Harper

MEMBERSHIP

John F. Albritton, Sr.
Rev. Joseph Banks
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E. S. Brinton
Mrs. James L. Cogdell, Jr.
Mrs. A. J. Crane
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Miss Mae D. Holmes
Rev. J. A. Humphrey
George B. Lane
William A. Lawson, Sr.
Miss Miriam Maynard
Mrs. T. V. Moseley
Edgar Murphy, Jr.
John G. Page
W. N. Payton
Sol Schechter
Dr. M. Jean Smith
Rev. John A. Snyder
H. C. Suddreth
Jesse K. Raynor

HISTORY OF COMMITTEE AND INSTITUTE

The Lenoir County Inter-Racial Committee began with an informal discussion group of about fifteen persons, representing both the white and Negro churches and lay leaders in 1952. It met informally for twelve months, then organized and adopted a constitution and by-laws. Its purpose from its inception has been to seek solutions to local problems, keeping lines of communication open, and to avoid the use of pressure. As stated in its constitution, the purpose is:

"To promote a harmonious relationship between the various racial groups within our community; to study problems as they arise and seek to further a right and just settlement of same."

George Skinner, layman from St. Mary Episcopal Church, served as chairman for the first two years. The group has also been led by James A. Harper, J. P. Strother, W. N. Payton, Mrs. Josephine Rowland, and the current leader is E. R. Bryant, with Rev. Paul Conrad serving as vice-chairman.

In 1956 the committee began to sponsor its Annual Institute on Human Relations during Brotherhood Week each February. Initially there were three speakers on consecutive nights. For the past two or three years it has been limited to two speakers, and this year the sessions are one week apart to avert conflicts. Persons who have addressed the Institute include Dr. Robert L. Humber of Greenville; Dr. Harry Golden of Charlotte; Dr. Robert Daniels of Lynchburg, Va.; Dan Shoemaker of Miami, Fla., and formerly of Asheville; Dr. Samuel D. Proctor of Greensboro; Dr. Cleo Blackburn of Indianapolis, Ind.; Dr. Benjamin Mays of Atlanta, Ga.; Dr. Barton Hunter of Indianapolis, Ind.; former Congressman C. B. Deane of Rockingham; Rev. William Borders of Atlanta, Ga.; Irving Carlyle of Winston-Salem and others. Sessions in the past have been at the Courthouse, but were shifted to the National Guard Armory in 1962 to accommodate a larger crowd.

The Inter-Racial Committee meets in quarterly session each fifth Monday night in the year.

Eighth Annual Institute of Human Relations

THEME: A NEW HORIZON OF BROTHERHOOD

February 10th and 17th, 1963 8:00 P. M.

LENOIR COUNTY COURT HOUSE
KINSTON, NORTH CAROLINA

Sponsored by
LENOIR COUNTY INTER-RACIAL COMMITTEE

SUNDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 10, 1963
William S. Page, Presiding

Invocation ..... Rev. C. E. Sawyer
Pastor, St. Augustus A. M. E. Zion Church

Greetings ..... Mr. E. Ray Bryant
Chairman, Lenoir County Inter-Racial Committee

Music ..... Adkin High School Boys' Chorus
Director, Mrs. W. O. Rhem

Introduction of Speaker ..... Rev. John A. Snyder
Pastor, Rivermont Presbyterian Church

Address ..... Dr. James N. Dabbs
President, Southern Regional Council Incorporated
Mayesville, South Carolina

Announcements

Benediction ..... Father Aedan Davis
Pastor, Our Lady of the Atonement Catholic Church

Ushers: Members of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority
Mmes. Kenneth A. Banks, Zoldin Banks, Eloise C. Beech, Virginia Payton

SUNDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 17, 1963
William F. Grice, Presiding

Invocation ..... Rev. Douglas Bell
Pastor, Gordon Street Christian Church

Greetings ..... Rev. Paul Conrad
Pastor, Prince of Peace Lutheran Church

Music ..... Caswell School Chorale
Arthur Honeychurch, Director

Introduction of Speaker ..... Mrs. J. J. Rowland
Committee-Woman

Address ..... Dr. Walter N. Ridley
President, State Teachers College
Elizabeth City, North Carolina

Announcements

Benediction ..... Rev. Joseph Banks
Rector, St. Augustine Episcopal Church

Ushers: Members of the Lenoir County Beta Club
Joalyn Roop, Alice Faulkner, Kay Johnson, William Earl Dail

Piano -- Courtesy of Johnson Piano Company

EXECUTIVE GROUP

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Paul Conrad ..... Vice-Chairman
Miss Bessie M. Cox ..... Secretary
Mrs. Eleanor H. Smith ..... Treasurer
Members-at-Large ..... E. K. Best, Jr., Rev. Douglas Bell
James A. Harper, Mrs. Sallie C. Hill, William S. Page,
Mrs. J. J. Rowland, C. B. Stewart, Jake Strother

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Rev. Joseph Banks
Harvey Beech
E. S. Brinton
Mrs. James L. Cogdell, Jr.
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Sol Schechter
Dr. M. Jean Smith
Rev. John A. Snyder
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Rabbi Jerome Tolochko

1952 – 1962
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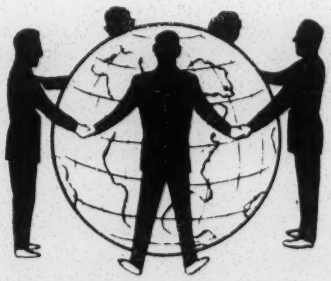
Ninth Annual Institute of Human Relations

THEME: SOME FACETS OF BROTHERHOOD TO LIVE BY



February 9 and 16, 1964 8:00 P. M.

LENOIR COUNTY COURT HOUSE
KINSTON, NORTH CAROLINA

Sponsored by
LENOIR COUNTY INTER-RACIAL COMMITTEE

SUNDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 9, 1964

W. F. Grice, Jr., Presiding

Invocation ..... Rev. Conrad Leake
Asst. Rector Our Lady of Atonement Catholic Church

Greetings ..... James Harper
Committee Member

Music ..... Adkin Junior High Singers
Directed by Mrs. Wynona Rhem

Introduction of Speaker ..... Simon Sitterson
Mayor, City of Kinston

Address ..... David S. Coltrane
Chairman, N. C. Good Neighbor Council

Announcements

Benediction ..... Rev. Colonel Sutton
Grove Park Christian Church

Ushers: Members Kinston Omega Psi Phi Fraternity
E. S. Houston, R. A. Ricks, Alexander Raye, Edgar Murphy, Jr.

SUNDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 16, 1964

Rev. Douglas Bell, Presiding

Invocation ..... Rev. G. R. McKenzie, Jr.
Pastor Westminster Methodist Church

Greetings ..... E. S. Brinton
Committee Member

Music ..... Triple Trio from Grainger High School

Introduction of Speaker ..... Harvey Beech
Committee Member

Address ..... Sen. Leroy R. Johnson
Georgia General Assembly

Announcements

Benediction ..... Dr. Thomas Hamilton
Pastor First Presbyterian Church

Ushers: Members Grainger High School Tri Hi Y
Olivia Smith, Billie Spruill, Alyce Stroud, Krista Unterzuber

Piano — Courtesy of Johnson Piano Company

EXECUTIVE GROUP

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C. B. Stewart ..... Vice-Chairman

Miss Miriam Maynard ..... Recording Secretary

Mrs. Marilyn Cogdell ..... Asst. Recording Secretary

Mrs. Eleanor Smith ..... Financial Secretary, Treasurer

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Rufus L. Flanagan
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John G. Page
W. N. Payton
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Dr. M. Jean Smith
H. C. Suddreth

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The Eighth Human Relations institute in February, 1963 here featured addresses by James M. Dabbs of Mayesville, S. C., president of the Southern Regional Council, and Dr. Walter N. Ridley, president of Elizabeth City State Teachers College.

Lenoir County residents of both races worshiped together at the well-attended Easter sunrise service at Grainger Stadium.

The Pittsburgh Pirates and the Washington Senators, racially mixed professional baseball teams, were accommodated and fed locally when they played an exhibition game in Kinston in April. Visiting baseball players were served regularly throughout the season at a local restaurant.

The Kinston Chamber of Commerce board of directors heard a report in the Spring from members of the Lenoir County Inter-Racial Committee expressing concern for picketing which was being conducted elsewhere in connection with public accommodations and church worship services. Subsequently a number of church boards discussed the matter and Negroes were received at worship services in all major churches: none were refused admittance.

Picketing was conducted at a downtown theatre in June. On the third day, 111 were arrested; on the fourth day 274 were arrested. On the fifth day, the Kinston City Council enacted ordinances restricting picketing and parading and received a list of 15 objectives of the picketing group. A Mayor's Bi-Racial Committee was appointed. This committee met immediately and set up a sub-committee to work in specific problem areas.

The Kinston-Lenoir County Public Library announced an open policy.

The non-discriminatory admissions policy of the Lenoir County Industrial Education Center was clarified.

A survey of job opportunities was completed and a study of employment policies revealed that two-thirds of more than 100 business firms had adopted a non-discriminatory employment policy.

The Kinston Board of Education appointed a committee to study racial problems and solutions.

A Good Neighbor Council was appointed at mid-year to work on opening job opportunities and to encourage training for new positions to be opened.

Setting an example, the Kinston Fire Department employed two Negro firemen in the Fall. The City Police Department added an additional Negro police officer, bringing to five the number of Negro police officers in the Department.

Tenth Annual Institute of Human Relations

THEME: IMPLEMENTING CONCEPTS OF BROTHERHOOD

February 21 and 28, 1965 8:00 P. M.

LENOIR COUNTY COURT HOUSE
KINSTON, NORTH CAROLINA

Sponsored by
LENOIR COUNTY INTER-RACIAL COMMITTEE

SUNDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 21, 1965
C. B. Stewart, Presiding

Invocation ..... Rev. John Reddick
Pastor, Mount Calvary Baptist Church,
LaGrange, N. C.

Greetings ..... Mrs. Sallie C. Hill
Committee Member

Music ..... Savannah High School
Girls Ensemble

Introduction of Speaker ..... Rev. Lacy Oliver
Pastor, Spilman Memorial Baptist Church

Address ..... Dr. W. R. Grigg
Director of the Department of Inter-Racial
Cooperation of the State Baptist Convention

Announcements

Benediction ..... Father Aedan Davis
Pastor, Our Lady of the Atonement Catholic Church

Ushers: Members Zeta Eta Lambda Chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
B. F. Hall, Jr., Dr. W. Isler, Major Boyd, C. Little

SUNDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 28, 1965
Sol Schechter, Presiding

Invocation ..... Father John A. Weidinger
Pastor, Holy Trinity Catholic Church

Greetings ..... Mrs. John Rowland
Committee Member

Music ..... Leonard Loftin

Introduction of Speaker ..... Mrs. Marilyn Cogdell
Committee Member

Address ..... Mrs. Sarah W. Herbin
Employment Services Representative for
The State Good Neighbor Council

Announcements

Benediction ..... Rev. Heath Light
Rector, St. Mary's Episcopal Church

Ushers: Members United Christian Youth Movement
Larry Whitlock, Joseph A. Edwards, Michael Smith,
Georgeanne Farmer, Frances Lee, Darlene Medlin

Piano — Courtesy of Johnson Piano Company

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The Virginia Council on Human Relations
4500 Kensington Avenue, Richmond, Virginia

Telephone: 353-8997
Area Code 703

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Local Councils on Human Relations

FROM: Robert Lee Combs, Executive Director

DATE: February 16, 1966

SUBJECT: Status of --- Multi-ethnic and Segregated Textbooks and Curriculum

Last year the VCHR became interested in the subject of textbooks and curriculum. Soon this became one of our top priority projects. Mr. Louis Brenner, a Portmouth Attorney was selected as Chairman of the VCHR Education Committee.

A number of events have since occurred--- VCHR has held a number of meetings with other state wide organizations on this subject. Mr. William K. Stevens, educational editor for the Norfolk Virginian Pilot, wrote a series of articles (Oct. 26-27, 1965) on the state prescribed history books indicating some grave problems about these texts. Mr. Robert P. Hilldrup, educational editor for the Richmond News Leader, broke the story about the Hanover School Board and certain books being removed from their school libraries which suddenly brought the procedure of approving library books into question. The Wall Street Journal, Wednesday, March 24, 1965, Vol CLXV, No. 57, Eastern Edition, "Integrated Books --- School Texts Stressing Negro's Role in U. S. Arouse the South's Ire --- Primers Show Mixed Scenes; Some Publishers Turn Out Special Editions for Dixie," by A. Kent MacDougall indicated the fact that sometimes there existed two versions of the same text, and at times some title texts had been "de-integrated." The VCHR (Dr. R. Picott, Rabbi Stern from Portsmouth, Mr. L. Brenner, and Mr. R. L. Combs) appeared before the Virginia State Board of Education's Textbook and Curriculum Committee on February 2, 1966 pointing out the segregated and integrated versions of certain texts, urging them to approve such books in the future, and to follow a positive future policy on this subject.

VCHR has heard for years that publishers were marketing a Northern and a Southern version of certain textbooks, the primary difference being the exclusion of Negro authors or stories about Negroes in the text. We were unable to obtain copies of these books, but finally after much difficulty were able to secure two textual versions of Scott, Foresman and Company (referred to in the Wall Street Journal article). Let us remind you that there are other texts by other publishers which pose the same problem, but the only reason Scott, Foresman and Company was questioned was due to the availablity of the books.

We compare the following: (1) More Roads to Follow, Book 3, Part 2, Scott Foresman and Co., c. 1964. The cover is different; the Virginia version has a white child on the cover, the other version has several children on the cover including a Negro child. Page 18, 27, the stories "Maurice" and "Charles" have been omitted in the Virginia version. Page 117 has "Audubom's Birds" in the Virginia version while page 119 has a story about George Washington Carver, "The Boy with the Green Thumb" is omitted in the version but included in the other. Page 127 has in the Virginia version "Spring Song." (2) Ventures Book 4, Scott, Foresman and Co., c. 1965. The cover is different; the Virginia version has moon rising over the mountains and the other version has birds flying over the mountains. Page 49, Virginia version has "The Trouble with Francis" and the other version has the story "Jerry and the Dragon." Page 67 has "Kickapoo" for the Virginia version and "Food for Thought" in the other. On pages 70 and 76 these stories are omitted in Virginia version "My Friend the Leona" and "Mail from Home." Page 257 Virginia version has "Paul Revere, Bell Maker" and the other version has "Benjamin's Clock."

What has all of this revealed? (1) The State Board of Education has the power (and the Textbooks Curriculum Committee) to be both monetary and monitory. They control the state funds in repayment of books being purchased by a local school board through the approved for purchase library lists, the basal textbook requisition list and supplemental materials. The State Board of Education, through its committee does review books and passes on these books as being approved or not. The point we wish to make is, they have consistently omitted versions of texts from the basal lists which have not included Negro authors or stories about the Negro which is discrimination! (2) The textbook and curriculum discrimination issue may lead to a future court case. (3) Title VI of the Civil Rights Act would appear to cover this subject in several ways. (a) Federal Funds will be used in Virginia, $2,095,347, to aid school libraries and other libraries. This money is channeled through the State Department of Education. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act forbids use of education aid funds in perpetuating discrimination. (b) If Section 601 of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act applies to pupils, teachers, staff, any

activity, facility or other service, including transportation, provided or sponsored by a school system is segregated on the basis of race, color, or national origin; or there remain any other practices characteristic of dual or segregated school systems(quote from General Statement of Policies under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 Respecting Desegregation of Elementary and Secondary Schools, April 1965, HEW, Office of Education), then it could possibly imply the tabo subject of textbooks and curriculum, too! (4) It appears that if this practice of discrimination in textbooks and curriculum continues the Federal Government may be involved in this area, too. (5) Local school boards are again playing the children's game "button, button, who has the button" in assuming the responsibility in this matter. Several county and city school boards are already stating that they must follow the approved library list and the basal textbook requisition list to the book without variation. (6) The VCHR has urged the State Board of Education and local school boards (in some cases) to take a positive course of action to avoid some of the trends that could happen as a result of their continued policies. Certainly, we hope that Educators can forsee the danger in avoiding this crucial issue. We refer you to an editorial in the Virginian Pilot, Friday, February 11, 1966, "Listen to the Mockingbird."

Under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, there is provided additional federal funds and assistance for educationally deprived children. As of February 3, 1966, there had been 20 projects approved by the Virginia State Board of Education. In some southside counties local Negroes and Civil Rights workers are viewing this as a means to encourage the Negro to remain in the all Negro schools. Already several school boards have been challenged. Certainly these new funds and projects need our attention to see that they are not administered in a manner which will encourage segregation, yet we must also recognize the purpose of Congress in passing this law.

In conclusion we must say this about education in Virginia in relation to Human Relations----there has been much progress, most of it has come by court cases and new laws passed by Congress, but we must also keep in mind the new trends that are in the making which make our task still difficult.

Textbooks on Va. Criticized

(First of a series)

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS

Virginian-Pilot Staff Writer

Two Virginia history textbooks used in the state's junior and senior high schools glorify the "cavalier" past and are slanted toward a conservative political outlook at the expense of learning.

A sizable body of Virginia educators thinks so. Some call the two state-prescribed books out-and-out propaganda.

Some parents, particularly those born and reared outside Virginia, feel the same way.

So do some teachers, many of them Virginians.

The authors themselves say the books were written to appeal to "the Virginia point of view." Two say the books were "purified" by state censors. They cite examples. This will be discussed in the third story of this series.

The books are:

● "Virginia: History, Government, Geography," written by Francis Butler Simkins, Mrs. Spotswood Hunnicutt Jones and Sidman P. Poole, published by Scribner's.

● "Cavalier Commonwealth," written by William Edwin Hamphill, Marvin Wilson Schlegel and Sadie Ethel Engelberg, published by McGraw-Hill.

The Simkins-Jones-Poole book is the basic history text in the 7th Grade.

"Cavalier Commonwealth" is designed as a supplement in the 11th Grade American history course and 12th Grade American government course.

A third state history book is in use in the 4th Grade, but it has not drawn as much criticism as the others. It is "Virginia's History and Georgraphy," written by Raymond C. Dingledine Jr., Lena Barksdale and Marion Belt Nesbitt, and published by Scribner's.

All three books were written and published in the 1950s under the direct supervision of the Virginia History and Government Textbook Commission. The commission was created by the 1950 General Assembly for the purpose of getting the textbooks written. They are the only comprehensive histories in the state's schools.

Chairman of the commission, which has since gone out of existence, was former Del. Cecil W. Taylor, a Lynchburg lawyer. He was asked about the question of bias.

"We never thought we had the privilege to say to the authors what should be put into the books," he said, "but let me put it this way:

"That commission was appointed by the governor, who was John Battle, who was well known to be a conservative. Sen. Garland Gray and I were pretty well known to be conservatives." Gray, a top-ranking member of the Byrd Organization, was a member of the commission.

Taylor said the temper of the nine-member commission was conservative.

"I feel sure the publishers and authors felt they were writing for a group that was more conservative than liberal," he said. "How much that colored the books, I don't know."

The 7th Grade and senior high textbooks are in wide use throughout the state. The degree of use varies.

The 7th Grade book in Norfolk and Hampton, for example has become secondary to lessons prepared locally and presented through educational television. "Cavalier Commonwealth the senior high book, is issued to stu- in Norfolk it is struck in the dents in some communitites. But high school libaries and used as a reference book.

"The teachers send students to it to look up more or less foolproof facts," said one librarian.

Because the Simkins-Jones-Poole book is a basic text, it has perhaps drawn the most criticism.

"If they'd only quit glorifying and give us some meat," one Tidewater public school administrator said. "There's not enough about government in it."

Directors of instruction or su-

(See History, Page 22)

perintendents for 18 local school systems throughout Virginia were surveyed by The Virginian-Pilot to find out how the junior and senior high books are regarded. The systems were selected to give a reasonable cross-section of the state.

Sixteen responded. Of those, three were non-committal. Of the 13 who expressed an opinion, nine said they thought the two books were slanted in some degree.

All nine were in populous areas. Only one of the large city systems surveyed, Roanoke, found no bias in the books. The other three who found no bias were Southside Virginia localities. Southside is generally regarded as the most conservative area of the state.

Some comments from those who found the books slanted:

John Klousia, director of instruction for Norfolk city schools:

"Obviously it (the 7th Grade book) is set up to glorify Virginia and a political point of view. We ought to be teaching kids to think critically. Instead, this book glorifies a past that never was."

Dr. Franklyn Kingdon, general supervisor for Chesapeake city schools:

"Parents who come from other areas of the country have objected strongly. Even some of our teachers, Virginia-born, Virginia-bred and who when they die'll be Virginia-dead, have found certain passages (of the 7th Grade book) objectionable.

"My own child is in the 7th Grade and reads it. I'm doing my best to counteract some of it. . . ."

Kingdon was spokesman for a four-city committee of Tidewater educators who flatly refused, two years ago, to use a geography supplement prepared for the 4th Grade text. It was said to have too many inaccuracies.

From Dr. Robert R. Marks, assistant director of instruction for Henrico County (Richmond suburb) schools:

"I've had no complaints from parents, but I'm sure there must be some. You sit down and look through those books and you can tell they're slanted. I think they are, too."

Lucien D. Adams, director of instruction for Richmond city schools:

"The books are written by Virginians for a Virginia audience. You have to admit that. I assume it was done purposely."

Harold Ford, director of instruction in Fairfax County:

"It's time the whole thing was re-examined, and the public ought to be in on it this time. The books have served their purpose. We've always used them as supplementary because of the way they were written. They were commissioned and written with no competition."

James Laughlin, director of instruction in Lynchburg city schools:

"Some of the people who come here from other states, like Pennsylvania, have complained the books don't say enough about the contribution of other nationalities, like French and Germans, to this part of Virginia. The impression is that evoluton started in Tidewater."

Charles B. Shreeves, director of instruction in Newport News city schools:

"I think we have rather assumed the books would be slanted. We had assumed they would be written to glorify Virginia's past."

Dr. Joseph H. Lyles, director of instruction in Hampton city schools:

"There is a little of that (slanting), and I suppose any state has a right to put its best foot forward, almost like a product you're selling. You're going to attempt to put it in the best light. That's about what they've done in these books.

"When they make opinions into statements of fact, that's when I begin to lose patience with a book. There are a few cases where these books do stretch a point to where it's more opinion than fact."

Lyles said his main criticism of the situation is that the books are all the state provides.

Dr. Kingdon of Chesapeake also criticizes the existence of only one set of books. In all other subjects, school systems are given a choice of three or four textbooks.

"The existence of only one text in each grade gives the state a terrific responsibility to make sure the books are accurate," Kingdon said. "The best thing would be to have a choice of books."

(The second and third stories will deal with the contents of the textbooks, and how they got that way, and what the authors have to say about them.)

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* * *

Book Board No Longer In Business

The Virginia History and Government Textbook Commission was characterized by its chairman as basically conservative in outlook.

The commission went out of existence in 1958 after completing its job of producing textbooks for prescribed use in the state's public schools. The books still are in use throughout Virginia.

Members of the group, appointed by Gov. John Battle, were:

Cecil W. Taylor of Lynchburg, an attorney and former member of the House of Delegates Appropriations Committee, chairman.

Dr. Thomas P. Abernethy of Charlottesville, chairman of the Department of History at the University of Virginia.

Mrs. Wyndham Blanton, a Richmond civic leader.

Daniel A. Cannaday, chairman of the History Department of Radford College. He died in 1961.

J. R. V. Daniel of Richmond, a member of the History Division of the Virginia State Library. He died in 1952.

State Sen. Garland Gray of Waverly, a top lieutenant in the Byrd Organization.

J. Edward Moyler, a school administrator in Franklin.

Charles J. Smith of Salem. He resigned because of ill health in 1950, shortly after the commission was appointed.

Joe P. Snead, a public school administrator in Fork Union.

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The Virginian-Pilot

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Today's History Lesson:

Books Say Slaves Had a Fair Deal

This is the second of three articles on Virginia history textbooks used in the state's public school system. The first discussed criticism of the books by leading educators in Virginia.

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS

Virginian-Pilot Staff Writer

"You are to study this course because your state thinks you should and has directed that you must do so," says the introduction to "Cavalier Commonwealth," prescribed for use in 11th- and 12th-grade history and government classes of Virginia high schools.

The book includes such statements as:

"(The slave's) condition had its advantages. He usually worked the accepted workweek of the colony — from sunrise to sundown daily except Sunday. But he enjoyed long holidays, especially at Christmas.

"He did not work as hard as the average free laborer, since he did not have to worry about losing his job. In fact, the slave enjoyed what we might call comprehensive social security.

"Generally speaking, his food was plentiful, his clothing adequate, his cabin warm, his health protected, his leisure carefree. He did not have to worry about hard times, unemployment or old age."

Dr. Marvin W. Schlegel of Longwood College, one of three authors of the book, told The Virginian-Pilot that the Virginia History and Government Textbook Commission expurgated from the book's original manuscript whole paragraphs on the dark side of slavery.

Another passage:

"Although Virginia remained chiefly a rural state, she attained a balanced economy. And she did so without sacrificing her people's traditional adherence to fiscal sanity, to local and individual responsibility as opposed to federal aid, to a stable society characterized by conservative changes or moderate reforms, and to the fundamental virtues of rural life." This was a description of Virginia on the eve of the Civil War.

"Cavalier Commonwealth" is one of three state-prescribed textbooks for the study of Virginia history in the public schools. It is meant to be used as a supplement to basic texts in American history in the 11th grade and American government in the 12th.

It has drawn criticism on grounds of bias, glorification of the past, and political cant, but not as much as a companion volume, "Virginia: History, Government, Geography," designed as the basic text for seventh graders.

The seventh-grade book's au-

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Books Tidy Up Va. History

From Page 17

thors are Francis Butler Simkins, Mrs. Spotswood Hunnicutt Jones, and Sidman P. Poole.

The history portion of the Simkins-Jones-Poole book ends with a brief section headed "The Spirit of Virginia":

"A majority of Virginia families have been in the state for nearly 200 years. As a people, Virginians think and act much alike. It is for this reason that the Old Dominion developed a spirit of its own—without which it would not be the Virginia we know and love.

"This spirit is made up of courtesy, neighborliness, hospitality, a deep religious faith, respect for leadership, and an ambition to promote the public welfare. So long as this spirit of Virginia lasts, so long will Virginia's present be worthy of her past."

The book informs the 12-year-old that Virginians referred to their Negroes as servants and not as slaves and has such things as this to say about slavery:

"It was not difficult for the Negroes to adjust themselves to Virginia life. They had worked hard in Africa, and so the work on the Virginia plantations did not hurt them.

"In Africa they had known a form of slavery more stern than that of the Virginia plantations. The Negroes suffered less from the diseases of the Virginia climate than did the white settlers. In Africa they had become used to the bites of insects that caused sickness, and so they were immune to many diseases.

"It is true of course, that life in early Virginia was not easy for the Negro. He liked Virginia, however, for the same reason the white man liked it. Virginia offered a better life for the Englishman than England did, and it offered a better life for the Negroes than did Africa.

"In his new home the Negro was far away from the spears and war clubs of enemy tribes. He had some of the comforts of civilized life. He had better food, a better house, and better medical care than he did in Africa. And he was comforted by a religion of love and mercy."

The book sums up the Negro's feelings about slavery this way:

"Life among the Negroes of Virginia in slavery times was generally happy. The Negroes went about in a cheerful manner making a living for themselves and for those for whom they worked.

"They were not so unhappy as some Northerners thought they were, nor were they so happy as some Southerners claimed. The Negroes had their problems and their troubles. But they were not worried by the furious arguments going on between Northerners and Southerners over what should be done with them. In fact, they paid little attention to these arguments."

More space is devoted to such material on slavery than to the role of Virginia statesmen in making the U.S. Constitution.

The book is used in Negro classes as well as white ones.

"Beloved" is a word often applied to Virginia and Virginians. Struggles against "increased federal power" rattles through the book like a drumbeat.

In the Civil War, the chapter on the outbreak of the conflict is titled "Oppression, Secession and War."

President Lincoln is pictured as threatening "to invade Virginia and use force to interfere with the state's own affairs."

The reader is told that "a Richmond magazine said that it was wicked for Mrs. (Harriet Beecher) Stowe to use her imagination in such a bad way" in writing "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

A summary at the beginning of a chapter on modern-day Virginia contains these sentences:

"New and changing times . . . bring problems. Increasing population, complexity of life, demands for public services, and costs of government have affected the state and its politics.

"But Virginia has continued to produce political leaders with the wisdom, courage and foresight to guide the state through a difficult period of growth and change."

"Virginia: History, Government, Geography" has been branded as propaganda by some Virginia educators.

The last article in this series will examine what the authors of it and "Cavalier Commonwealth" have to say and how the books came to be.

Textbook Authors' Aim:

The Virginian-Pilot, Thursday, Oct. 28, 1965

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A Conservative Rural Audience

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS

Virginian-Pilot Staff Writer

This is the third and last story of a series on state-prescribed Virginia history textbooks used in the state's public school system. The first two reported on the criticism of the books on the grounds of political bias and overglorification of Virginia's past, and the feelings of leading educators in the state about the books.

Two of the authors of Virginia's seventh-grade state history book say they wrote it to appeal to conservative rural Virginia.

Dr. and Mrs. Francis B. Simkins of Farmville last week told The Virginian-Pilot that even so, the Virginia History and Government Textbook Commission changed or ommitted certain sensitive passages of the book.

An example:

"We had a good chapter on Negro disfranchisement under the Constitution of 1902," said Mrs. Simkins. "The commission said the Negro children were going to use the book also, and there was enough hard feeling already, so they took it out."

Mrs. Simkins did most of the actual writing of "Virginia: History, Government, Geography." Dr. Simkins, Mrs. Spotswood Hunnicutt Jones of Gloucester County and Dr. Sidman P. Poole are the official authors. Poole died soon after the project started.

Dr. Simkins is a native of South Carilina now nearing retirement as a professor of history at Longwood College. His wife teaches eighth-grade English at Prince Edward Academy in Prince Edward County, a private school organized as an escape from integration.

Dr. Marvin W. Schlegel was the original author of "Cavalier Commonwealth," prescribed for use in 11th-grade history and 12th-grade government classes of Virginia public schools.

He also wrote "Conscripted City," a history of Norfolk during World War II, and revised the second edition of Thomas J. Wertenbaker's official history of Norfolk.

Like Dr. Simkins, he is a professor of history at Longwood College. There, during the 1950s, Simkins and Schlegel were picked by Scribner's and McGraw-Hill publishers, respectively, to write the school histories. Schlegel and the Simkinses compared notes as they went along.

"Marvin wouldn't change his interpretation to conform with what the commission wanted," Mrs. Simkins recalled. " 'You're foolish to change,' he said. I told him, 'If it takes 10 years, they'll get what they want.' "

The Simkinses and Mrs. Jones wrote what the commission wanted from the start. The result was a book that a sizable group of educators across Virginia criticized as being politically slanted and a glorification of Virginia.

Schlegel, on the other hand, was asked in 1954 to turn his completed manuscript over to the historian of the Virginia State Library for revision.

"The commission decided it was too anti-Virginia," Schlegel told The Virginian-Pilot. "The problem was I hadn't lived in Virginia long enough to be a Virginian."

"There's a feeling that comes in here," says Mrs. Jones, co-author of the seventh-grade book. "You've got to be born with the Virginia feeling to write about Virginia history."

Schlegel is a native of Pennsylvania. He won his doctorate under the eminent historian, Allan Nevins at Columbia University.

Dr. W. Edwin Hemphill, then director of the History Division of the Virginia State Library, was commissioned to revise Schlegel's original manuscript of "Cavalier Commonwealth."

Hemphill was reached last week in Columbia, S.C., where he is editing the papers of John C. Calhoun.

"My understanding is that the (History and Government Textbook) Commission found fault not primarily with fact but with interpretation," he said. "It was rather the tone than the contents.

"They did say to me, through the publisher's representative, they wanted additional authorship to change somewhat the tone and atmosphere."

Was it because the commission thought the book was anti-Virginian?

"I'm afraid there may have been a question along those lines. If they wanted a change of atmosphere and tone, it seems logical a native of Pennsylvania couldn't give it to them."

He said he thought Schlegel's original manuscript "was a really excellent sort of a product. This is a man who knows how to write for a given purpose, who never wrote over the heads of his students. He included basically the important things and excluded the unimportant things. I thought he did an extremely good job."

"I thought the best thing to do was to tell the truth," Schlegel said, "good and bad, so people could appreciate the past without seeing it all as golden. The result was they (the commission) thought I was a Yankee without proper sympathy for Virginia."

Schlegel said the commission expurgated "a good bit" of the parts on slavery. One part, solidly documented, told how Virginia was the primary supply point for the slave market; the breeding ground, so to speak.

"They wern't going to tell me what to write," Schlegel said, "yet they weren't going to approve what I wrote unless it said what they wanted."

The Virginia History and Textbook Commission was created by the 1950 General Assembly specifically to supervise the writing and publication of the books.

Attorney Cecil W. Taylor of Lynchburg was chairman of the 9-member commission, which went out of existence once the books were published.

"From time to time," Taylor said last week, "parts of the books would be submitted by the authors. We'd read them at home. Then we and the textbook committee of the State Board of Education would come together and pool our criticisms.

"Sometimes they'd take our recommendations and sometimes they wouldn't. We made no suggestions on the tone of the books," Taylor said.

"We didn't think it was proper for us to write books for the children of this state. That smacked too much of something we didn't like. The tone of the books was set by the authors."

Mrs. Simkins said the 7th-grade book was written for children "who come from rural Virginia and whose parents may not have gone beyond the second grade.

"If we told them about Jefferson being a Diest they'd turn against him. For most of these kids, the main event in their lives was when they found Jesus.

"When I say the kids wouldn't understand I don't mean they aren't smart. They come from very conservative families," Mrs. Simkins said.

Questioned about sections of the book criticized because they present slavery in too favorable a light, Dr. Simkins said the authors made slavery look perhaps better than it really was because "that's the way Virginians said it was."

"We were trying to be as honest as we could," Mrs. Simkins said, "but if we had given the completely black picture of slavery, the parents wouldn't have let the children have the book and the book wouldn't have been adopted."

She said she appreciated the criticisms, however. "In the next edition maybe we can rectify it," she said. "Maybe we ought to rectify it."

The Simkinses had their conflicts with the commission.

Dr. Simkins recalled that one member, "a real Virginia aristocrat, . . . wanted to emphasize the greatness of Virginia and take out any reference to poor people living in Virginia . . . (The member) told me, 'What you ought to do is make every seventh grade aspire to the colonnaded mansion; and if he can't get there, make him happy in the cabin.'

"To which I replied, 'If I were Charles Dickens I could do that. But if I were Charles Dickens I wouldn't be writing this book.' "

Dr. Simkins said the commission wanted all recent governors of Virginia treated alike.

"I had the idea Mr. Byrd had been governer since 1926 and the rest of these governors, most of them, have been puppets. I wanted to say something like that, but they wanted us to treat every one of these nonentities alike."

The two books have been revised once since their original publication in 1957. The revisions, supervised by the State Board of Education, resulted in no major alterations. The books were merely brought up to date.

Mrs. Jones, a graduate of Longwood College and the College of William and Mary who has studied under the historian Samuel Eliot Morison at Harvard, revised the seventh-grade book.

She was questioned about a passage which reads, "Without giving up the good things of the past, Virginia has successfully met the changing needs of modern life."

"Are you going to teach them there's no hope only by presenting the dark side?" she answered. "We don't want to raise a generation of cynics."

She said the books "represent the best that can be done betwen the academic world, the political world and the educational world.

"My criticism is that the teachers don't know how to use the books," said Mrs. Jones, who has taught a lot of high school history herself. "You know why? They don't know history.

"Unless a book is radically slanted it can do no damage if it's in the hands of a good teacher," she said.

"Before I began to write textbooks I wondered why they were so bad," Dr. Schlegel said. "Now I marvel that they're as good as they are.

"Any text is subject to pressure groups. You can't say what you want to say. You have to print what people will accept.

"The commisison wasn't thinking in terms of high school students but in terms of what other people would think."

He said he believes history as taught in both Virginia schools and American schools generally "is a method of indoctrination. It is taught as a mythology of our society, embodying our ideals."

The General Assembly's stated objective in creating the History and Government Textbook Commission was to improve the instruction of state history.

Schlegel, who sees the results in his college classrooms, pronounced this verdict:

"The students still don't know Virginia history."

The Virginian-Pilot

ESTABLISHED NOVEMBER 21, 1865

Page 4 Friday, February 11, 1966

Listen to the Mockingbird

The Hanover County School Board member who objected in late January to the novel *To Kill a Mockingbird* as "immoral" said this week that he had meant to speak against J. D. Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye*.

Laugh, or weep, if you will at this latest wry turn in the book banning, but whatever title the board member had in mind he did a service in touching off a controversy that disclosed the existence of book screening committees in the Department of Education. And a committee had, indeed, banished the mockingbird from the State-blessed book list, along with *1984* and *The Great Dismal Swamp*, and other as yet undisclosed titles over the years.

When the Hanover board member announced his error, the only comment from a Department of Education spokesman was that the list was meant as a monetary subsidization, not as an advisory reading list.

That latest word, however, does not agree with a report by Dr. Woodrow W. Wilkerson, Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction, that the reviewers found the book on the swamp, among other things, "deficient in literary style and quality." That, surely, was an advisory, literary judgment.

The Department's book-buying functions are subject, apparently, to a shifting definition, but we see the operation clearly as *both* monetary and monitory, and in apparent need of drastic reorganization.

The Department's list is monetary because it dictates the books which local school libraries may purchase with State aid funds, and since the local libraries can't use the State money on such *verboten* titles as *1984*, the list is highly advisory and restrictive.

Meanwhile, the Federal Government is about to enter the picture with $2,095,347 in aid for school libraries. This money, too, will funnel through the screens of the State Department of Education.

The new Federal aid is part of a five-year program, subject to annual authorization by the Congress, and subject also, it would seem, to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act forbidding use of education aid funds in perpetuating discrimination.

What will be the reaction of the Federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare when it realizes that the Federal money is to be distributed to the localities by the Virginia agency that banned, among other titles, *To Kill a Mockingbird*, because, undoubtedly, a Negro holds a prominent place in the plot? (The committee certainly could not have rejected the Pulitzer prize-winning novel for lack of literary grace.)

The Federal Government has been as unwearying as the hound of heaven in sniffing out and running down evidences of discrimination in other phases of tax aid to education. The prospect of the State's creaking review system jeopardizing more than $2 million in Federal funds is an additional, urgent reason for the State Board of Education to investigate exactly how and why the Department of Education spoon feeds titles to local libraries. The probe ought to be a great deal more vigorous than the recent slight and amiable summary by Dr. Wilkerson and his staff.

The Department's book buying involves more than $500,000 annually in State money. It is a fortunate coincidence that the economy-minded Virginia General Assembly is in session on the Hill. Some of its members may well wish to inquire, too, as to whether so much in State and Federal funds is being distributed to the best advantage among their book-hungry localities.

Federal Textbooks

By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

WASHINGTON.

Tentative plans are quietly being made inside the Federal Government for a long-range pressure campaign on local school boards and publishers to give the Negro better treatment in history textbooks.

* * *

Although no final decision has been made, the top brass of the Community Relations Service — created by the 1964 Civil Rights Act to help mediate racial disputes — is leaning toward adoption of the plan. Indeed, it already has been spelled out in some detail in a confidential memorandum drafted by Ben Holman, head of the service's "media relations" office.

Although the goal of giving the Negro his rightful place in history books is commendable, there is considerable doubt whether the Community Relations Service is empowered by law to perform this function. The 1964 act as to "provide assistance to communities and persons" in settling racial disputes — and nothing more.

The Holman memorandum on textbook revision begins by stating the problem: "Negroes usually are ignored in textbook illustrations, and the Negro's role in history is either ignored or inaccurately presented."

Consequently, Holman concludes, the Community Relations Service should mount "a massive educational and informational campaign" directed at "publishers, school administrators and boards, parents and teachers groups" to get the textbooks changed. Though this scarcely falls within the agency's statutory mission, it seems generally inoffensive.

But the Holman memo goes on to suggest the beginnings of Federal high pressure: "Once the educational and information-al campaign is solidly underway, we should conduct a systematic effort to contact all publishers and school boards to encourage their publication and adoption of textbooks conforming to established standards."

* * *

The term "established standards" has a particularly ominous ring. The intervention of many state legislatures (particularly throughout the segregated Deep South) in textbook selection is ominous. But the idea of the Federal leviathan with its incomparable powers of coercion getting into the textbook business is enough to make publishers break out in a cold sweat. It smacks of rewriting history in Orwellian style.

Actually, the textbook project is only the most far-reaching of the Community Relations Service's digressions from its legislative purpose.

The service was originally conceived in 1960 by then Senator Lyndon B. Johnson as a counterpart in racial relations to the Federal Mediation Service in labor relations. The proposal went into the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

In operation, however, the service has relegated mediation to a secondary role. Only a handful of racial mediators are in the field while a Washington-based staff dreams up projects such as the textbook scheme.

Holman also has in preparation elaborate programs to improve the greatment of the Negro in the press, establishing mobile exhibits for use at fairs and exhibitions, and influencing Hollywood.

In a memorandum, Holman has suggested:

"We ought to mount a specific project aimed at Hollywood film makers to produce films for purely entertainment purposes that would help further the cause of better human relations. . . . The current Negro Revolution and the crescendo of the civil rights movement provide a wealth of material for fiction story plot. Plots centered on the problems of intergroup relations are as legion as those for westerns."

This is government propaganda — a domestic "Voice of America" — at its worst. No matter how deep the need, the Federal Government has no right to try to shape the thinking of Americans in such insidious ways. Besides, there is a surplus of work for practical conciliation in every city in the nation for the Community Relations Service.

If textbooks need rewriting, the educators are the people to do it.

Wall Street Journal, Wednesday, March 24, 1965
Vol. CLXV, No. 57 Eastern Edition
p. 20

Integrated Books: New School Texts Arouse Opposition in the South

Continued From Page One

making new friends—among them, Tim Wing, Rosa Cruz and the Negro twins Pam and Penny. The newcomers are going to school with Dick and Jane, and everyone gets on famously in after-school play.

Even mathematics books are being integrated. Noble & Noble, Publishers, Inc., instructed its artist to make every tenth person a Negro in the illustrations for its fourth-grade arithmetic text. The company took care not to picture Negroes in the menial roles they so often have been relegated to in literature and movies, as well as in real life. J. Kendrick Noble, Jr., vice president, recalls that the original version of one of the artist's drawings showed a highway construction crew with a Negro in the background with a pick. "We thought that was a stereotype, so we had him do the drawing over," says Mr. Noble. The published picture has the Negro in the foreground as foreman.

Reinforcing Feelings of "Insignificance"

Publishers concede that textbook treatment of the role of Negroes and other minority groups in American history has been inadequate. John T. Sargent, president of Doubleday & Co., says that the resulting "absence of suitable materials on the culture and heritage of minority groups not only contributes nothing towards the development of pride among members of minority groups but also reinforces feelings of personal insignificance and inadequacy. It also gives whites a false feeling of superiority." In January Doubleday began bringing out paperbacks at sixth-grade reading level on the origins, contributions and lives of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and other minorities. The paperbacks are designed to supplement basic social studies texts.

Reassessment of the Negro's place in American history got a big push last year when six historians at the University of California's Berkeley campus declared that seven histories widely used in schools across the country generally ignored and debased the Negro's role. "In their blandness and amoral optimism, these books implicitly deny the obvious deprivations suffered by Negroes," the scholars complained. "In several places they go further, implying approval for the repression of Negroes or patronizing them as being unqualified for life in a free society."

One of the books cited as deficient was the 1962 edition of Story of the American Nation. After the Berkeley report was issued, Harcourt, Brace & World, publisher of the history, brought out a 28-page supplement, America in the Early 1960s, which is sewn into new copies of the text. A third of the supplement is devoted to tracing the history of American Negroes all the way back to the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, despite the reference to "early 1960s" in the supplement's title. The text also tells of the achievements of such eminent Negroes as singer Marian Anderson and United Nations official Ralph Bunche and discusses the development of the civil rights issue. Donald Stewart, Harcourt senior editor for high school social studies, describes the new material on Negroes as "an overcorrection that is needed for a while until historians get squared away on the Negro's proper role."

Another book criticized by the California historians was the 1961 edition of Trail Blazers of American History, published by Ginn & Co. of Boston. The book contains the biographies of 27 famous Americans. Though one of these is Negro scientist George Washington Carver, the historians felt more attention should have been paid to other oustanding—and more militant—Negroes. Ginn says it took the criticism into consideration in deciding to add the biography of fiery Negro abolitionist Federick Douglass to a new edition scheduled to come out next year.

Ginn is also giving fuller treatment to the Negro in a fourth-grade civics text entitled Your People and Mine, even though the book escaped the historians' censure. In the 1965 edition a chapter called "Marian Anderson Sings to the World" substitutes for "Ford Made Machines Work for Us."

Winning State Approval

Winning Southern acceptance for such integrated textbooks is another matter, however. Each Southern state adopts a list of approved texts for use in the state's schools; no other texts may be purchased. A publishing company often has millions of dollars of sales riding on a state's decision to approve or reject a textbook series. Nationwide sales of elementary and high school textbooks are expected to pass $350 million this year.

Harcourt is not the only publisher to find that racial considerations can influence state education officials' decisions. Ginn says it presumes Mississippi rejected its high school literature series last fall because of the racial issue. The 815-page American literature anthology in the series contained a three-page essay by James Baldwin, the controversial Negro writer. The essay, "The Creative Dilemma," dealt with the role of the artist in the U.S.

Though publishers realize they are risking the wrath of civil rights leaders, a number are publishing "segregated" editions of texts for sale in the South. "It seems economically sensible as well as culturally desirable to have a single edition for the entire country," observes Mr. Moseley of Harcourt. "But the bigger the stakes, the more feasible a special edition becomes."

Ginn is offering two versions of its spelling series, one with both whites and Negroes in the illustrations and the other, for sale in the South, depicting only whites. Scott-Foresman continues to sell the all-white version of its Dick and Jane readers, and the company also publishes both integrated and segregated editions of readers for higher grades. This past December the segregated version won Virginia's official approval.

Differences between the segregated and integrated editions of the advanced Scott-Foresman readers are as readily apparent as those between the two versions of the adventures of Dick and Jane. In a fourth-grade reader, a story in the integrated edition about Negro astronomer Benjamin Banneker is replaced in the segregated edition by a biography of his contemporary Paul Revere. In a sixth-grade text, a story in the integrated edition about the African slave trade and another about a Negro boy who saves a white boy from drowning are omitted from the segregated version.

Since only the segregated edition was adopted in Virginia, Negro children there won't be able to read the integrated books. Integrationists, along with many educators outside the South, regard this as a particularly objectionable result of dual editions and a strong argument in favor of publishers' bringing out a single, integrated edition of textbooks.

Wall Street Journal

Wednesday, March 24, 1965

Eastern Edition P. 1

VOL. CLXV NO. 57

Integrated Books

School Texts Stressing Negroes' Role in U.S. Arouse the South's Ire

Primers Show Mixed Scenes; Some Publishers Turn Out Special Editions for Dixie

James Baldwin & Mississippi

By A. KENT MACDOUGALL
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NEW YORK—Last year education officials of a Southern state approved, sight unseen, a new edition of a series of elementary school grammar and composition textbooks published by Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. Unbeknown to the educators, Harcourt had "integrated" the text since the previous edition, inserting illustrations of white and Negro children playing together.

When the state officials received copies of the book, they were incensed. "There was an unofficial, implied threat to cancel all our contracts in the state, not just for that series," says Cameron S. Moseley, Harcourt vice president and general manager of its school department. To avoid such a blow, the publisher went to the extra expense of issuing a special version of the text with "de-integrated" illustrations, showing only white youngsters.

Other textbook publishers are finding themselves caught in a similar dilemma these days. On the one hand, they face strong resistance from Southern school systems against books thought to promote "race-mixing" in any way. On the other, they are under mounting pressure outside the South to come up with books that depict Negroes in such a way as to build pride in Negro youngsters and diminish racial barriers. Harcourt's revised grammar and composition texts are one form of response to such pressure. Publishers are also changing history and social study texts so as to take more note of the Negro's contributions to American society.

Northern Cities Act

The demands for textbook revisions originated with civil rights leaders, but others quickly took up the cause in many areas. Boards of education in New York, Philadelphia, Detroit and several other big Northern cities have passed resolutions asking for "multi-ethnic" textbooks.

If anything, pressure for changed treatment of Negroes in school books is likely to intensify in the months ahead. Should the Administration's new education program pass, it would almost certainly have an impact. The program earmarks $100 million for books and other instructional materials, and most of this would go to impoverished areas with large Negro populations. Also, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People plans to open a new campaign this spring to eliminate what it considers biased texts from the schools.

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Most educators think that textbook integration could eventually have a significant effect on both the social outlook and academic progress of the nation's Negroes, as well as of other "disadvantaged" groups, such as Puerto Ricans. "There is considerable agreement that the children of poor and alienated families have their feelings of being rejected accentuated by the traditional books used in schools for teaching reading," says John H. Niemeyer, president of Bank Street College of Education here in New York. The college, a graduate school for teachers which also runs an experimental grade school, is preparing a new series of integrated and urban-oriented readers for the Macmillan Co. division of Crowell-Collier Publishing Co.

Progress in Detroit

"Negro children identify more readily with characters in integrated books, and this increases their interest in, and rate of, learning," asserts Gertrude Whipple, assistant director of language education for Detroit public schools. After testing three integrated primers, Detroit concluded they did a better job of stimulating pupils' interest and whetting their appetite for reading than standard non-integrated primers. While this was especially true for Negro children, who make up 53% of Detroit's public school population, it even held for white youngsters.

The changes Scott, Foresman & Co. of Chicago is making in its beginning readers are indicative of the way such books are being revised. From their introduction in 1934 until the new revision, the books have focused on the bland adventures of Dick and Jane, obviously middle-class, Anglo-Saxon types, and their dog Spot. But now Dick and Jane are

Please Turn to Page 20, Column 2

'Jeremiah's Black Lamb,' Spirituals Spark Debate

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

NEW YORK — "Integrating" a textbook is sometimes easier said than done.

"Negro leaders disagree among themselves on textbook content; some are oversensitive about their image," says Austin J. McCaffrey, executive director of the American Textbook Publishers Institute.

Sensitivity takes many forms. Some Negroes don't want Negro spirituals included in children's song books. A group of Harlem parents recently protested the classroom use of a reader that included "Jeremiah's Black Lamb," the story of a black lamb that is disowned by its mother but befriended by Jeremiah.

The school system in Detroit actually went so far as to order the destruction of 10,000 copies of the city's first integrated primer because of complaints about its depiction of Negroes in slum scenes. Detroit subsequently adopted a new primer built around the life of a Negro family living comfortably in the suburbs.

"Instead of lower-class reality, they wanted a middle-class standard to which the children can aspire," says Robert J. R. Follett, vice president of Follett Publishing Co., Chicago, which published both readers.

Read

T. Whitfield

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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Jackson 2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

TO: STAFF

FROM: MORELAND GRIFFITH SMITH, FAIA

DATE: JUNE 23, 1966

Attached is a rough draft of an outline for a pamphlet on which we would like to get your frank reaction.

Would a short "How to Build or Buy" be of value to the people SRC is interested in?

If so, what other information should we include?

Your reactions will be most helpful.

LET'S BUY A HOUSE

I. Should we buy or rent?

A. We should buy because -

1. We'll get more living area for our money.
2. We'll have increased privacy in our own home.
3. Besides I would like to have a lawn so I can grow radishes and roses.
4. It's time we established roots; the house will give us some permanency.
5. And buying a house is an investment; we'll be building up equity.
6. It will help us establish a good credit rating, and that in turn, may help us at some later time.

B. But we should consider the disadvantages -

1. After all, we probably won't be here the rest of our lives; if we move in a couple of years we may have a hard time selling.

2. If we stay in an apartment we don't have to bother with real estate taxes or with painting the building.

C. What sort of house could we afford to buy - and can we afford to buy?

Compare total income with total expenses and obligations which one would have with a house (housing expenses + living expenses + fixed obligations). [from Philadelphia Council on Human Relations pamphlet]

D. I've heard that the cost of a house is more than downpayment and monthly installments. What are these other expenses we ought to consider?

1. Interest on the loan
2. Taxes - city and county
3. Maintenance - For the house what are the estimated maintenance costs including painting, repairs, etc.?
4. Insurance - necessary to cover the amount of the loan and advisable for the full house investment which would also cover owner's equity.
5. Closing costs - including registration fees, transfer fees, title search, survey, etc. and which must be paid at the time of paper signing.

E. Where will we get the money?

1. FHA
2. VA
3. Conventional loan

II. I think we can afford it. Let's look for a house!

A. What should we look for in a house?

1. Location - neighborhood, nearness to work, good schools close by, conveniently located shopping areas, good transportation facilities and recreation areas
2. Physical properties - floor plan that conforms to family activities, adequate plumbing, electrical system capable of handling appliances and electrical load, sound roof, proper drainage of land, dry basement, sound floors, convenient arrangement of kitchen
3. Room for future growth of family; can a room or so be added?

B. Perhaps we should build -

1. Plans - architect drawn or stock plans from government agencies, home and garden magazines, building material supply houses, financial institutions, builders' magazines
2. Specifications - if FHA or VA financed the house must conform to certain specifications
3. Inspection - for FHA and VA homes an inspector will check periodically to see if plans and materials are the same as those approved by the government agency.

III. We think we've found OUR house, now what do we do?

Precautions before signing the mortgage -

A. Title search - check to see that there are no liens or taxes due on the property and that the buyer would have a clear title.
B. Property survey - to see what the property lines are and to make sure that you are buying what you think you are.
C. Use of services of an assessor to look at the house and give the buyer an appraisal of what the house is worth on the present market and what its general condition appears to be.
D. In case of questions about particular aspects of the building it may be necessary to con on an expert for advice - in roofing, heating, termite inspection.
E. Use of services of a lawyer to check papers, particularly the mortgage <u>before</u> signing!
F. Inquire about city services and regulations

1. Property taxes and whether increases are planned
2. Zoning regulations to see whether the property is protected from industrial or commercial use if this is important to the buyer and to see if any contemplated subsidiary use of the house is forbidden, such as using a room as an office
3. Garbage pick up, sewage service, street lighting, fire and police protection, gas, electricity and water rates
4. Whether the neighborhood might be destined for an urban renewal project or freeway construction
5. Fire and theft insurance rates

G. Take care to read the mortgage terms and specifications

IV. But will we have trouble in buying or building in a neighborhood predominately of another race? We're Negro.

A. Some houses are required to be sold on an equal opportunity basis - FHA and VA financed, FHA and VA repossessed. Prospective buyers can obtain a list of the repossessed houses through _____.

B. Color tax and proof of discrimination. Work through the councils on human relations or fair housing groups, using a white couple to follow up to see that terms and prices are the same for white and Negro.

C. If the builder and/or seller is found to discriminate, and if there is a legal basis to sustain the complaint, write to _____

D. If the Negro home seeker feels that the neighborhood in which he is interested may be hostile to his residence there, some precautions he might consider are -

1. Making a brief and apparently uninterested inspection of the house, then sending an appraiser or friend to make a careful inspection
2. Engaging a lawyer to make sure that the sale and mortgage is in proper order and that the title is clear
3. If the house is not in the equal opportunity group it may be necessary to use the services of a white friend to act as decoy buyer
4. Once the house is bought, notify the law enforcement agencies so that they may provide proper protection of property and life.
5. When moving day comes, move quickly, put up curtains first, then continue activities.

V. Appendix

A. Helpful telephone number and some blanks (to be filled in in part by the local council on human relations)

B. Sources of information about houses, finances, selection and details - a bibliography of pamphlets and books.

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A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

TO: STAFF

FROM: MORELAND GRIFFITH SMITH, FAIA

DATE: June 30, 1966

RE: MEMO ON HOUSE BUYING

Reference is made to my previous memo and the enclosure on house buying. I would like to have everyone meet for a short time at 10:00 Friday, July 1, to discuss this idea. We would like your candid comments and criticisms. I hope we will have a stimulating discussion.

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
EQUALITY

Newsletter

Volume II, Number 4 June 1966 Page 1

"EQUAL HEALTH OPPORTUNITY IN VIRGINIA"

One is appalled at the difference in the health and death statistics between Negroes and whites in Virginia.

For instance --- More Negro babies die at birth than white. More Negro women die at childbirth than white women. The length of life is graded usually in this manner ... white female, white male, Negro female and the Negro male. There are more Negro deaths between ages of birth and age 21 than white deaths during the corresponding age period. Generally speaking, there is a larger percentage of certain illnesses and diseases among Negroes than whites.

When one really has the opportunity to study the health and death statistics by race in Virginia one will realize that possibly two factors do exist..... economics or the ability to pay for quality medical services, and the possibility of gross discrimination against Negroes in hospitals, clinics, or other types of medical facilities, institutions (T.B. and mental, etc.) and sometimes in the actual medical service rendered. In completing this report it was significant to note that the statement was made by various individuals in administration and medical services --- "you obtain the medical service for which you are able to pay."

This therefore causes us to review first.....

I. Previous Discrimination in Virginia's Health Opportunities

A. The Role of the Federal Government in Continuing Discrimination:

The original Hill-Burton Act provided that in adopting implementing regulations the Surgeon General should "direct the State plan shall provide for adequate hospital facilities for the people residing in the State without discrimination on account of race, creed or color," but the Surgeon General was authorized to accept as compliance with this regulation the provision of "separate hospital facilities...for separate population groups" if "equitable provision on the basis of need for facilities and services of like quality" were provided for each population group. Thus, Congress statutorily incorporated the "separate but equal" concept into the Hill-Burton Act prior to the 1954 Supreme Court decision in the School Cases declaring the "separate but equal" doctrine unconstitutional.

The Surgeon General (U.S. Public Health Services) continued to operate under the "separate but equal" doctrine until 1964 in almost all cases in Virginia. Little, if any, effort was made to determine whether medical facilities and services of the white or of the Negro were equal or just separate. It appears that the Surgeon General's regulations made no provision for reviewing the State plans in this regard, or providing for non-discrimination in health opportunities.

During the period prior to 1964 another policy developed. As an alternate to the "separate but equal" health facility, the Surgeon General approved "non-discrimination" facilities. Nearly all Hill-Burton Projects were of the so-called nondiscrimination class. But! the Surgeon interpreted the nondiscrimination statutory provision to require only that "no person.. will be DENIED ADMISSION to the proposed facilities as patients because of race, creed or color."

Under this interpretation it allowed --- 1/ The segregation of patients within the facility; 2/ The denial of staff privileges to professionally qualified persons on the grounds of race, creed or color; 3/ The denial of services other than "essential services to patients; and 4/ The State to determine whether a Hill-Burton facility was complying with its nondiscrimination assurance.

B. Discrimination in Virginia's Health Opportunities:

Due to the Federal Government's role in Health Opportunity and the attitude of the State of Virginia, a number of general conditions arose, many of which still continue.

In the Virginia State institutions, mental patients have generally been kept at separate hospitals. "Virginia's Negro mental patients are confined to the Central State Hospital at Petersburg, an overcrowded institution lacking in specialized facilities. The State's white mental patients are assigned to a variety of institutions throughout the State which are capable of providing specialized services." (Title VI...one year after, a survey of desegregation of health and welfare services in the South, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1966, page 9). The 1966 General Assembly approved money to bring only one such mental institution into accreditation, it will be the predominately white institution.

In the hospitals one would have noted, until just recently, that there existed separate drinking water fountains, waiting rooms, restrooms, dining rooms, wings or wards, and other physical evidence of gross discrimination. For instance --- until recently the only place a Negro patient could be assigned a bed in Norfolk, Virginia, was...in a Negro wing at one hospital, a basement in another and they were refused admission in another, or a Negro could go to the City Community Hospital (which was small). In Richmond, the situation was similar ---- some hospitals refused to admit Negroes, another had a separate building for Negro patients, or a certain area (the basement) of another hospital for Negro patients. In Lynchburg, again we discovered that several hospitals would not admit Negroes or in the case of the hospital which did admit Negroes the space area (i.e., number of beds, etc.) was smaller than for the whites and was confined to a certain location. In Roanoke, one hospital assigned Negroes in the attic and another received Negroes but had segregated units.

The Cities of Lynchburg, Norfolk, Richmond and Roanoke, for instance, have hospitals which refuse (in the past) to serve the Negro public. There are possibly other hospitals within the State which operate on this policy. In some of these hospitals it has been discovered that they have or now are receiving federal funds in some way (directly or indirectly). Generally speaking, this was not true of hospitals which have received Hill-Burton funds.

When one examines the staff privileges of the predominently white hospitals throughout the State one is confronted with two other facts --- the lack of staff (full and courtsey) privileges by the Negro physician and the lack of the Negro student in the Nursing and Medical training programs. Most of the Negro student Nursing Programs (Licensed Practical Nurses and Registered Nurses) have been in Negro institutions or colleges.

Therefore, to meet the needs of the Negro student who wanted to enter Nursing one had to go generally to Hampton Institute or Norfolk Division of Virginia State College. There were some other hospitals, usually religious institutions, which did allow some limited number to train. Previously, the Piedmont T.B. Hospital had Negroes training for a T.B. Nursing Program, but is now discontinued. There was also a St. Philips School of Nursing which appeared to be in conjunction with MCV of Richmond, Virginia. One of the recent changes at this institution has been a change from R.N. to L.P.N. It has been almost impossible for the Negro student to be allowed to be trained in Virginia as it has been possible for the white student. This is not to minimize the great work done previously by the all Negro institutions. The important factor to remember is Negro prospective nurses must be trained in previously all white schools due to the cut back in such programs, i.e. MCV, Piedmont, etc.

Traditionally, the Negro has been unable to obtain his medical training as a physician (or specialist) or as a dentist. The two schools of Medicine (University of Virginia, Charlottesville, and the Medical College of Virginia, Richmond) would not previously admit a Negro or claimed they could find the qualified applicants. This condition has changed slightly, the answer given now is -- "we cannot find qualified Negro applicants." Thus, the Negro has had to go outside of the State of Virginia for his medical training to prepare for a career as a dentist or physician. It appears that these institutions still do not have a strong program or policy which would encourage more Virginia Negroes to be trained in Virginia.

Negro Staff Privileges (courtsey and full time) are in question in most cases in Virginia. The two local medical associations (Negro and white physicians) had little contact with each other in the past. Few predominently white hospitals allow Negro physicians and dentist to have staff privileges. There is the Old Dominion Medical Society for Negro physicians. The Medical Society of Virginia for white physicians. Locally for instance, in Norfolk you have the Norfolk County Medical Association for the white physician and Norfolk Medical Socity for Negroes; while in Richmond you have the Richmond Academy of Medicine for white physicians and the Richmond Medical Society for Negro physicians.

The admission policy and bed assignments in Virginia hospitals still, to date pose a problem.

"Commission staff members noted desegregated rooms and wards, including the obstetrical ward, when they visited Richmond Memorial Hospital at Richmond, Virginia, in July. Segregation was still in evidence in the nursery, however, where Negro babies were kept in a separate room. The hospital also administers Sheltering Arms, a non-profit, privately endowed charity hospital for the medically indigent which had previously accepted only white patients. The hospital administrator said a new policy allowed the admission of Negro patients to the Sherltering Arms. Only one Negro had been accepted as a patient, however. (In January 1966, the administrator of Richmond Memorial Hospital reported that the nursery was desegregated soon after the Commission field team pointed out that Negro babies were confined to one room of the hospital nursery. He also reported a slight increase in the admissions of indigent non-welfare Negroes to the formerly all-white Sheltering Arms.) (U.S. Civil Rights Comm. Report 1966, p.7.)

"There are four separate buildings - Medical College of Virginia Hospital, St Philip Hospital, Memorial Hospital, and E.G. Williams Hospital - in the Medical College of Virginia hospital complex in Richmond. St. Philip, a 177-bed facility across the street from Medical College of Virginia Hospital, was built in 1919 for Negro patients. In July 1965, it still was used only for Negroes. Officials of the hospital told Commission representatives that St. Philip patients requiring surgery or other medical services not available at St. Philip were taken to Medical College of Virginia or other hospitals in the complex for the necessary service and returned to St Philip... However, Negro patients receiving emergency treatment at Medical College of Virginia Hospital were transferred to St. Philip as soon as their condition permitted." (USCR Report 1966, page 8.) It should be pointed out that changes have been made at MCV which appear to have the admission and bed assignments in compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VI, Section 601.

It can be safely stated that no hospital had a complete nondiscrimination policy in all of its phases of operation until just recently (1966) in the State of Virginia. This means that in the School of Nursing Program, Staff privileges, Staff assignments, admission policy, bed assignments, dining room facilities, waiting rooms, etc. -- some phase of the hospital's operation was out of compliance with the CRA-64, Title VI, Section 601. It has been stated unofficially that, as of May 7, 1966, 17 of 150 public and private hospitals in Virginia have been given clearance by the Federal government as satisfying civil rights requirements for providing care under Medicare. There have been two court cases against hospitals in Newport News. One demonstration several years ago against a hospital in Suffolk. As of April 1, 1966, there were 13 hospitals which had complaints filed against them for non-compliance. As of March 1966, one hospital in Richmond was out of compliance and undecided about its status. Three hospitals in Richmond were out of compliance and not anticipating a change.

II. Laws and Court Decisions Which Should Provide Equal Health Opportunity in Virginia

A. Fourth Circuit Court Rules Hospitals Must Stop Discriminatory Practices

The Simkins vs. Cone decision (323 F. 2d. 958, Fourth Circuit, November 1, 1963, Certiorari denied by Supreme Court of the United States, March 2, 1964, 84 S. Ct. 793) has very significantly advanced the doctrine of equal access to health facilities. This case was brought in the Federal District Court in North Carolina by Negro physicians, dentists, and patients, all of whom alleged discriminatory practices by two Greensboro hospitals and their administrators and directors. Both hospitals had been constructed with Hill-Burton funds under the "separate but equal" provision. The Negro plaintiffs asked the Court to--

(1) Order the hospitals to cease denying Negro physicians and dentists the use of staff facilities on the ground of race;

(2) Restrain the hospitals from denying and abridging admission of patients on the basis of race;

(3) Restrain the hospitals from refusing on the basis of race to permit patients to be treated by their own physicians and dentists in the hospitals; and

(4) Declare the "separate but equal" provision of the Hill-Burton Act and implementing regulations of the Surgeon General unconstitutional under the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment and the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment.

The District Court decided against the Negro plaintiffs. On appeal, the Fourth Circuit Court reversed the lower Court's decision and granted the relief sought by the plaintiffs. The U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the case, thereby leaving intact the ruling of the Fourth Circuit which held for the Negro plaintiffs.

B. Guidelines For Compliance With Title VI of The Civil Rights Act of 1964

Hospitals in compliance with the Act are characterized by absence of separation, discrimination or any other distinction on the basis of race, color or national origin in any activity carried on in, by or for the institution affecting the care and treatment of patients.

Specifically, the above would include (but not be limited to) the following characteristics:

1. The hospital provides inpatient and outpatient care on a non-discriminatory basis; all patients are admitted and receive care without regard to race, color or national origin. Declaration of an open admission policy may not be sufficient to effectuate compliance in some instances, particularly where the hospital has previously served only or primarily patients of one race. Where there is a significant variation between the racial composition of patients and the population served, the hospital has a responsibility to determine the reasons and take corrective action if they are due to discriminatory practices.

2. All patients are being assigned to all rooms, wards, floors, sections and buildings without regard to race, color or national origin. In communities with non-white population, this results in bi-racial occupancy of multi-bed rooms and wards and use of single bed rooms on a non-discriminatory basis.

   Patients are not asked if they are willing or desire to share a room with a person of another race. Transfer of patients is not used as a device to evade compliance with the Act.

3. Employees, medical staff and volunteers of the hospital are assigned to patient services without regard to the race, color or national origin of either the patient or employee. Courtesy titles (Mr., Miss, Dr.) whenever used, are being used throughout the hospital including patient care areas and news releases announcing admissions, births, deaths, etc.

4. The granting of permanent or temporary staff privileges is carried out in a non-discriminatory manner. Staff privileges are not denied professionally qualified personnel on the basis of race, color or national origin, or on the basis of non-membership in an organization which discriminates on the basis of race, color or national origin. Removal of staff privileges and other disciplinary actions shall not be based on race, color or national origin.

5. Non-discriminatory practices of the institution include all aspects of training programs, and require recruiting and selection of trainees at both predominantly white and Negro schools. The same recruiting procedures are used at all such institutions. Third parties are not permitted to select trainees on a basis which, if done directly by the hospital, would be violative of the Civil Rights Act. These requirements apply to interns (medical, dental, OT, PT, dietician), residents and training programs such as graduate nurse, practical nurse, medical technology, x-ray technology, etc.

6. All services rendered by the institution, its employees or vendors to patients or others are provided without regard to race, color, or national origin. This would include:

   A. Administrative services (admission, medical records, fiscal, etc.).

   B. Medical and dental care for inpatients and outpatients (all specialties-clinical, diagnostic and other pathology services).

C. Paramedical care and ancillary and supporting services (food, pharmacy, social services, laundry, toilet facilities, waiting rooms, entrances, exists, snack bars, gift shops, visiting hours, doctor's lounges). Patients and visitors are using all cafeteria facilities without regard to race, color or national origin; no dining facilities are used only by non-whites by "custom" or "preference".

D. Ambulance services.

7. Employees and medical staff have been notified in writing of the hospital's policy for compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act.

8. Hospitals which have recently changed from discriminatory practices have taken steps to notify those who previously had been excluded from hospital services (e.g., letters to Negro physicians or physician organizations and Civil Rights leaders, notices to newspapers, posting of signs in hospitals, etc.).

9. Hospitals which have had dual facilities to affect racial separation have either converted one of them to a different purpose or have taken steps to change the traffic flow so that they are actually used biracially.

III. Some Areas of Major Concern Which Still Exist Toward Accomplishing Equal Health Opportunity in Virginia

A. The Role of the Federal Government in Requiring Full Compliance:

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare, -- Public Health Services, Office of Equal Health Opportunities, has launched a major effort to seek compliance with all health services obtaining federal monies. In Region III, OEHO, PHS, DHEW, 200 Seventh Street, Charlottesville, Virginia, Civil Rights Compliance Officers have been working since April 1966 to review each hospital which is seeking to apply for Medicare, using Federal Funds, or anticipating the usage of Federal Funds.

These questions remain -- will the Federal Government be strict in requiring compliance, will the U.S. Department of Justice sue a municipal government (Title III, CRA-64) for failure to comply or will the Federal Government sue for collection of Federal Funds by a state or local government, or a medical institution when they refuse to comply?

Will the Federal Government strengthen the case against discrimination in the employment of personnel by health institutions and services? Will there he a stronger guideline in the area of employment as there has developed in the field of education by recent court decisions on faculty and administration? Will there develop future court cases initiate these cases, or will it still be the burden of the person or group who is being discriminated against to file suit?

Let us not overlook the many accomplishments which have been achieved through DHEW, PHS, and through the efforts of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights by their surveys and reports, by Civil Rights Organizations, by the Medical Associations, and by the hospitals themselves. May we point out that many hospitals and medical associations have been willing to comply. Granted there are some in Virginia who will do as little as possible and as much as is necessary to comply.

B. The Role of the Virginia State Agencies in Requiring Compliance:

Again, this is another area where it has been unfortunate that the State was not willing to exercise States Rights to move from the unequal and separate phase of health opportunity to an equal health opportunity. The State, in many respects, has failed and is continuing to be slow in providing equal health opportunities for all of the citizens in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Since the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, there is possibly developing an even more tragic story -- the lack of a positive policy, in some cases program, and a plan of action by the Virginia Department of Welfare and Institutions, the Department of Public Health, and other related Virginia State Agencies which are responsible for Health Opportunity.

This is not to say that medically the State did not perform its function. But the State operated by the philosophy "separate" which by its very nature in many cases did not produce the equal health opportunity for all. There are too many statistics one can produce which give evidence of a possible gross injustice by the State and local government, and private institutions in providing equal health opportunity in Virginia.

The General Assembly probably has contributed to this factor by not requiring a positive plan of action and policy which would provide Equal Health Opportunity to ALL citizens residing in the Commonwealth... regardless of their race, color or national origin.

The many State Agencies which signed HEW Form 411 Compliance last year and required local agencies which receive Federal Funds to sign the same compliance ARE in most cases paper compliance! There is ample evidence to prove that to date (May 10, 1966) several State Agencies have allowed separate facilities and services to continue with little change by the local hospitals, Schools of Nursing, Medical Training, Mental Institutions, and other related health services and institutions to change their policy and practices so that in actual practice discrimination would cease NOW! There is evidence when cases of actual complaints were filed by CORE, NAACP and others against hospitals, etc., and the U.S. DHEW officials investigated and found facilities were in non-compliance (by the existing visual evidence), and apparently the DHEW recommended to the Virginia State Agencies not to continue the use of the facility in question (because the State Agency was administering Federal Funds and had signed a compliance form too); YET, there is little evidence that the State Agencies ever ceased to use the facility in question. It could well be that there might be evidence of gross illegal usage of federal funds as it is related to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VI, Section 601, and the directives and policies which the State Agencies have agreed upon by signing HEW Form 411 Compliance.

It would also appear, if this is a proven fact, that the State of Virginia has a legal and a moral responsibility to cease such practices as it relates to Equal Health Opportunity in the administration of federal funds as required by the Civil Rights Act.

It would further appear, if this is a proven fact, that the U.S. Department of Justice has the legal responsibility to protect all of the citizens residing in the Commonwealth of Virginia by filing suit to cease such practices by the State of Virginia, certain local governments, and certain private health institutions and services.

We hear so much today -- "We are law abiding citizens." Yes, it is hoped that we are. It is also believed that so should the Commonwealth of Virginia and local governments be law abiding as they achieve the greatest and best Health Opportunities within this Commonwealth.

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
17 EAST CARY STREET
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23219

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Rec'd 7/19/64

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?

To promote political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in politics.

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? _____

No - not unless it happens to be a locally chosen study item.

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites ☐
B. Upper income Negroes ☐
C. Middle income whites ☐
D. Middle income Negroes ☐
E. Lower income whites ☐
F. Lower income Negroes ☐

A. Whites with grammar school education ☐
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☐
C. Whites with high school education ☐
D. Negroes with high school education ☐
E. Whites with college education ☐
F. Negroes with college education ☐

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☐
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☐
D. Distribution of literature ☐

1) Your own ☐
2) Other sources ☐

Please specify: _____

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? _____
Some "Birchers" or near Brichers

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
Yes _____ No _____. Please comment: _____
Not particularly

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment: _____

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? _____

_____

_____

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes _____ No xx.

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?
Positive _____ Negative _____

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?
Yes _____ No _____. Please comment: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations? Yes _____ No _____.

Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment:

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? _____
many aspects of local, state and national government

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment: ____

18. Is your organization a membership organization? Yes xx No _____.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?
maybe 5%

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +	x		x		
B. 500-1,000					
C. 100-500					
D. - 100					

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes xx No _____

The last two years?

Yes _____ No _____

Please comment: Just a growing awareness of the problems of minority groups

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes xx No _____ Please comment:

Most-- but far from all

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

Our organization, from its beginning, has been inter-racial. It has never been an issue as far as membership is concerned. But since the membership picks what specific governmental issues they wish to study, unless race relations happens to be chosen by the members, very little attention is given to it.

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with?

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area? Not to my knowledge

523 5398

From the Desk of – *Florence B. Robin*

ACLU OF GEORGIA

7/13/66

July 12th, 1966

Mr. Antony Whitfield
Assistant to the
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Antony:

I have already filled this out in your office.

Sincerely,

Florence

CHARLES F. LAMBETH, JR.
ATTORNEY AT LAW
THOMASVILLE, N. C. 27360

July 12, 1966

Mr. An tony Whitfield
Assistant to the Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Whitfield:

Enclosed you will find a questionnaire filled out in behalf of the North Carolina Civil Liberties Union. Our affiliate chapter is statewide, and there are no other local chapters in North Carolina.

I hope that the information enclosed will be of benefit to you in your survey.

Very truly yours,

Charles F. Lambeth, Jr.

Charles F. Lambeth, Jr.
President, North Carolina CLU

CFLj/ab
Enc.

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?
TO FURTHER THE OBJECTIVES OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION AND TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES IN NORTH CAROLINA, INCLUDING THE RIGHTS OF FREE SPEECH, FREE ASSEMBLAGE, EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW, AND OTHER CIVIL LIBERTIES.

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? _____
YES, INSOFAR AS RACE RELATIONS PERTAIN TO DEFENDING ~~TO~~ DUE PROCESS OF LAW, EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW, AND OTHER CIVIL RIGHTS PROTECTED BY THE BILL OF RIGHTS. ~~OF THE~~

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites ☒
B. Upper income Negroes ☒
C. Middle income whites ☒
D. Middle income Negroes ☒
E. Lower income whites ☒
F. Lower income Negroes ☒

A. Whites with grammar school education ☒
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☒
C. Whites with high school education ☒
D. Negroes with high school education ☒
E. Whites with college education ☒
F. Negroes with college education ☒

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☐
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☐
D. Distribution of literature ☒

1) Your own ☐
2) Other sources ☐

Please specify: NEWSPAPER, RADIO AND TELEVISION ARTICLES AND EDITORIALS. SPEECHES.

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area?
THE USUAL PREJUDICES. ~~ENCOUNTERED~~

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment:
KU KLUX KLAN
JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY
TACT
YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM ETC.

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☒
C. Somewhat influential ☒
D. Almost without influence ☒

IN SOME AREAS OF THE STATE. IN OTHER AREAS, SOMEWHAT INFLUENTIAL AND ✓ ALMOST WITHOUT INFLUENCE IN OTHERS

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes ____ No ✓. Please comment:
WE HAVE BEEN ATTACKED, BUT THESE ORGANIZATIONS HAVE NOT HURT US.

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks?
NONE

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: ____

LETTERS RECEIVED BY THE ORGANIZATION, NEWSPAPER EDITORIALS AND LETTERS, PERSONAL COMMENT - BY WHITE CITIZENS

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☒
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes ____ No ✓.

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?

Positive ____ Negative ____ DIFFICULT TO ANSWER. IN THE LONG RUN, I THINK THEY HAVE HAD A POSITIVE EFFECT.

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?

Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment: ____

CERTAINLY THEY HAVE IN THE PAST

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?
Yes ✓ No _____. WHEN RACE RELATIONS INVOLVE DEFENSE OF CIVIL RIGHTS AS PREVIOUSLY DEFINED.
Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes ✓ No _____. Please comment:
THE NATURE OF OUR ORGANIZATION USUALLY DRAWS CRITICISM, BUT WE HAVE GENERALLY BEEN TREATED COURTEOUSLY IN NORTH CAROLINA.

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? _____,
THE WHOLE FIELD OF CIVIL LIBERTIES, INVOLVING DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS, DUE PROCESS AND EQUAL TREATMENT UNDER LAW FOR EVERYONE.

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes _____ No ✓. Please comment: ____
NOT AS SUCH. WE DO HAVE A COMMITTEE ON ~~DISCHA~~ DISCRIMINATORY DISCHARGE OF NEGRO TEACHERS.

18. Is your organization a membership organization?
Yes ✓ No _____.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?
ALL WHO PARTICIPATE IN DEFENSE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES WOULD NECESSARILY BE ENGAGED IN RACE RELATIONS WHEN ~~OCCASION ARISE~~ THEY PERTAIN TO CIVIL LIBERTIES. IT IS ESTIMATED THAT 1/8 OF OUR ORGANIZATION IS ACTIVE IN VARYING DEGREES.

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +	☐				
B. 500-1,000	☐				
C. 100-500	☒		✓		
D. - 100	☐				

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes ✓ No ____

The last two years?

Yes ✓ No ____

Please comment: THERE HAS BEEN A CHANGE FOR THE BETTER, (ALTHOUGH MANY WHITES WILL NOT ADMIT THEIR ATTITUDES HAVE CHANGED). WHITES ARE GROWING TO HAVE MORE RESPECT FOR AND A BETTER ATTITUDE AS THE NEGRO MORE AND MORE ~~A~~ TAKES HIS RIGHTFUL PLACE IN SOCIETY THROUGH THE VOTE, INTEGRATION IN SCHOOLS, AND ALL OTHER SECTORS.

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes ✓ No ____ Please comment: THEY CAN BE REACHED, FOR THE REASONS SET FORTH IN THE PREVIOUS PARAGRAPH. IT IS A QUESTION OF DEGREE. ~~AND~~ SOME CAN BE REACHED MORE AND QUICKER THAN OTHERS.

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

ALREADY EXPLAINED. ~~THE ACLU, WITH OF WHICH OUR ORGANIZATION IS AFFILIATED, HAS DEFENDE~~

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with?

OF COURSE WE MUST PURSUE THIS CONCERN

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area?

EACH TIME WE DEFEND A CIVIL RIGHT (PERTAINING TO RACE RELATIONS OR OTHERWISE) WE ATTEMPT TO GIVE WIDE PUBLICITY TO EXPLAIN OUR POSITION AND TO EDUCATE THE PUBLIC.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island — Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

July 13, 1966

Dear Mr. Whitfield

This was done hurriedly and without consultation with the whole staff. It may thus represent one man's opinion too much. If there is any clarification needed, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Everett Gill III
Program Director

Rec'd 7/1/64

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?
1- Rural Community Development among Negroes in the South
2- Low-cost, interracial conference center

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? Not on an organized or intentional basis, most of our work is done within the Negro community

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites ☐
B. Upper income Negroes ☑
C. Middle income whites ☐
D. Middle income Negroes ☑
E. Lower income whites ☐
F. Lower income Negroes ☑

A. Whites with grammar school education ☐
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☑
C. Whites with high school education ☐
D. Negroes with high school education ☑
E. Whites with college education ☐
F. Negroes with college education ☑

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☐
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☐
D. Distribution of literature ☐

1) Your own ☑
2) Other sources ☐

Please specify: We have tried newspaper stories explaining our work but have been hampered by a hostile or frightened press.

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? Fear and lack of initiative on the part of white people who know better / a general attitude among whites of the county that we are communist oriented.

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
Yes ✓ No ~~✓~~. Please comment: not so much organized for that purpose (as K.K.K.) but school board, hospital board have shown resistance. A private school has been organized. There is a small and ineffective Klan chapter (so they say)

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be? in discouraging progress.

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☑
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment: Particularly in getting O.E.O. programs started.

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? We have conflict of opinion sometimes as to approach, but this doesn't constitute a problem.

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes _____ No ✓. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: _____

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☑

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes _____ No ✓.

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?

Positive _____ Negative ✓

This type effort has not been followed through and has thus been unsuccessful.

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?

Yes _____ No _____. Please comment: Hard to say. Demonstrations in the form of boycott have had no public recognition and have generally been poorly organized.

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?
Yes ✓ No _____.

Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes ✓ No _____. Please comment:

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? In upgrading the economic and community life of Negro citizens through a program of community development. Also in sponsoring interracial conference and advising local civil rights efforts.

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes _____ No ✓. Please comment:

18. Is your organization a membership organization?
Yes _____ No ✓.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +	☐				
B. 500-1,000	☐				
C. 100-500	☐				
D. - 100	☐				

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?
Yes ✓ No ____

The last two years?
Yes ✓ No ____

Please comment: Public accommodations have been opened, the schools have desegregated, jobs are begining to open, pay scales have improved. Negroes are in political office.

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes ____ No ____ Please comment: Most people "go along" with the law. Few have really changed their attitudes. Younger people will continue to grow in their attitudes and older people will continue to withdraw or resist and slow down progress.

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

We find that projects that come out of our Community Development program find both white & Negro citizens participating because of the benefit to them. For instance an agricultural marketing Coop. and a rural water system. Thus there is interracial cooperation without reference to "race relations"

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with? It is possible that we can do more - mostly in the area of educating people and giving out information.

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area? no -

We have no chapters formed in Louisiana at this time.

7/14/66

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

Paid

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?

Implementation of the Bill of Rights.

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? We do, but indirectly.

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

We work for civil liberties for all and try to reach every area of our society.

A. Upper income whites ☐
B. Upper income Negroes ☐
C. Middle income whites ☐
D. Middle income Negroes ☐
E. Lower income whites ☐
F. Lower income Negroes ☐

A. Whites with grammar school education ☐
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☐
C. Whites with high school education ☐
D. Negroes with high school education ☐
E. Whites with college education ☐
F. Negroes with college education ☐

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area ~~on race relations~~?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☒
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☒
D. Distribution of literature ☒

1) Your own /X/
2) Other sources /X/

Please specify: Newsletters, local and national; pamphlets from national; mimeographed and printed flyers.

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? Ignorance and bias of community; ignorance of newspapers, generally; ingrained bigotry of officialdom.

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
Yes X No _____. Please comment: Klan, Citizens Council, officialdom.

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential /X/
B. Influential /_/
C. Somewhat influential /_/
D. Almost without influence /_/

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment: Very difficult for this organization to answer. We operate on a fully integrated basis; use example rather than precept. The only hindrance to our operation is in finding facilities for integrated activities, and this problem is rapidly being alleviated, at least in the New Orleans area.

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? Virtually nil. Our biggest problem is attracting Negroes to membership in our organization, but this is also true, generally, of Whites.

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes X No _____. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: We are a predominantly white organization, but at our last public meeting at least ½ of the audience was colored.

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

Have no way of telling. I suspect we primarily attract those who are already disposed to our way of thinking, and make few converts.

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes _____ No _____. Not as an organization, but many of our individual members do.

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?

Positive _____ Negative _____ Difficult to say; I suspect negative on some (particularly bigots and officialdom), positive on others.

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?

Yes X No _____. Please comment: This is a personl rather than organizational opinion. I feel that demonstrations tend to point ~~up problems, but also tend to heat up emotions and make rat~~ional discourse difficult if not impossible. Education and attitude changes must be achieved by other methods after the problem has been exposed and ~~emotion has cooled.~~ (this is not to argue against lie ins, sit ins, marches, etc., but I think it essential that they be followed up with ~~intense educational campaigns.~~)

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?
Yes X No _____. Whenever the situation demands it. Our principal concern in this regard is equality of treatment for all citizens.
Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment:
A mixed bag. Usually we are first ignored, but sometimes we detect progress after face-saving delays.

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? Our most significant progress has been in our area of chief concern, fair trials. Poor whites get ganged up on in the courts, too, but most usually it is a Negro who gets railroaded, almost a matter of course in mixed race capital cases.

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes _____ No X. Please comment: We are not a civil rights organization and do not deal with race relations on a separate basis.

18. Is your organization a membership organization?
Yes X No _____.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?
Hard to say, but I would suspect the percentage is rather high, particularly for a predominantly white, Southern organization.

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +					80,000
B. 500-1,000				Unk	
C. 100-500		250	350		
D. - 100					

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes X No _____ I have only recently moved to New Orleans, but I believe New Orleans is the most fully integrated city in the nation and will have public segregation problems whipped within a decade or less. (housing is something else, although there is progress here).

The last two years?

Yes _____ No _____

Please comment: Public transportation is fully integrated, as are libraries, beaches, etc, although there is a tendency (natural, I think, for the birds to flock together. Many restaurants are completely integrated, and present few problems. Schools are slowly coming around, housing even slower. (Little of this applies to Louisiana, which is distinct from N. O., but some progress can be detected up state). Jobs are opening up for Negroes now, and the main problem here is a lack of qualified Negroes for the better positions. The employment situation is far from solved, but is much improved.

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes _____ No X Please comment: I think for the most part, die-hard segregationists will die segregationists. The big change in attitudes, if it comes and I feel it will, will be in the next generation or the ones after that.

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.
To repeat, race relations per se are somewhat peripheral to our primary concern although in all probability our entire membership, as individuals, areinterested in and work toward improving race relations.

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with? Definitely not. I doubt that racial bigotry will ever be completely eradicated, and there will always be a need for improvement.

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area? Only in a very general sense of the term.

July 15 '64

Mr. Whitfield

The Board of E.T.C.L.U asked me to fill in this questionnaire as per enclosed.

We do not have any local chapters.

You can get more information about us from the ACLU. Atlanta Office

Harry Ivenera
President E.T.C.L.U.

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?

Protection of Civil Liberties

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? Yes

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites ☐
B. Upper income Negroes ☐
C. Middle income whites ☒
D. Middle income Negroes ☒
E. Lower income whites ☐
F. Lower income Negroes ☐

A. Whites with grammar school education ☐
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☐
C. Whites with high school education ☒
D. Negroes with high school education ☒
E. Whites with college education ☐
F. Negroes with college education ☐

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☐
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☐
D. Distribution of literature ☒

1) Your own ☒
2) Other sources ☐

Please specify: _____

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? _____
Not much as yet

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment: _____
Klu Klux Clan
John Birch

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☒
D. Almost without influence ☐

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes ____ No ✗. Please comment: ____

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? None

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes _____ No X. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: _____

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

    A. Highly influential ☐
    B. Influential ☒
    C. Somewhat influential ☐
    D. Almost without influence ☐

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes _____ No X.

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?
    Positive X Negative _____

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?
    Yes X No _____. Please comment: _____

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?
Yes _____ No X.

Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment:

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? _____
Civil Liberties - personal

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes _____ No X. Please comment: _____

18. Is your organization a membership organization?
Yes X No _____.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?
Few

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +					
B. 500-1,000					
C. 100-500				X	
D. - 100					

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?
Yes X No ____

The last two years?
Yes X No ____

Please comment: Knoxville is becoming an All America City.

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes X No ____ Please comment: ____

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

The East Tenn Civil Liberties Union is not interested in race relations except when civil liberties are involved.

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with?

We are not concerned with race relations as such. Whenever we find that civil liberties have been violated in a race relation situation we are concerned.

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area? No

STATE OFFICERS
Chairman:
Howard Dixon
Vice-Chairmen:
Vernon H. Edmonds
Treasurer:
Cindy Thorner
Secretary:
Marshall B. Jones
Legal Council:
Tobias Simon

•

Executive Director
Mrs. Florence Diffenderfer

•

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Broward - Palm Beach
Central Florida
Gainesville
Jacksonville
Miami
St. Petersburg
Sarasota
Tallahassee
Tampa
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Norman Thomas
William L. White
Thornton Wilder
Edward Bennett Williams
Benjamin Youngdahl

American Civil Liberties Union of Florida
502 OLYMPIA BUILDING • MIAMI, FLORIDA 33131 • TELEPHONE: 373-2052

Rec'd 7/19/66

July 18, 1966

Mr. Antony Whitfield
Assistant to the
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Whitfield:

I have filled out your questionnaire as best I can.

As we are not an organization whose purpose is to affect race relations, I am limited as to how much help I can give you. Such side results which occur, due to ACLU actions, we are happy to achieve, but they are not our primary purpose.

Sincerely,

Florence Diffenderfer

Mrs. Florence Diffenderfer
Executive Director

FD/ak

enc. questionnaire

Founded 1920

"I believe with your members that whatever a man's political thinking, whatever his background, environment or education, he must, if he be a real American, respect the aims of organizations such as yours. The integrity of the American Civil Liberties Union and of its workers in the field has never been, and I feel, never will be questioned."

— HARRY S. TRUMAN

"I will continue to combat every threat to our sacred principles of freedom, liberty and equal justice under law . . . . It is good to be reminded that the members of the American Civil Liberties Union and the overwhelming majority of my fellow citizens are working together in this field with steadfast vigor and understanding."

— DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

"Your voice has always been raised clearly and sharply when our liberties have been threatened. America is a stronger nation for your uncompromising efforts. If we are to give the leadership the world requires of us, we must rededicate ourselves to the great principles of our constitution — the very principles which distinguish us from our adversaries in the world. Our nation needs the services of organizations and citizens who will remain vigilant in the defense of these principles."

— JOHN F. KENNEDY

Bergen Evening Record

Hackensack, N. J.

"If the battle for democracy in the United States is ever lost it will be lost, in a manner of speaking, over the dead body of the American Civil Liberties Union . . ."

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

"The American Civil Liberties Union . . has been praised for its work by such men as President Truman, Thomas E. Dewey and Gen. Douglas MacArthur. The ACLU is a group which fights for the rights of men everywhere to free speech, fair trial and equality before the law."

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

"In its long history the ACLU has befriended persons of all shades of political and religious opinion . . Concern for free speech, equal treatment under the law, and a fair trial before conviction is the essence of Americanism, the opposite of Communist tyranny. If this country ever acquiesces in a denial of civil rights to its humblest or most degraded citizen, it has taken a step on the road to despotism."

New York Herald Tribune

"The American Civil Liberties Union has won for itself an acknowledged role as watchdog of the citizen's liberties . . ."

The New York Times

"The American Civil Liberties Union (is a) useful and thoroughly patriotic organization . . . . To equate patriotism with conformity, orthodoxy and name-calling is dangerous nonsense; and this cannot be pointed out too often . . ."

"The American Civil Liberties Union has an essential role at this critical time. It defends the rights of even the most despised to speak, to assemble, and to petition for redress of grievances. It protects the individual's constitutional guarantees of the right to counsel, to confrontation and due process of law. It has come to symbolize racial justice and religion freedom."

— LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The Des Moines Register

"The Civil Liberties Union . . . has defended the rights of free speech, free press, religious freedom, and academic freedom for *all sorts* of political groups and individuals — including race-baiters, semi-fascists, Communists, and other reactionaries as well as liberals . . ."

Durham Morning Herald

Durham, N. C.

"The ACLU's mission is to fight for the preservation of the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, and it is a fight that's never won. . ."

The Evening Star

Washington, D. C.

"The A.C.L.U. is composed of individuals of varying political faith . . its record is one of steadfast devotion to and defense of the civil liberties which are guaranteed to all of us by the Bill of Rights . . ."

The Washington Post

"The ACLU . . . has proven, over the years, that it knows and understands what true Americanism means."

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

"The ACLU has established its fearlessly independent reputation and particularly its freedom from Communist control, by years of evenhanded defense of a principle—the freedom principle of the Bill of Rights . . ."

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"'I do not agree with a word you say,' said Voltaire, 'but will defend to the death your right to say it.' It would be hard to find a more searching test of the genuineness of democratic sentiments than is implicit in this famous dictum. And it would be equally hard to find an organization that subjects itself to this test more often and more willingly than does the American Civil Liberties Union."

San Francisco Examiner

"You may sometimes disagree, as we do, with the ACLU's choice of cases or ts interpretations of the Bill of Rights and other constitutional guarantees. But this is an area where disagreement and dissent have gone on throughout the life of our Nation; if agreement were universal, no ACLU would be needed. The ACLU is worthy of the support of all freedom loving citizens in its current drive for new members and funds to continue its defense of American liberties."

Minneapolis Morning Tribune

"Over a long period of years conservatives and radicals, employers and labor unions, Americans in every walk of life and of every political complexion, have found the ACLU fighting on their side. The only provocation to action has been a civil liberty endangered . . ."

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?

Implementation of the Bill of Rights.

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? _____

Only peripherally.

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites ☐
B. Upper income Negroes ☐
C. Middle income whites ☐
D. Middle income Negroes ☐
E. Lower income whites ☐
F. Lower income Negroes ☐

A. Whites with grammar school education ☐
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☐
C. Whites with high school education ☐
D. Negroes with high school education ☐
E. Whites with college education ☐
F. Negroes with college education ☐

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☐
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☐
D. Distribution of literature ☐

1) Your own ☐
2) Other sources ☐

Please specify: _____

_____

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
Yes _____ No _____. Please comment: _____
Not that I know of.

_____

_____

_____

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☒
D. Almost without influence ☐

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes _____ No X.

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?
Positive X Negative _____ Depends on type of demonstration + reason for (Specific Cause).

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?
Yes X No _____. Please comment: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?
Yes _____ No _____. Indirectly. Where constitutional issue is main concern.
Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes X No _____. Please comment:
When desegregation has been raised in letters to administrators of state institutions the response has been good.

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? _____
Educationally re Bill of Rights + interpretations of law.

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes _____ No X. Please comment: _____

18. Is your organization a membership organization?
Yes X No _____.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?
None directly for ACLU. ~~Oth~~ Outside of ACLU, many of our members are active in race relations organizations.

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +			X		X
B. 500-1,000					
C. 100-500		X			
D. - 100					

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes X No ____

The last two years?

Yes X No ____

Please comment: Our Cuban refugee problem in S. Florida has resulted in expression of sympathy towards negroes, by white citizens, where negroes have been displaced by refugees.

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes ____ No ____ Please comment: Haven't the faintest idea. I would like to hope so.

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

We have been interested in implementation of the Civil Rights Act & several of our Chapters in the state have begun investigative action in this area.

Specifically jails, courts, restaurants, and schools

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with?

We feel that the work ahead will now entail "implementation" rather than passage of new laws.

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area? No

Virginia Council of Human Relations
Richmond, Va.

7/18/66

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?
To attain equal opportunity for all
Bi-racial organization working together
(see attached brochures)

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations?
Yes
~~press, radio, Tv., newsletter to members,~~
speaking engagements, etc.

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites xxxx
B. Upper income Negroes xxxxx
C. Middle income whites xxxxx
D. Middle income Negroes xxxx
E. Lower income whites
F. Lower income Negroes xxxx in rural areas mainly making some provision now in urban work
A. Whites with grammar school education
B. Negroes with grammar school education xxx rural
C. Whites with high school education
D. Negroes with high school education xxx
E. Whites with college education xxx
F. Negroes with college education xxx

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns
B. Rallies and town meetings xxx
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts xxx
D. Distribution of literature xxx

1) Your own ☐
2) Other sources ☐

Please specify: _____

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? _____
KKK, Conservative Party of Va., John Birch, White Citizen Council, previous timidness by many white politicians (which is changing)
timidness by white business and ~~xxxxx~~ financial leaders
Church (Va. Council of Churches) and many local congregations

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
Yes XXX No _____. Please comment: ~~(See attached~~ report)
KKK, American Nazi, John Birch, Conservative Party of Va., Conservative element of Rep and Dem. Parties,

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential ☒ XX John Birch, Conservative
B. Influential ☒ XX Some ChurchesParty
C. Somewhat influential ☒ XX KKK, Nazi
D. Almost without influence ☐

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes yes and No No. Please comment: ____
Depending upon the issue, and how much Federal backing we ~~have....that is, Hospitals have been very successful~~ in compliance
Public accomadations in rural areas are still bad, etc.

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? _____
Liberal white can't seem to agree, many Negro let the liberal ~~white did completely control the goals and approaches~~
The end is agreed upon, but the means to the end is sharply divided at times.

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes xx No _____. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: _____
Not much increase in membership, several local councils are smaller.

But the general public is fooled, they know we get things done. ~~I have many say that some whites know when we are around~~ that they have to be careful about the statements they make and their actions. We do accomplish public action through press.

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☒ but disliked by many as being a pressure group, or radicals
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes _____ No _____. Protest yes, but on our own terms, Please refer to our brochure, etc.
We do not demonstrate, picketing, or boycott.

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?

Positive _____ Negative very much

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?
Yes xx No _____. Please comment: Maybe

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?

Yes XXXX No _____.

Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes XXX No _____. Please comment:

Received by the Governor of Va. several times, although we did not obtain our desires. Otherwise, State Board of Education (Textbook Porject) were received graciously and made progress.

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? _____

Religion and Race Conference Nov. 28,29, 1966 John Marshall Hotel Richmond

Textbook Project

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes XXX No _____. Please comment: ____

VBHR Board and professional staff, then local council boards with their local committess

Education, Employment, Housing, etc.

18. Is your organization a membership organization?

Yes XXX No _____.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?

100% we hope

but our membership in relationship to the total population of Virginia is very small, but we are heard and listen to on many issues.

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +			XXX		
B. 500-1,000					
C. 100-500					
D. - 100					

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes XXX No _____

The last two years?

Yes ~~XXX~~ No _____

Please comment: Plus the recent development of a strong (80,000 voters in Conservative Party of Va.) civil rights backlash in the p~~ast two years~~

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes _____ No XXX Please comment: _____

I ~~wonder if some will ever change any more than they have~~ to change. Do as little as possible and as much as is necessary.

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

~~See our enclosed materials~~

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with?

I firmly believe that we are now needed more now and the future will reveal that there will always be a need for bi-racial organizations to promote better race relations.

Thus we are beginning to believe that we are needed as much or more today, than yesterday.

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area?

Yes, refer to the brochure "An Ounce of Prevention--VCHR"

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-4764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
17 EAST CARY STREET
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

July 8, 1966

R L Cobb, Exy Dir

Dear Friend:

Our organization is presently conducting a survey to determine who speaks to the white South.

Basically, our aim is to learn what work is being done by you towards reaching the average white Southerner on the subject of race relations.

All information forwarded to us shall be held in strict confidence. Findings will be presented in generalized terms. Cooperating agencies may be listed separately from the findings but there will be no one-to-one relation drawn between the findings and the cooperating agencies.

We shall appreciate your cooperation in filling out and returning to us the enclosed questionnaire, advising whether it would be feasible to send similar copies to your local chapters and providing us with a list of such chapters.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Antony Whitfield

Antony Whitfield
Assistant to the
Director of Information

AW:js

Enclosure - 1.

Rec'd 7/19/66

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?

Changes attitudes as regards race relations so as to improve equal opportunity and development of ability for Negroes.

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? Yes.

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites ☒
B. Upper income Negroes ☒
C. Middle income whites ☒
D. Middle income Negroes ☒
E. Lower income whites ☐
F. Lower income Negroes ☐

A. Whites with grammar school education ☐
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☐
C. Whites with high school education ☐
D. Negroes with high school education ☒
E. Whites with college education ☒
F. Negroes with college education ☒

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☒
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☒
D. Distribution of literature ☒

1) Your own ☐
2) Other sources ☐

Please specify: _____

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? All of Society is structured against open race relations. ① Church – political set up hurts most. ② Political – economic set-up is second most difficult.

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area? Yes X No ____. Please comment: KKK, Citizens Council, Americans For the Preservation of White Race, all Church groups except the Unitarians & Catholics, The Young Republicans, The AMA, The Chamber of Commerce.

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential ☒
B. Influential ☒
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes X No ____. Please comment: Shot my treasurer. Cause prospective supporters to be afraid. Keep the Governor from giving us a charter.

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? White moderates feel that persons who want to make basic changes in institutions are therefore Communists. middle class and professional negroes are slow

to give support to controversial programs.

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: (I don't understand the question).

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☒
D. Almost without influence ☐

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes _____ No ___ not the usual methods of protest.

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?
Positive _____ Negative X — But alienation is the prelude to honest relationship. So negative, but good.

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?
Yes _____ No _____. Please comment: Some people are actually educated by way of the marches, etc. Some other few people reinforce their belief that they are communist. The bulk of the people are unaffected.

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?
Yes X No ____.

Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes ____ No ____. Please comment:
We have the cooperation of the press. The mayor is worse than the devil. The Governor has his own method of operation — so he responds to nothing from our side of the fence.

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? We work with political, economic, educational and public opinion ~~co~~ institutions because they are so tied in to race. In Mississippi everything is related to race —

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes ____ No X. Please comment: ____

18. Is your organization a membership organization?
Yes X No ____.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?
All of it.

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +					
B. 500-1,000					
C. 100-500			X		
D. - 100					

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes X No ____

The last two years?

Yes X No ____

Please comment: ____

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes X No ____ Please comment: ____

Only by having a crisis develope which overshadows the race issue. When something more serious than race confronts these people they will be more likely to change on race.

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

19 July 1966

Mr. Antony Whitfield, Assistant to
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Whitfield:

You may send the questionnaire to the following affiliates:

Mr. Edwin Greenebaum, 1500 Cleveland, Rte. 4, Fayetteville
Mr. Ferris Baker, 32 Timothy Lane, Conway
Rev. Donald Sheffield, P.O. Box 462, Pine Bluff
Mr. W.H. Williams, 616 Vine, North Little Rock
Rev. Jerry Canada, First Methodist Church, Fort Smith

I am not sure you will get satisfactory responses, however.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director

NRG:cit

Enclosure

OFFICERS – FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN
REVEREND A. M. ROBERTS, JR., TREASURER • MRS. FRANK N. GORDON, SECRETARY
STAFF – NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. **What is the main purpose of your organization?**
To improve the condition of all Arkansans by realizing the same opportunities for individual Negro citizens as those enjoyed by individual white citizens, to achieve this revolutionary result with the least possible social discord.

2. **Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations?** Yes

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

   A. Upper income whites [ ]
   B. Upper income Negroes [X]
   C. Middle income whites [X]
   D. Middle income Negroes [X]
   E. Lower income whites [ ]
   F. Lower income Negroes [ ]

   A. Whites with grammar school education [ ]
   B. Negroes with grammar school education [ ]
   C. Whites with high school education [X]
   D. Negroes with high school education [X]
   E. Whites with college education [X]
   F. Negroes with college education [X]

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

   A. Door-to-door campaigns [ ]
   B. Rallies and town meetings [X]
   C. Local radio or TV broadcasts [X] Occasionally
   D. Distribution of literature [X]

1) Your own /X/ Pamphlets & published reports

2) Other sources /X/ Pamphlets, magazine reprints, films

Please specify: _____

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? a) going institutions are not amenable to furnish audiences and for participation - churches, schools, civic clubs, etc.; b) silence of the influential citizens and groups - those in air-conditioned offices; c) failure of officials to keep abreast of the citizens.

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?

Yes X No _____. Please comment: John Birch Society is increasing in influence. Ku Klux Klan, while inconsequential, by its noise is an umbrella for potential violence of the white antisocial individuals.

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential /_/

B. Influential /_/

C. Somewhat influential /X/

D. Almost without influence /_/

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes X No _____. Please comment: The fears and doubts generated by them perpetuates indecision among timid officials and decision makers.

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? Lack of such meaningful interracial experiences by Negroes and whites for them to comprehend the revolutionary character of the changes now in process. This affects adversely the level at which program is initiated.

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes _____ No X. Please comment Not, really. and specify such methods, if any: Some reaction based on membership, financial support, and participation

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☒
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes _____ No X Not as an organization

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?
Positive X Negative _____

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?
Yes X No _____. Please comment: In Little Rock the significant changes were set in motion by demonstrations or by other protests.

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?
Yes X No _____.

Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes X No X. Please comment:
Depends on the officials to whom petitions are made. To the Housing Authority, to schools, to city government, the answer is no. To businessmen and to churchmen, generally, the answer is yes. In any case the petitions have been helpful in making change.

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? Race relations is our focus. Our activities for civil and human rights are integral to race relations

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes _____ No X. Please comment:

18. Is your organization a membership organization?
Yes X No _____.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?
20%

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +	/				
B. 500-1,000	X		X		
C. 100-500	/				
D. - 100	/				

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes X No ____

The last two years?

Yes X No ____

Please comment: All politicians, including the governor, are conciliatory on this subject, openly seeking support of Negroes and liberals.

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively "most" reached? Yes ____ No X Please comment: They need not have full understanding to act affirmatively when the decision-making minority have accepted the constructive attitude.

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.
No comment

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with? The matter is of greater importance than ever.

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area? I do not understand your question.

I write from the experience of our local Greater Miami Section, Nat'l Council of Jewish Women.

J.L.

NCJW
Mrs Sidney Lewis
7/20/66

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?
furthering human welfare in the Jewish & gen'l community thru an integrated program of education, service, and social action.

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? _____
(Nat'l & local) - 1 Women in Community Services, Inc.
(Local) - 2. Participation in Fair Housing Council (new)
(Nat'l & local) - 3. Our own Council Schools for Community Action.

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites ☐
B. Upper income Negroes ☐
C. Middle income whites ☒
D. Middle income Negroes ☒
E. Lower income whites ☐
F. Lower income Negroes ☒ Few

A. Whites with grammar school education ☒
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☐
C. Whites with high school education ☒
D. Negroes with high school education ☐
E. Whites with college education ☒
F. Negroes with college education ☒

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☒
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☒ Only as member of Mics
D. Distribution of literature ☐

1) Your own ☐
2) Other sources ☐

Please specify: _____

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? None

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
Yes X No ____. Please comment: Birch Society Cells ~~quietly~~ quietly active — not strong.
Ku Klux Klan is in Florida, but we never hear of them in Dade County. They tried to have a rally here, but it was singularly unsuccessful.

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☒

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes ____ No No. Please comment: ____

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? Disagreement among our own members on Fair Housing.

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes ____ No X. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: _____

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☒ Among our own members.
D. Almost without influence ☐

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes ____ No X.

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?
Positive ____ Negative X

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?
Yes X and No X. Please comment: Awareness of the problems in other areas, causing demonstrations. Attitude here is "It can't happen here."
Everyone concerned with problems in communities caused by demonstrations; not too many aware of problems which caused the demonstration in the first place.

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?
Yes X No ____.
Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes ____ No ____. Please comment:
No response, but we have had no real problems. Any we would tend to have have been well-anticipated and worked out by our local Community Relations Board.

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? ____
Consumer protection education
Quality education
Support of good metropolitan gov't.
" for better public hospitals.

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes ____ No X. Please comment: ____
No specific committee. Issues are handled through our Public Affairs Dept. We send representatives to most community committee meetings working on any specific issue.

18. Is your organization a membership organization?
Yes X No ____.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?
2% (?)

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +	☒	✓			123,000
B. 500-1,000	☐				
C. 100-500	☐				
D. - 100	☐				

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes X No ____

The last two years?

Yes X No ____

Please comment: School integration, both student and faculty, has been almost completed without fuss or incident. Transportation, hotels and restaurants, ditto. No breakthrough yet in housing, but wide and widespread changing of fringe areas, which are mixed at first and then all-negro.

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes ____ No X Please comment: ____

This will take at least another generation. The prejudices of the parents are still too ingrained in the family. Church and school need years to complete the already good work they have started.

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

Ours has always been an open membership group and any woman interested in furthering our goals and purpose may join by paying dues.

Because we like to work best among people of our own kind and because we believe in human dignity, we are proud that our local N.C.J.W. has this year organized the 1st Chapter of the Nat'l Council of Negro Women in Dade County (maybe in the State of Florida.)

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with? We must continue with this issue in order to educate the gen'l public. We cannot, of course, erase prejudice quickly, but we can erode continuously. The problem of race relations will be with us for many years to come, so we must learn to make bad race relations a sin, a vice, a crime.

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area? N.C.J.W. Schools for Community Action. Study groups for members only.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF FLORIDA

5201 LAKEVIEW AVENUE SOUTH, ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA 33707 MRS. WALTER R. CHURCHILL, President

July 20, 1966

Mr. Antony Whitfield
Assistant to the Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Whitfield:

The enclosed brochure will explain the purpose, program and activities of the League of Women Voters of Florida for you. You will notice that race relations per se are not a part of any of these items. Therefore, I find that the QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH? cannot be answered.

If there is some other information which you would like to have me furnish, I will be glad to do so if it is pertinent to League program.

Sincerely yours,

Lucille Churchill

Mrs. Walter R. Churchill
President

Enc.

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF FLORIDA

WHAT IT IS . . . WHAT IT DOES

A NONPARTISAN ORGANIZATION

composed of members of all local and provisional Leagues in Florida and part of the League of Women Voters of the United States. It is a volunteer organization. No salaries are paid to its officers and directors.

MEMBERSHIP

is open to all women citizens of voting age who believe in representative government. More than 3,300 members present a typical cross-section of political, professional, educational, economic, ethnic, racial, religious and social backgrounds.

LEAGUE PROGRAM

teaches members how the democratic processes work in our society and government through their participation in study, discussion, decision-making and action.

SERVING THE VOTERS

before elections League provides nonpartisan information about candidates for state and local offices; distributes basic facts about important state election issues. Local Leagues publish citizen's guide booklets about the structure of their local governments.

MANY VOLUNTEER HOURS

are spent by League members doing research, interviewing public officials and employees, compiling and digesting information, planning and executing membership meetings, public meetings and educational campaigns, publishing and distributing material and communicating with elected representatives.

AT CONVENTIONS AND COUNCILS

delegates from local Leagues meet every two years to adopt League program, elect officers, discuss and plan League work for the biennium. Delegates meet at Council in off-convention years to review progress and plan additional work.

IN TALLAHASSEE

during the Legislative sessions, State Board members lobby in the public interest on positions attained from League studies; arrange for and conduct seminars where members from all over Florida learn first-hand about state government operation.

LEGISLATIVE HEARINGS

state commission and interim committee meetings dealing with items of League interest are attended by League members whenever possible and testimony is given when authorized by the State Board.

PARTICIPANTS IN GOVERNMENT

League members attend local government sessions as observers; serve in the public interest with other organizations; stimulate community awareness of local problems and issues.

MODEST ANNUAL BUDGET

is about $20,000, most of which comes from voluntary local League pledges. Dues are purposely low so as not to preclude anyone from membership. The remaining part of League income is from contributions made by members and by public-spirited citizens who value the services of the League.

ACTIVE IN FLORIDA SINCE 1939 . . . . LEAGUE HAS WORKED FOR:

Revision of the Florida Constitution • Equitable apportionment of representation in the Legislature • Establishment and support of a Department of Water Resources • Central Purchasing Agency • Permissive jury duty for women • Adequate financial support of the public schools • A State Tax Commission • Better facilities for care of dependent and handicapped children • Improved laws for health and welfare • Annual sessions of the Legislature • Correction of inequities in the tax structure • Establishment of the Florida Merit System • Permanent personal registration • Local self-government for cities and counties.

THE PURPOSE OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF FLORIDA IS TO PROMOTE POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY THROUGH INFORMED AND ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF CITIZENS IN GOVERNMENT.

STATE PROGRAM 1966-1969

CURRENT AGENDA

Revision of the Florida Constitution

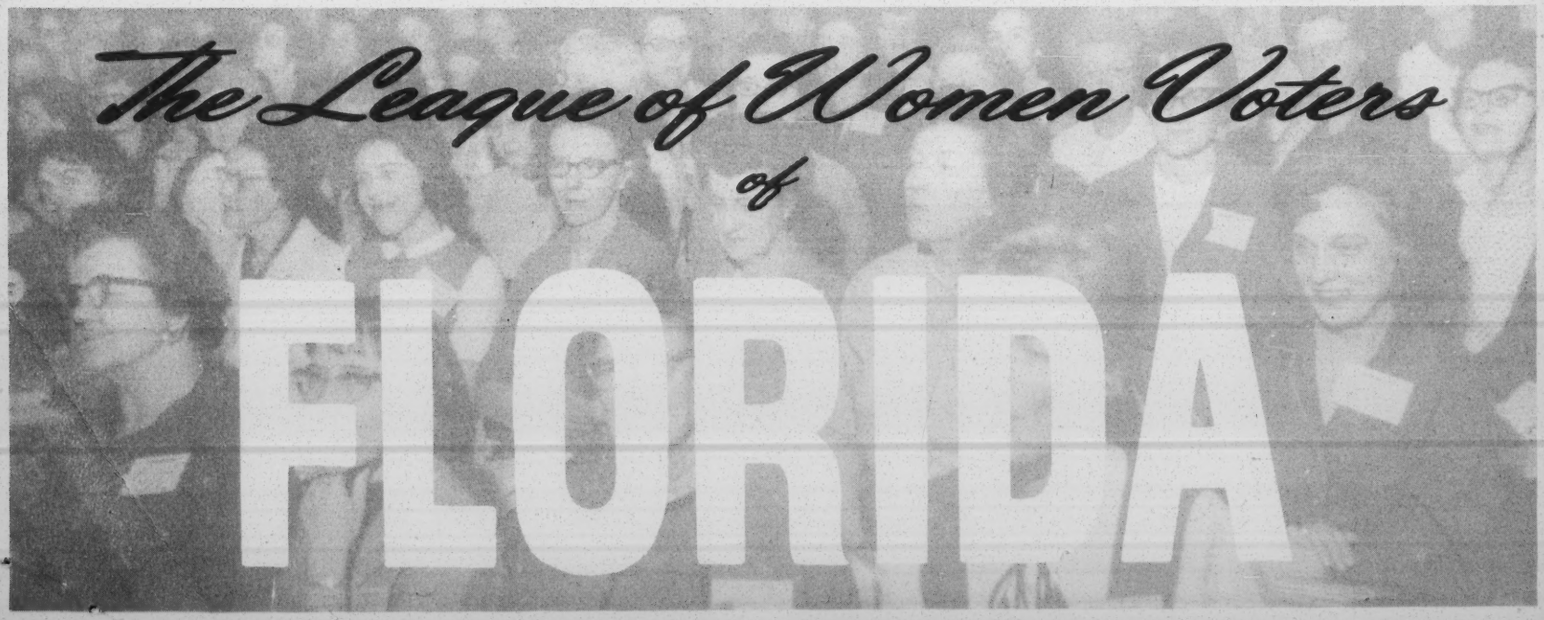
CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES

1. Support of measures which correct inequities in the present tax structure.
2. Support of equitable apportionment of representation in the Florida legislature.
3. Strengthening and extending the Florida Merit System.
4. Repeal of the party loyalty oath.
5. Support of improved legislative operations including an increase in salaries for legislators, expansion of the Legislative Reference Bureau, registration of all lobbyists and a Code of Ethics for legislators.

LOCAL LEAGUES IN FLORIDA

Central Brevard County
Clearwater Area
Fort Lauderdale
Fort Myers
Gainesville
Hillsborough County
Jacksonville
Manatee County
Martin County
Metropolitan Dade County
Okaloosa County
Pensacola Bay Area
Polk County
St. Augustine
St. Petersburg
Sarasota County
South Brevard County
South Palm Beach County
Tallahassee
Volusia County
West Palm Beach Area
West Pasco County
Winter Park - Orlando
Charlotte County (Prov.)
Marion County (Prov.)

Published by the
Warrene Piper Memorial Fund
of the League of Women Voters of Florida
5201 Lakeview Ave. South
St. Petersburg, Florida 33707



July 21, 1966

PROGRESS REPORT: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

TO: Paul Anthony and Pat Watters

FROM: Antony Whitfield

Largely, the questionnaire returns have reflected a curious assortment of responses. Specific items in the questionnaire have generally elicited varied answers. This would seem to suggest that no clearly defined area of concensus exists among the respective organizations on the issue of race relations.

Also, significant contrasts in the relative aims of each respective organization seem to further preclude generalizations on the merits of such aims as those which relate specifically to race relations.

Perhaps the most outstanding feature in the returns has been the vigorous assessment of current problems now existing within the respective camps of the organizations, i.e., "black power," school textbooks, and fair housing.

AW
AW

js

Tony: I would like to see the questionnaires when I. Thanks Paul

Rec'd 7/28/66

Nashville Diocesan Council

OF THE

National Council of Catholic Women

DIOCESAN PRESIDENT
MRS. J. R. KRENSON
208 UNION STREET
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37201

FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
MRS. DAVID FONSECA
555 NOTRE DAME AVENUE
CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE 37412

SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
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P. O. BOX 11343
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE 38111

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NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37205

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MRS. EDWARD A. RENZ
1809 MOORE AVENUE
GREENEVILLE, TENNESSEE 37743

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
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HILL ROAD
BRENTWOOD, TENNESSEE 37027

TREASURER
MRS. A. M. SOMMERS
111 EASTLAND DRIVE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE 38111

NATIONAL DIRECTOR
PROVINCE OF LOUISVILLE
MRS. F. J. STRATEGIER
272 BLUE GRASS AVENUE
SOUTHGATE, NEWPORT, KY.

THE MOST REVEREND WILLIAM L. ADRIAN, D. D.
BISHOP OF NASHVILLE

THE MOST REVEREND JOSEPH A. DURICK, D. D.
APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATOR OF THE DIOCESE OF NASHVILLE

THE REVEREND PAUL W. CLUNAN, SPIRITUAL MODERATOR
203 SOUTH WHITE STATION ROAD,
MEMPHIS, TENN. 38117

July 24, 1966

Mr. Antony Whitfield, Assistant to Director of Information,
Southern Regional Council,
#5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Whitfield:

I have your letter of July 8th relating to a survey in connection with the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for peoples in the South.

The organization which I head as president is a federation of Catholic Women's organizations throughout the State. Our meetings are integrated and we have several all Negro parish council groups as members. Negro women are invited and urged to come to our meetings and participate in our activities - also they are made welcome when they do attend.

We are keenly interested in the implementation of civil rights throughout our diocese and only recently participated in a massive letter writing campaign urging our senators, congressmen and others, to support the pending Civil Rights bill in Washington. We had representation at the Human Relations Council held this Spring in Memphis and have participated in other inter-racial panels and meetings. Our members are also actively engaged in working in the WICS organization along with members of the Council of Negro Women, Jewish Women and United Church women. I assure you that the Catholic women of the State of Tennessee are working diligently, honestly and sincerely for the equal opportunity of all the people in the South, both Negro and white.

I have not completed the forms which you forwarded in your letter as I do not feel that many of the questions are applicable to our members; however, I hope the foregoing will give you a good picture of our organization and its stand on Social Justice.

With best wishes,

Very truly yours,

Mattie L. Krenson
Diocesan President.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF GEORGIA

3121 Maple Drive, N.E.
Suite 2

ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30305
Telephone 237-2559

Affiliated with the
League of Women Voters of the United States

July 25, 1966

Mr. Antony Whitfield
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Whitfield:

I am sorry to have delayed in replying to your letter concerning your survey on who speaks to the white South. I wanted to discuss your request with my State Board which met last week. The Board agreed with me that the state office could not really answer the survey for its various local Leagues where situations in regard to race relations vary widely.

We are sending you a list of the local Leagues and of their presidents so that you can send copies of the survey to them. Not all may wish to reply and certainly none could answer all the questions. We are asking that they reply to the best of their knowledge and ability.

Sincerely,

Billie Pfiffner

Mrs. H. A. Pfiffner
President

EKP:FS

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF GEORGIA
3121 Maple Drive, N.E., Suite #2
Atlanta, Georgia 30305

July, 1966

TELEPHONE: 237-2559

LOCAL LEAGUE PRESIDENTS - 1966-1967

LEAGUE	NAME AND ADDRESS	TELEPHONE*	BOARD MEETING DATE
Albany	Mrs. L. A. (Hazel) Weaver 2203 Lullwater Rd. 31705	432-0291	2nd Wednesday 10:00 A.M.
Athens	Mrs. Anthony (Jane) Nemetz 125 Clifton Dr. 30601	546-6375	4th Thursday 10:00 A.M.
Atlanta-Fulton Co.	Mrs. Sidney Q. (Leah) Janus 1435 W. Wesley Rd., N.W. 30327 (OFFICE: 1036 Peachtree St., N.E. Room 114, Atlanta 30309)	355-7909 TR 6-0732	4th Tuesday 10:30 A.M.
Augusta Area	Mrs. Menard (Rosemary) Ihnen Route 5, Box 154, Martinez 30907	733-1787	2nd Tuesday 9:30 A.M.
Carrollton	Mrs. Gibson (Marge) LaFoy 1802 Maple St. 30117		2nd Monday 7:30 P.M.
Clayton Co.	Mrs. Eddie (Marion) Paul 521 Pineridge Dr., Forest Park 30050	366-4463	3rd Thursday 8:00 P.M.
Dalton	Mrs. Mahlon (Dorothy) Chew 1212 West Lakeshore Dr. 30720	278-8019	2nd Wednesday 10:00 A.M.
DeKalb Co.	Mrs. William E. (Rosemarie) Schmidt 2856 Ashford Rd., N.E., Atlanta 30319	237-9886	1st Tuesday 7:45 P.M.
Macon	Mrs. Richard M. (Regina) Woolford 202 Virginia Ave., Warner Robins 31093	923-9460	3rd Monday 10:00 A.M.
Marietta-Cobb Co.	Mrs. E. T. (May) Hunter 407 Redwood Dr., Marietta 30060	428-1430	4th Tuesday 10:00 A.M.
Rome-Floyd Co.	Mrs. Bernard (Muriel) Kauffman 2599 Lakeridge Cir., Rome 30163	234-9717	2nd Wednesday 7:30 P.M.
Savannah	Mrs. Norton (Betty) Melaver 4650 Sylvan Dr. 31405	355-7802	1st Wednesday 10:00 A.M.
Walker Co. Area	Mrs. Sam (Lou) Chadburn 207 East Ave., LaFayette 30728		4th Monday 7:30 P.M.

* Area Code 404: Athens, Atlanta, Augusta, Carrollton, Clayton Co., Dalton
DeKalb Co., Marietta, Rome, Walker Co.

Area Code 912: Albany, Macon, Savannah.

Rec'd 7/25/66

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?
We are a church organization striving to meet the needs of our members in ways not offered by other organizations in our community.

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? Not as a rule.
While our church is noted for its liberal stand our members work for race relations through Fair Housing, membership in the NAACP etc., study groups in the League of Women Voters on the AAUW, reaching the youth through the Liberal Religious Youth Movement.

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites ☐
B. Upper income Negroes ☐
C. Middle income whites ☐
D. Middle income Negroes ☐
E. Lower income whites ☐
F. Lower income Negroes ☐

A. Whites with grammar school education ☐
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☐
C. Whites with high school education ☐
D. Negroes with high school education ☐
E. Whites with college education ☐
F. Negroes with college education ☐

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☐
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☐
D. Distribution of literature ☐

1) Your own ☐
2) Other sources ☐

Please specify: _____

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? _____

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment: _____
Rockwell's Nazi Party. The Birch Society.

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☑
D. Almost without influence ☐

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes ____ No ____. Please comment: ____

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? _____

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: _____

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes _____ No ✓.

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?
Positive ✓ Negative _____

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?
Yes ✓ No _____. Please comment: _____
While demonstrations alert citizens to the problems and have accomplished a lot, I think, they have also created pockets of distrust.

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?
Yes _____ No _____. We do if we feel it is needed.

Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? As stated above, our organization is not primarily concerned with issues but with the individual. Almost all of us belong to other organizations actively involved with issues, many involving race issues.

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment: ____

_____

_____

_____

_____

18. Is your organization a membership organization?
Yes ✓ No _____.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?
See # 16 above.

_____

_____

_____

_____

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +	☐				
B. 500-1,000	☐				
C. 100-500	☐				
D. - 100	☑	✓			

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes ✓ No ____

The last two years?

Yes ✓ No ____

Please comment: Integration is a fact here now and has the majority public support. Housing is the most critical shortage although there has been some improvement.

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes ✓ No ____ Please comment: This is not a typical community as so many residents come from all over the U.S. and the level of education is very high. Although there are groups with hardened attitudes I think the constructive attitudes of others is rubbing off. The violence and rioting in the cities, however, are not helping the cause.

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with? Of course this issue hasn't been amply dealt with. Unless the moderates continue to lead, however, we are in for trouble.

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area?

Mrs. Harold W. Gliddon, Pres.
Women's Day Alliance
Unitarian Church of Arlington
4444 Arlington Blvd.
Arlington, Va. 22204

MRS. HAROLD W. GLIDDEN
5149 N. 37th Street
Arlington, Virginia 22207

ARLINGTON, VA.
JUL 23 PM 1966

Mr. Antony Whitfield
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta
Georgia 30303

rec'd 7/26/66

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF
VIRGINIA

Box 964
Lexington, Va. 24450
July 25, 1966

Mr. Antony Whitfield
Assistant to Dir. of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta ,Georgia 30303

Dear sir,

Your single set of a ten(10) page questionnaire entitled "Who Speaks To the White South" was received at the office of the League of Women Voters of Virginia recently.

I am not taking time to fill in this very large questionnaire for the rather good reason that the aims and the objectives of the State League and of the local leagues in Virginia are the same in the matter of civil rights; equality of opportunity in education and employment:and are based on our National current agenda study item on the Development of Human Resources. This is a matter that your Coun Council should be aware of since there is obviously communication between your office and our National office.

Since we have both white and negro members, and since we accept both under membership qualifications that are simple, direct and clearly stated , I think that any further statements from me would be unnecessary.

Cordially yours,
Marjorie F. Fletcher
Marjorie F. Fletcher, State President
(Mrs. Richard R. Fletcher.)

Copies to:Mrs. Alexander P. Guyol, National Public Relations Chm.
Mrs. Throckmorton
Mrs. Naumann
Mrs. Baum.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF ARKANSAS

Rec'd 7/27/66

4403 Presley Avenue
Fort Smith, Arkansas
July 24, 1966

Mr. Antony Whitfield
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Whitfield:

Recently I received a questionnaire re race relations from you. Since my organization is a state organization made up of local Leagues these questions did not apply directly and were difficult to answer.

Our organization encourages all people regardless of race to vote and to be an informed voter. All local Leagues strive to get voting information material to all voters and do a good job of it. We worked hard to do away with the poll tax as a requirement for voting and were able to keep a literacy test requirement out of our new permanent registration system. We got information on registering to negro people.

Our membership is open to all races and most local Leagues have had a few colored people join. Sorry to say only a few remain active for any length of time. Negro leaders are overworked and have to limit themselves. They have dropped their membership but look to the Leagues for voting material which they can pass on to their people. Usually they attend open meetings which we sponsor.

One of our national items is Development of Human Resources and the League has kept this item including all races. Several local Leagues worked hard in Headstart programs. Also several years ago Leagues in Arkansas worked hard to defeat proposed amendments setting up school placement laws - laws which would have permitted students to transfer to all white schools.

The League probably has been criticised for accepting negro members but we ignore such criticism and to date it has not hurt us. I think this will continue. We do not participate in demostrations but we do not take any stand for or against. To us they are fellow citizens and that is the way we treat them.

Sincerely,

Mrs. E. E. Elkins

Mrs. E.E. Elkins
President

Rec'd 7/28/66

2194 Parkway Drive
Riverland Terrace
Charleston, S.C. 29407

Mr. Antony Whitfield
Assistant to the
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Whitfield:

I am very grateful that your organization contacted me in relation to the enclosed questionnaire as I am vitally concerned with the issue with which it deals. I am afraid, however, that the organization with w hich I am connected in this regard, the League of Women Voters, does nothing in the area of race relations. In fact, I know of no white group in the Charleston area that has this as a main concern.

Aside from other groups to which I belong, I have been relatively active, if not very active, in the civil rights movement in the Negro community here, probably because there was no other way or group thru which to express my concern. I am constantly faced with the question, however, as to the white persons role in the movement: Is there a role for the white person or should all his efforts be directed to trying to change the attitude of those in the white community? I would be perfectly happy to work in this area, but feel that one is most effective working thru or with a group and as I said, I believe there are no such groups in Charleston (and I am not an organizer!) If you were ever to have a free moment I would appreciate very much your comments on the question of the white persons role in the civil rights movement especially as it finds expression thru Negro groups.

I would also appreciate a copy of your findings from this questionnaire when it is printed. It might be helpful in starting something within the white community here.

Sincerely,

Barbara R. Kingston
(Mrs. P. F.)

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?

To become informed on current issues and to inform the public on such issues

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? No

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites ☐
B. Upper income Negroes ☐
C. Middle income whites ☐
D. Middle income Negroes ☐
E. Lower income whites ☐
F. Lower income Negroes ☐

A. Whites with grammar school education ☐
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☐
C. Whites with high school education ☐
D. Negroes with high school education ☐
E. Whites with college education ☐
F. Negroes with college education ☐

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☐
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☐
D. Distribution of literature ☐

1) Your own ☐
2) Other sources ☐

Please specify: _____

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? _____

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment: John Birch Soc., White Citizens' Council, the newspapers, the school board.

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☑
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes ____ No ____. Please comment: ____

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? _____

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: _____

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes _____ No _____.

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area? *

Positive ✓ Negative ✓ Both, depending on the individual. Demonstrations have pricked the consciences of some, antagonize others.

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?

Yes ✓ No _____. Please comment: They are aware of the problem. Demonstrations helped to bring about this awareness as did other factors such as civil rights legislation and integrating itself.

* We have had no local demonstrations lately, but distant demonstrations have had their effect.

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?
Yes _____ No _____.

Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? Since I have been a member I feel that it has been too concerned with informing its own membership and has neglected the community as a whole. This is not progress.

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment: ____

_____

_____

_____

_____

18. Is your organization a membership organization?
Yes ✓ No _____.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?

_____

_____

_____

_____

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +	☐				✓
B. 500-1,000	☐		✓		
C. 100-500	☑	✓			
D. - 100	☐				

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes ✓ No ____

The last two years?

Yes ✓ No ____

Please comment: Jobs for Negroes are opening up that were not available 5 or even 2 years ago. Film such a Patch of Blue would not have been shown 5 years ago; now they are seen by integrated audiences.

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes ✓ No ____ Please comment: In time, but how I do not know.

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with? The issue of race relations will never have been dealt with adequately until it is no longer an issue, until equality is a fact, until we are - in any community - one community

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area? No.

United Church Women

PURPOSE

"To unite Church Women in their allegiance to their Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, through a program looking to their integration in the total life and work of the church and to the building of a world Christian community."

To provide a means for Christian fellowship across denominational lines on a state-wide basis.

To promote and extend the cooperative work of church women in local churches and communities and to further the development of units of United Church Women according to patterns suggested by the Department of United Church Women.

Rec'd 7/28/'66

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?

_____

_____

_____

_____

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? Yes

_____

_____

_____

_____

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites ☑
B. Upper income Negroes ☑
C. Middle income whites ☑
D. Middle income Negroes ☑
E. Lower income whites ☐
F. Lower income Negroes ☑

A. Whites with grammar school education ☐
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☑
C. Whites with high school education ☑
D. Negroes with high school education ☑
E. Whites with college education ☑
F. Negroes with college education ☑

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☐
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☑
D. Distribution of literature ☐

1) Your own ☑
2) Other sources ☐

Please specify: Changing attitudes at every opportunity

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? Tradition that won't let people change - misunderstanding of Nat'l Council of Churches efforts. Churches keep being narrow & not open their doors to all people -

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment: Newspapers and City Officials keep things thus way they want it and smother the truth.

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☑
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes ____ No ✓. Please comment: Because they can't control all the women in church organizations

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? The Negro needs to have more educational opportunities which will raise their own moral levels for on the average in the South they are so ignorant which gives them no help in morals - also they are just now being paid enough to live a little better. The low cent pay keeps them down. I sent my

maid to college (because she is Christian & has been so good to help the white) and she is teaching here & makes around $300 a month. Has bought a little brick home and lives well now.

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: I see many changing in their former attitudes. I try not to be radical on anything but as I have opportunity (S.S. class, WSCS, friends) I try to drop a pearl here & there to help them see God's plan for all His people & that God is working today, bringing about these changes.

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

    A. Highly influential ☐
    B. Influential ☐
    C. Somewhat influential ☑
    D. Almost without influence ☐

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes ____ No ✓. (only thru our programs)

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?
    Positive ✓ (with some) Negative with the narrow ones who don't want to change.

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?
    Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment: ____
    And its the only thing that has helped bring the Negro up. But the riots and lawless ones are hurting the good that has been done by the peaceful demonstrations. The demonstrations have made businesses open to all people (eating places, employment etc).

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?
Yes _____ No ✓ (only nationally + thru our programs)

Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes ✓ No _____. Please comment:

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? _____
With migrants
" Mentally retarded
" Juvenile delinquents -

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes ✓ No _____. Please comment: _____
Christian Social Relations

18. Is your organization a membership organization?
Yes ✓ No _____.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?
80%

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +					
B. 500-1,000					
C. 100-500		150	1,000 approx		
D. - 100					

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes ✓ No ____

The last two years?

Yes ✓ No ____

Please comment: But the riots in Watts, Cleveland, Chicago, Georgia, Mississippi have hurt - It makes them afraid of "black power" that has recently been emphasized which along with lawlessness that goes on makes them wonder if the Negro did get on equal basis would he be able to be of help to our nation

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes ____ No ✓ Please comment:

Not for a long time. Some of the die hards have to die out - It will take a long time for some to change but I think using the Negro in TV programs and bringing the educated ones to the front in different areas employing them in business & integrating the schools (from the first grade) will eventually make them to be accepted as a human being - We're not in ~~for~~ inter-marriage

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with? Continue even tho' the government has to force them to do right (as Lincoln did) but continue in an educational peacable way - Some people have to be forced to do the right thing but in God's good time & his plan for our world, it will come about

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area?

Only thru United Church Women
Also Head Start program

P.S. I am a southerner, born in Georgia & lived in Louisiana 64 yrs - but I love all of God's people and want to see them all have dignity as a person (over)

I have helped three Negro girls get scholarship for college from our legislators.

I have talked in Negro churches here for their observance of Woman's Society Day twice -

I have conducted the May Fellowship program in WCW in a Negro church this year.

I have loaned a poor Negro girl money to buy her food at the ~~college~~ cafeteria when she would need it (often)

I have supplied cover for the maid I sent to college ~~after two~~ months to get her teacher training as she had to stay ~~on~~ the campus for two months & I bought her food that two month - Paid her transportation in a car pool to commute to the college for three years (with the exception of the two months renting a room near the campus that I paid for).

I pray for opportunities to serve my Lord and when ~~these~~ opportunities come whether its for white, black, red or yellow I try to use them for His glory and to show the love ~~He~~ wants us to for our brothers over the world. I think example is better than any other way (and do it quietly).

I have sent a young Cohistenian medical student thru medical college to become a medical missionary in his country (if China doesn't take over)

I have sent a Cuban young man thru college & seminary in Cuba to be a Meth. minister & now trying to bring him to America.

I have sent three young Meth. men thru the seminary in Dallas for the Meth. church to be ministers -

As you can see, I try to do what the opportunity presents -

This is not told in a boastful or taking pride in what I have done, but I tell them it is God working thru me and to thank Him and not me -

Rec'd 8/2/66

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?
To unite women in their allegiance to their Lord & Master, Jesus Christ through a program looking to their integration in the total work of the church & to the building of a world Christian Community.

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? yes

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites ☑
B. Upper income Negroes ☑
C. Middle income whites ☑
D. Middle income Negroes ☑
E. Lower income whites ☐
F. Lower income Negroes ☐

A. Whites with grammar school education ☑
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☐
C. Whites with high school education ☑
D. Negroes with high school education ☑
E. Whites with college education ☑
F. Negroes with college education ☑

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☐
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☑
D. Distribution of literature ☑

Studies
Programs
Magazine articles
Workshops

1) Your own ☑
2) Other sources ☑

Please specify: _____

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? _____

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
Yes ____ No ✓. Please comment: _____

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☑
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment: ____

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? None really within our own ranks as we are completely integrated. I do have some trouble in getting some Negro women to carry them after they accept responsibility

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: We have reports from United Church Women organization over the state.

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

A. Highly influential ☑
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes ____ No Not as an organization

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?
Positive ____ Negative Some positive, most negative. We have had no demonstrations near me.

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?
Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment: ____

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?
Yes ✓ No ____.

Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment:

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? ____
United Nations
Migrant work
Literacy

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes ____ No ____. Please comment: ____
Christian Social Relations is the Committee thru which this work is done but many more than the Committee work.

18. Is your organization a membership organization?
Yes ✓ No ____.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?
80 %

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +	☐		✓		✓
B. 500-1,000	☐				
C. 100-500	☐				
D. - 100	☐	✓			

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes ✓ No ____

The last two years?

Yes ✓ No ____

Please comment: ____

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes ✓ No ____ Please comment: ____

The attitude of 90% of the people has changed for the Good.

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

Our organization is completely integrated on all levels, National State, local.

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with?

We need to continue

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area? yes

Rec'd 8/5/66

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

121 EAST THIRD STREET
CHARLOTTE, N. C. 28202
AREA CODE 704-376-6833

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August 4, 1966

Mr. Antony Whitfield
Assistant to the Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Whitfield:

Here is the return of the questionnaire you sent us. We could probably make use of about five to be sent to local councils. Would you send them to us and we could see that they get distributed. We would be as prompt as possible.

I'll probably be seeing you in Atlanta next week and we can discuss this further.

Sincerely yours,

Will C. Allred, Jr.

Will C. Allred, Jr.

WCAjr/b

"To strive to improve the economic, civic, social and cultural conditions of all the people of North Carolina without regard to race, religion and national origin, through research, education, communication and dissemination of pertinent information."

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?

(See Attached Mimeograph Sheet)

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? YES

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites ☑
B. Upper income Negroes ☑
C. Middle income whites ☑
D. Middle income Negroes ☑
E. Lower income whites ☐
F. Lower income Negroes ☐

A. Whites with grammar school education ☐
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☐
C. Whites with high school education ☐
D. Negroes with high school education ☐
E. Whites with college education ☑
F. Negroes with college education ☑

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☑
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☐
D. Distribution of literature ☑

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

PROPOSED REVISION

THE BYLAWS

(Revised as of October 20, 1965)

ARTICLE I

Name

The name of this organization is the North Carolina Council on Human Relations.

ARTICLE II

Purpose and Policy

The purpose of this organization is to strive to improve the economic, civic, social and cultural conditions of all the people of North Carolina without regard to race, religion or national origin, through research, education, communication and dissemination of pertinent information. Specifically this organization will:

1. Help organize and work with local councils on human relations.
2. Promote confrontation on a basis of equality among all racial and ethnic groups.
3. Encourage equal and integrated education, employment, and housing for all the people of North Carolina, and help keep citizens informed of their rights, opportunities, and obligations.
4. Encourage young people to take an active role in all phases of human relations and to take full advantage of their opportunities.
5. Attempt to ascertain the problems confronting North Carolina citizens, suggest and help to carry out logical solutions.

ARTICLE III

Membership

Sec. 1. Qualifications. Any resident of North Carolina who is in accord with the purposes as set forth in Article II may become a member of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations.

1) Your own ☑
2) Other sources ☑

Please specify: _____

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? _____
Lethargy; lack of sense of purpose by leadership of the organization.

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment: KKK

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☑
D. Almost without influence ☐

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes ____ No ✓. Please comment: ____
We are unknown at this time.

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? Same as 5.

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: through membership returns;

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☑

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes ____ No ✓.

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?
Positive ✓ Negative ✓

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?
Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment: ____

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?
Yes ✓ No _____.

Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes ✓ No _____. Please comment:

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? _____

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes _____ No ✓. Please comment: _____

18. Is your organization a membership organization?
Yes ✓ No _____.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?
Probably 10% are actively engaged.

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +					
B. 500-1,000					
C. 100-500	✓		✓		
D. - 100					

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes ✓ No _____

The last two years?

Yes _____ No _____

Please comment: _____

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes ✓ No _____ Please comment: _____

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with? Feel issue has not been amply dealt with but probably a significant portion of power people in North Carolina feel that it has been dealt with enough.

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area? No

Red 8/5/'66

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?

To help spread the Gospel of Jesus Christ

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? _____

It is a part of our program

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites ☐
B. Upper income Negroes ☐
C. Middle income whites ☐
D. Middle income Negroes ☐
E. Lower income whites ☐
F. Lower income Negroes ☐

MAKE NO SUCH EFFORT

A. Whites with grammar school education ☐
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☐
C. Whites with high school education ☐
D. Negroes with high school education ☐
E. Whites with college education ☐
F. Negroes with college education ☐

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

OUR ORGANIZATION IS AN INTERGRATED GROUP, ALWAYS HAS BEEN.

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☐
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☐
D. Distribution of literature ☐

NO SUCH EFFORTS

1) Your own ☐
2) Other sources ☐

Please specify: _____

_____

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? NONE

_____

_____

_____

_____

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
Yes _____ No _____. Please comment: HAVE NO KNOwledge of any

_____

_____

_____

_____

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment: ____

_____

_____

_____

_____

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? _____

_____

_____

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: ~~Do not try~~

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

make no effort either way

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes _____ No NONE.

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?

Positive _____ Negative VERY DEFINITELY NEGATIVE

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?

Yes _____ No NO. Please comment: I think they have definitely hindered the progress of real good race relations.

People who used to be very interested are no longer interest at all.

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?
Yes _____ No _X_.

Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment:

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? _____
Leadership education, legislation, education
awareness of others concerns and needs and desires

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes _X_ No _____. Please comment: ____
It domes under one department of our work and is hadnled as any other phase of our work is handled. No more stress strain than the other departments.

18. Is your organization a membership organization?
Yes _X_ No _____.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?
Ours is defintely an intergrated group and has been from its beginning, We know no difference

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +	X		X		
B. 500-1,000					
C. 100-500					
D. - 100					

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes X No _____

The last two years?

Yes x No _____

Please comment: at present there is a very definite change in attitudes

Demonstrations and riots are taking their toll

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes _____ No x Please comment: _____

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with? "It is time to let up" We have many other areas that need our attention Youth, alcohol, poor white people, sick people, unchurched, and un educated and neglected

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area? No, our program is aimed at all people white and colored

Rec'd 8/5/66

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?

to unite Church women in worship, study and service

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations?

No

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites ☑
B. Upper income Negroes ☑
C. Middle income whites ☑
D. Middle income Negroes ☑
E. Lower income whites ☑
F. Lower income Negroes ☑

A. Whites with grammar school education ☑
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☑
C. Whites with high school education ☑
D. Negroes with high school education ☑
E. Whites with college education ☑
F. Negroes with college education ☑

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☐
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☑
D. Distribution of literature ☑

Church meetings + study groups

1) Your own ☐
2) Other sources ☐

Please specify: _____

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? apathy of church women to confront issues concerning human relations

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment: the John Birch Society causes the most static.

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☑
D. Almost without influence ☐

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment: To the extent that it confuses people in their understanding of the issues.

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? usually none

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: We measure our effectiveness by the participation of church women in our area of social relations

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☑
D. Almost without influence ☐

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes ____ No ✓.

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?
Positive ____ Negative ✓

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?
Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment: ____

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?
Yes ✓ No ____.
Are the responses to such as individuals appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment:

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress?
migrant ministry - overseas relief

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment:

18. Is your organization a membership organization?
Yes ____ No ✓.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +	✓		✓		
B. 500-1,000					
C. 100-500					
D. - 100					

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes ✓ No _____

The last two years?

Yes _____ No _____

Please comment: _____

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes ✓ No _____ Please comment:

United church women will be limited in reaching these people

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with? It is most certainly a continuing concern and we must keep at it

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area? It reaches only those who are in United Church Women

Rec'd 5/9/'66

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?

Ecumenical relations
Christian service

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? _____

yes, indirectly

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites ☐
B. Upper income Negroes ☐
C. Middle income whites ☐
D. Middle income Negroes ☐
E. Lower income whites ☐
F. Lower income Negroes ☐

A. Whites with grammar school education ☐
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☐
C. Whites with high school education ☐
D. Negroes with high school education ☐
E. Whites with college education ☐
F. Negroes with college education ☐

All who will attend our meetings / All are invited

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. ~~Rallies and town~~ meetings ☑
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☐
D. Distribution of literature ☑

1) Your own ☐
2) Other sources ☑

Please specify: Material from National Council of Churches

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? _____

Just individual apathy

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment: _____

But they have not openly hindered our organization

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☑
D. Almost without influence ☐

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes ____ No ✓. Please comment: ____

not directly

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? _____

personal prejudice only, and this is decreasing

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: Numbers attending monthly and special meetings.

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☑
D. Almost without influence ☐

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes ____ No ✓.
There have been few such demonstrations in our town

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?
Positive ____ Negative ✓

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?
Yes ____ No ____. Please comment: They can't help but make people aware, but they often hinder progress

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?
Yes _____ No ✓.

Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment:

appeals have been unnecessary. We have offered support to our excellent civic commissions

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? _____

help with poverty program
Mental Health program
Support of Church World Service

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes ✓ No _____. Please comment: ___

but the work of the committee is integrated in every department

18. Is your organization a membership organization?
Yes ✓ No _____.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?

Our membership is interracial and is more concerned with relationships than activities

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +					
B. 500-1,000					
C. 100-500		✓			
D. - 100					

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes ✓ No ____

The last two years?

Yes ✓ No ____

Please comment: more x more natural interracial friendships

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes ✓ and No ✓ Please comment:

depends on the individual - Some can Some never

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with?

Much has not been accomplished yet, but it is "on the road." In our organization the subject is "worn threadbare". It is much better to work together on other issues, most of which indirectly include race

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area?

We have had
Now it is chiefly on poverty

SOUTHWEST REGIONAL COUNCIL

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

1906

1809 TOWER PETROLEUM BLDG. • DALLAS, TEXAS • 75201 • RIverside 7-3531

August 11, 1966
cc: Harry Fleischman
Will Katz

Mr. Anthony Whitfield
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Whitfield:

Your letter of July 8 regarding the survey to determine who speaks to the white south reached me upon my return from vacation. This will account for the delay in its acknowledgement.

Since our Council covers the area of Texas, Oklahoma and Arkansas, I would suggest that you either send me ten copies of the questionnaire or write directly to the persons listed on the attached sheet. This coverage will give you a broader factual base of conditions in this area.

If you send me the additional copies, I shall distribute them to these persons with a personal note and speak to them when I visit the respective communities.

Sincerely yours,

Gustave Falk

Gustave F. Falk

GFF:o
Attachment

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Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022

American Jewish Committee
Southwest Region

Chapter	Chairman	Address
Dallas	Leo M. Davis	1809 Tower Petroleum Bldg. Dallas, Texas 75201
Houston	William E. Ladin	512 West Bldg. Houston, Texas 77002
San Antonio	Stanley Schoenbaum	1501 Alamo National Bldg. San Antonio, Texas 78205
Fort Worth, Texas	David A. Feld	1100 T&P Passenger Bldg. Fort Worth, Texas
Tyler	Dr. Irving Brown	Peoples Bank Bldg. Tyler, Texas
Beaumont	Stanley A. Teiser	1105 22nd Street Beaumont, Texas 77706
Little Rock	Sam Strauss, Sr.	595 Tower Bldg. Little Rock, Ark.

League of Women Voters

of South Carolina

109 Whispering Pines Circle
Columbia, S. C.

August 12, 1966

Mr. Antony Whitfield
Assistant to the
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Whitfield:

I am sorry that I have to return unanswered the enclosed questionnaire as the requested information is not available.

The purpose of the League of Women Voters is to encourage political responsibility through active and informed participation of citizens in government. So, the things you ask about don't come within the scope of League work.

Many of our members are active in the field of Human Relations; but they're working through other organizations and the League has no record of their activities.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth H. Moore

Mrs. Joseph P. Moore
President

DURHAM COUNCIL
On HUMAN RELATIONS

POST OFFICE BOX 8713
FOREST HILLS STATION
DURHAM, N. C. 27707

August 26, 1966

8/29/66

Mr. Anthony Whitfield
Assistant to the Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Whitfield:

I am returning the enclosed questionnaire which was completed by our President, Dr. Harmon L. Smith.

Very truly yours,

Nathaniel B. White

Nathaniel B. White

NBW:my

Enclosure

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS FOR THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?

The purpose of the Durham Council on Human Relations is to improve the quality of human relations within the Durham community. The key word is "human." The Council takes the position that the worth of every individual, regardless of his race, religion, or national origin, should be respected because he is a human being.

By-Laws, Art. II.

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? yes

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites [ ]
B. Upper income Negroes [ ]
C. Middle income whites [X]
D. Middle income Negroes [X]
E. Lower income whites [ ]
F. Lower income Negroes [ ]

A. Whites with grammar school education [ ]
B. Negroes with grammar school education [ ]
C. Whites with high school education [ ]
D. Negroes with high school education [X]
E. Whites with college education [X]
F. Negroes with college education [X]

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns [ ]
B. Rallies and town meetings [X]
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts [ ]
D. Distribution of literature [X]

1) Your own /X/

2) Other sources /X/

Please specify: Our materials have included both those of our own composition and others furnished by local, state, & federal governmental agencies.

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? Generally, apathy; but agressive moves by the Council (e.g., in employment and advancement policies & practices) have met more direct resistance. The KKK is active in this state but we detect less overt hostility than covert and circumventing methods of maintaining the status quo ante. Both white & Negro political, economic, & religious leaders need continually to be nudged.

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?

Yes X No _____. Please comment: The KKK is active, but the measure of their activity is uncertain. Less blatantly, but probably more effectively, one would have to include in these groups such professional organizations as the realtors. Groups concerned with housing, employment, & education (in that order) are primary concerns to us at the present.

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be:

A. Highly influential /_/

B. Influential /X/

C. Somewhat influential /_/

D. Almost without influence /_/

ranking would depend upon the group in question

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues?

Yes X No _____. Please comment: Hampered in the sense that there is still need for our Council to exist and continue programming in these areas; but no direct threats to our work.

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? Chiefly tactical in nature, although we have not yet initiated a program which failed to receive the Council's unanimous support.

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?
Yes X No _____. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: Such assessment has, so far, been mainly in terms of the measure in which we have accomplished our goals. In this regard, we could cite the desegregation of certain agencies participating in the United Fund as a direct consequence of our interest and involvement.

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

A. Highly influential [ ]
B. Influential [ ]
C. Somewhat influential [X]
D. Almost without influence [ ]

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations?
Yes _____ No X -. not officially, though members of the Council do individually do participate.

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?
Positive _____ Negative _____ both, though now probably more negative than positive.

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens in your area to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations? Yes X No _____. Please comment: Demonstrations certainly dramatize problems in race relations, but their present effectiveness apart from calling attention to the problems is very uncertain.

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations? Yes X No _____.

Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes X No X. Please comment: We have met with modest success & modest failure (cf. #10 above). Our appeals to the City Council have, we think, been handled less satisfactorily than those directed to other than public officials.

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? education, employment -- and we will turn attention in the fall to housing.

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes X No _____.

Please comment: "Operation Nudge" is our special committee particularly charged with this responsibility. Our group is still small enough, however, that the entire Council can and does participate in this activity.

18. Is your organization ~~is~~ a membership organization? Yes X No_____.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?

rough estimate of about 60%

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +	/ /				
B. 500 - 1,000	/ /				
C. 100-500	/X/	X			
D. - 100	/ /		X	X	X

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years? Yes X No _____.

The last two years? Yes X No _____.

Please comment: The change in attitude we detect is a constructive one and takes mainly two forms: one is simply an increasing willingness to accept change; the other is a willingness to help shape the change that is inevitable.

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes X No _____. Please comment: One would always want to hold out this hope, though it is probably a more viable hope among the young than the old.

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

We have indicated our interest in several of the areas affected by discrimination -- e.g., education, housing, employment. We have undertaken, however, to stress our concern for HUMAN RELATIONS on the grounds that this is both a moreinclusive concept and one which will likely generate more popular support than what is generally connoted by "race relations."

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with? **Race relations will doubtless continue to be an important problem area in our city for some time, despite the progress made and being made. We detect distinctive needs for continuing our concern in this area.**

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area? **Not as such; though all that we undertake in the area is hopefully geared to incorporate that interest. Whatever education we accomplish is probably chiefly the result of our involvement in issues.**

Rec'd 8/29/66

GREENSBORO COMMUNITY COUNCIL
Greensboro, N. C.
8-26-1966 2298 Kery Drive 27408

Mr. Antony Whitfield
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Whitfield:

Re the questionnaire sent me from the Council of Human Relations: it will be impossible to fill it out before our board meeting Sept. 13th.

If this will be too late, kindly let me know.

Yours truly,

O H Folger

O. Herschel Folger
President

Sharecroppers Fund OK.

ROUGH DRAFT (Sample Test

Heller & Heal Sharecroppers Fund

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

1. What is the main purpose of your organization? Associating rural people with organizing crops, themselves and to understand federal programs and use them.

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? ~~does not apply~~

Yes

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income white ☐
B. Upper income Negro ☐
C. Middle income white ☑
D. Middle income Negro ☑
E. Lower income white ☑
F. Lower income Negro ☑

A. Whites with grammar school education ☑
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☑
C. White with high school education ☑
D. Negroes with high school education ☑
E. Whites with college education ☑
F. Negroes with college education ☑

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☐
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☐
D. Distribution of literature:
   1) Your own ☑
   2) Other sources ☑
      (Please specify)
E. Informal contacts ✓
F. Other
   (Please specify)

5. On the issue of race relations, what hinderances to your work do you encounter in your area? NA

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
   Yes X No _____
   (Please comment)

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

   A. Highly influential ☐
   B. Influential ☐
   C. Somewhat influential ☒
   D. Almost without influence ☐

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization in the civil rights and race relations issue?
   Yes X No _____
   (Please comment)

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? None

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?
    Yes _____ No X
    (Please comment and specify such methods, if any)

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

    A. Highly influential ☐
    B. Influential ☐
    C. Somewhat influential ☐
    D. Almost without influence ☒

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations?

    Yes X No ____

13. Do you feel that such demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?

    Positive X Negative ____

14. Do such demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?

    Yes X No ____
    (Please comment)

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?

    Yes X No ____

    Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily?

    Yes ____ No X
    (Please comment)

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress?

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization?

    Yes ____ No X
    (Please comment)

18. Is your organization composed of active members?

    Yes ____ No X

19. What percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?

20. What is the size of your organization?

A. Over a thousand ☐ doesn't apply
B. Five hundred to a thousand ☐
C. One hundred to five hundred ☐
D. Less than one hundred ☐

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area or areas on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes X No ____

The last two years?

Yes ____ No ____

(Please comment)

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached?

Yes ____ No X
(Please comment)

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions. Not directly concerned with race relation.

ROUGH DRAFT (SAMPLE TEST

Civil Liberties Union

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?

The defense of civil liberties in the courts and legislative bodies, state and federal, and the education of the public generally regarding civil liberties concerns.

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations?

yes.

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income white ☐
B. Upper income Negro ☒
C. Middle income white ☒
D. Middle income Negro ☒
E. Lower income white ☒ } try but don't succeed
F. Lower income Negro ☒

A. Whites with grammar school education ☒ NO
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☒ NO
C. White with high school education ☒
D. Negroes with high school education ☒
E. Whites with college education ☒
F. Negroes with college education ☒

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☒
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☒
D. Distribution of literature:
   1) Your own ☒
   2) Other sources (Please specify) ☒ Southern Regional Council reports; Press and other media, reprints
E. Informal contacts yes
F. Other (Please specify)

5. On the issue of race relations, what hinderances to your work do you encounter in your area?

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
   Yes ✓ No ____ more important in
   (Please comment)
   East, Southwest + Southeast GA than Atlanta. They intimidate lawyers taking civil rights cases

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

   A. Highly influential ☐
   B. Influential ☐
   C. Somewhat influential ☑ out of Atlanta
   D. Almost without influence ☐

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization in the civil rights and race relations issue?
   Yes ✓ No ____ Yes, in securing lawyers
   (Please comment)

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks?
   too many upper-middle class white liberals who cannot empathize with denial of constitutional rights of lower class

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?
    Yes ____ No ____
    (Please comment and specify such methods, if any)

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

    A. Highly influential ☑ — sometimes and on some issues
    B. Influential ☐
    C. Somewhat influential ☐
    D. Almost without influence ☐

negro criminal defendants

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations?

    Yes _____ No ✓

13. Do you feel that such demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?

    Positive ✓ Negative _____

14. Do such demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?

    Yes ✓ No _____
    (Please comment)

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?

    Yes ✓ No _____

    Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily?

    Yes ✓ No _____ If there's enough promise
    (Please comment)
    of violence, the response is good

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress?

    police practices, separation of church + state

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization?

    Yes _____ No ✓
    (Please comment)

18. Is your organization composed of active members?

    Yes ✓ No _____

19. What percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities? 20%

20. What is the size of your organization?

A. Over a thousand ☐
B. Five hundred to a thousand ☑ in Ga. 85,000 nationally
C. One hundred to five hundred ☐
D. Less than one hundred ☐

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area or areas on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes ✓ No ____

The last two years?

Yes ✓ No ____

(Please comment) When 43% of the Registered voters are Negro, the whites are bound to get religion

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached?

Yes ✓ No ____ Coercion would work wonders
(Please comment)

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS FOR THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?
Lenoir County Inter-Racial Committee- formed in 1952-
"... to promote a harmonious relationship between the several racial groups within our community; to study problems as they arise and to seek to further a right and just settlement of the same."

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? Not except to keep the public informed of its activities thru local media and to conduct an annual Human Relations Institute at which prominent speakers are brought to the community to speak on race relations subjects.

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites ☐
B. Upper income Negroes ☐
C. Middle income whites ☐
D. Middle income Negroes ☐
E. Lower income whites ☐
F. Lower income Negroes ☐

A. Whites with grammar school education ☐
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☐
C. Whites with high school education ☐
D. Negroes with high school education ☐
E. Whites with college education ☐
F. Negroes with college education ☐

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☐
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☒
D. Distribution of literature ☐

1) Your own ☐

2) Other sources ☐

Please specify: _____

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? Extreme right white conservatives and Klan groups.

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
Yes XX No _____. Please comment: John Birch Society members and local Klan organization.

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be:

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential /XX/
D. Almost without influence ☐

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues?
Yes _____ No XXX. Please comment: except that at least two of our members have had crosses burned in the yards of their residences. One is a school board chairman, the other is a school principal so the cross burnings were probably related ~~the~~ to the school integration problem rather than to the activities of these two people as members of the Interracial committee.

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? Lack of a real program of work; Occasional weak leadership; infrequent meetings; not very much white interest unless the "pressure" is really on.

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?
Yes _____ No XX. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: _____

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

A. Highly influential [ ]
B. Influential [ ]
C. Somewhat influential [XX]
D. Almost without influence [ ]

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations?
Yes _____ No XX.

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?
Positive _____ Negative XX

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens in your area to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations? Yes XX No _____. Please comment: _____

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations? Yes XX No _____.

Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes XX No _____. Please comment: but appeals are generally handled by a small committee going to public officials and discussing problem rather than passing resolutions that appear in the press.

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? None. Purpose of the Lenoir County Inter-Racial Committee is to operate in Human relations field, and this has come to be restricted to race relations.

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes _____ No XX.
Please comment: but nearly all effective action from the organization comes as result of special committee work.

18. Is your organization is membership organization? Yes XX No_____.
Self-perpetuating. Limited to total of 36; 18 white & 18 Negro.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities? 1/3 to 1/2 takes some part. The remaining members generally only participate by occasional attendance at quarterly meetings of the organization.

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +	/ /				
B. 500 - 1,000	/ /				
C. 100-500	/ /				
D. - 100	/XX/	36			

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years? Yes XX No _____.

The last two years? Yes XX No _____.

Please comment: The committee was formed 2 years before the Supreme Court School decisions and has worked quietly since then. Local attitudes have probably been changed more by activities in other parts of the nation and by Federal actions than by activities of the committee locally, but each has played some part.

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes _____ No XX. Please comment: Attitudes have solidified in that those opposing constructive approaches are no longer likely to be changed. There are no doubt still many uncommitted in the "middle ground" who can still be reached but for the hard core opponents it will take another generation.

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

See enclosed programs from recent Human Relations Institutes for our major public project. Probably the biggest service rendered by the committee in early years was keeping open lines of communication between the races and the "training" of some white leadership which became willing to speak out in the early 60's- and willing to serve on publically appointed Mayor's Bi-racial Committee and on local Good Neighbor Council.

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with? We still have race problems which no attempt has yet been made to solve- i.e. Open Housing. We still have a long way to go in public school integration and in other areas. Locally we must grapple with the roots of some of these problems- i.e. poverty, etc. so there is really every reason to continue efforts.

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area? No, but one could be very effective if it could be started thru the various local churches via the Ministerial Fellowship.

W. S. Page

William S. Page
Member
Lenoir County Inter-Racial Committee
P.O. Box 871
Kinston, N. C. 28501

-0-

SOUTHERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E., ATLANTA, GA. 30303
523-3391

Mr. Antony Lehrkfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Ted Freedman

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?
To combat discrimination against minorities, to promote better intergroup understanding and cooperation among religious, racial groups.

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? yes.
Offers consultative services, maintains a human relations audio-visual library, various publications available, catalogues attached

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites ☑
B. Upper income Negroes ☑
C. Middle income whites ☑
D. Middle income Negroes ☑
E. Lower income whites ☐
F. Lower income Negroes ☐

A. Whites with grammar school education ☐
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☐
C. Whites with high school education ☑
D. Negroes with high school education ☑
E. Whites with college education ☑
F. Negroes with college education ☑

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town (meetings) ☑
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☑
D. Distribution of literature ☑

1) Your own ☐
2) Other sources ☐

Please specify: _____

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? Vested interests, established mores, existing prejudices

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment: White Citizen's Councils, KKK, John Birch Society, radical right organizations

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☑
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment: largely by creating a climate of fear; with some groups relationship to power structure and semblance of respectability impedes work requiring constant counteraction

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? Growing concern with Negro militancy - "Black Power". Concern with what appears to be lack of "self-help" programs of Negro groups.

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: Informal assessment, willingness to participate in our programs, use materials, etc.

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☑
D. Almost without influence ☐

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes ____ No ✓.

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?
Positive ✓ Negative ____

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?
Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment: Important to dramatize issues, and enable Conservative white leadership to implement change without threat to positions or status.

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?
Yes ✓ No _____.

Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes ✓ No _____. Please comment:

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? General area of inter-religious cooperation, Exposure and Counteraction of political extremism.

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes ✓ No _____. Please comment: On a national level we have a special committee. On a regional level it is a part of our over-all programming

18. Is your organization a membership organization?
Yes _____ No ✓.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +	▱	2,000	4,000		500,000
B. 500-1,000	▱				
C. 100-500	▱				
D. - 100	▱				

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?
Yes ✓ No ____

The last two years?
Yes ✓ No ____

Please comment: Generally favorable changes are discernable. However there is growing evidence of a hardening of lines, some fear and apprehension with "riots", negro aggressiveness and a tendency to want to hold off somewhat with direct involvement.

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes ✓ No ____ Please comment: ____

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

1. One major activity in area of police training programs in integrating relations.
2. Teacher training programs, in-service, etc.
3. Work with religious leaders as to their specific role in interpreting change and desirability of same.

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with? NO! Must be pursued vigorously. Each organization has its peculiar contribution to make.

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area? Only internally with our own constituency.

Some Tentative Suggestions for Publications and New South Material

These are general suggestions, not hard-and-fast assignment ideas. They would be modified and re-arranged by (a) who might be available to do them, and (b) what is developed by further exploration of the subject matters. Both of these factors can be developed by an extensive talent hunt, as suggested. The subleties and significancies would be developed by talking with people knowledgeable in these areas.

I. Urban planning. Sam's study? Carry through with Atlanta, Richmond, Houston, Little Rock: the inner workings of segregated housing, ghettoization.

II. Fair employment and anti-poverty. Select 100 poorest counties in South and do rundown on what they've gotten from poverty program, and why they have not received more. Profiles of rural and urban poverty, white and Negro.

A summary survey of the employment situation in the South: estimate of amount of equal hiring; kinds of concerns doing it; a thorough discussion of the myth of unavailable Negroes; efficacy of Title VI enforcement; how to get such jobs.

A survey of state employment office practices . . . large sample of large city, small city, small town situation. Possibly with aid of Urban League and NAACP across South.

III. School Integration. Tape record Winifred and Connie on their efforts to encourage Negro parents to integrate schools and results.

Guidelines tightening: southern political and educational reaction; practical effect next fall.

Collection of student descriptions, Negro and white, all grades, of desegregation in action, good and bad.

IV. Welfare Programs. As a start, a rundown on the amounts spent each state, the per person, per family maximums and averages on the various kinds of aid, ADC, etc.

The case against ACD to fatherless children only; relation to Monyhan Report.

Technological unemployment.

Who, how many, what circumstances unemployment?

VI. Community organization and technical assistance. Check out SSOC's efforts with poor whites.

Al's information on efforts to get adequate, decently financed houses.

VII. Other:

1. Higher education in the South. Amount of desegregation; number of faculty ph.d's comparative, now and say 1950; number of graduate students, same comparison; amount federal research grants, same comparison, with explanation of why short-deal, i.e., lack of requests.

2. Whatever became of the southern school of fiction? Assessment of writing generally, including contributions of civil rights writers.

3. Economics. Basics of it: what are the major industries, agricultural products, state of mining, transportation, etc.? Latest per capita, per family income; unemployment, underemployment; birth rate. Assessment of trends, major shifts in above. New industry -- how much and what kind? Prevalence and effect of subsidizations of industry.

4. In terms of above, and other factors, outline a realistic political campaign platform -- in terms of the South's real needs. Offer it to both parties, for state and local use, and for a southern plank in the national convention platform. Moving southern politics, that is, away from race into reality.

5. What is the financial basis of Negro politics in the South? Who is paying the bills of Negro candidates? Are

costs comparable with white candidate campaigns? Are these sources entirely different, the same, or merely the black counterpart (business, special interests) of the white power structure? Is there anything in this picture which encourages low-cost campaigning, i.e., a freer political agent?

6. The radicals in the movement. We need to come to grips with this; all-black rationales in staffing and politics, etc. Viet Nam stances. Ask the hard questions.

7. The plight of the Negro teacher. How whites have effectively emasculated the logical leaders of Negro Southerners, the educators. Grade school, high school, college, teachers, administrators -- these have been the most intimidated of all the South's Negroes. And, having been blocked from normal pursuits, they are far more than white counterparts, the elite of Negro society. Is this changing to any extent? Importance on such things as anti-intellectualism in the movement . . . (See civil rights commission hearings, Prothro and Matthews, etc.)

8. In the Black Belt. A good reporter's tour of the Black Belt, its tent cities, cooperatives, political movements, demonstrations, poverty, small towns, changing agriculture, etc. A New South travel piece. Color story.

9. Who speaks to the white South? A survey, perhaps state by state, of what, if any, effective work is being done toward reaching the average white Southerner with the hard truths, the moral truths about desegregation, poverty, etc. The thesis to be proved or disproved would be that, by and large, the field has been vacated to the Birchers.

10. After the run-offs and assuming some victories, a story on a day with the new Negro sheriff of Killnigger County, Alabama.

11. Coalition. What has developed in the way of practical alignment of the forces that logically should be together in the South, politically and otherwise? With attention to the splits, as in Alabama, Tennessee, of labor and Negro politics; assessment of which has delivered most -- i. e., Negro vote more so than labor in Alabama. Implications of inability, ability to join forces.

12. Playing down South. From culture boom, to Atlanta Braves, auto racing and cock-fighting, how does the South re-create itself? Seeking anthropolitical significance.

13. The Continuing Crisis: A hard run-down on economic coercion, intimidation, reprisal. Methods, history, extent, results, efforts to counter. Case histories, lists of incidents.

The battlefields re-visited. Re-visit Albany, Birmingham, Selma, St. Augustine, Bogalusa -- to see the effect on Negro and white communities of the gains made by the sacrifices in each.

14. Survey of the extent of use of prison labor as a resource or source of resource of state governments. . . i.e., convict road gangs, etc. Relation of this to entrenched power of sheriffs, their ability to block needed county consolidations.

15. Labor's role in southern civil rights movement. What has organized labor done? Summary. Where could it do more? Forces working as a brake on further action. Management's lack of leadership as a contributing factor. Political action. Figures on organization.

16. Capital punishment. Why South retains it and why the move for elimination of makes little headway? Use of as a form of racial intimidation. Hard figures + racial breakdown on executions + examples of cases where guilt was questionable.

17. Textbooks and Negro history. Southern history as presented to school children.

18. Prisons. How is North Carolina plan working? Is theory still retaliation, punitive? How much progress toward rehabilitation? State level and federal.

19. The many Souths. (Reflections following state by state research for round-ups.) In Alabama, for instance, the primitive is still much in evidence. Slightly less so in Mississippi and Louisiana. Concern is still for voting rights. In Virginia and Tennessee it moves to more sophisticated plane. Tennessee primary in which both candidates are described as "acceptable" to Negro leadership. Yet across the state lines are Alabama and Mississippi. What are the forces that produced the differences -- political leadership, economics, industry, federal government, northern capital, Negro votes. Dramatic changes in recent years -- Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina. The outlook for the future.

20. Human Relations Councils and militant action groups. Definitions. Is there any basic differences in what they try to achieve or is the difference in means only? The

white liberal in the councils, the "respectable" civil rights group. The Negro in the councils.

21. Federal subsidization in the South . . . who gets what, which states get most (include industrial). What has it meant in desegregation or lack of it in highway construction, etc.?

22. Political methods and laws limiting involvement of the poor and the uneducated.

23. Survey of cities where the action was -- how have they changed? A look at former movement figures, e.g., Bob Moses. Contrast their progress or lack of it with political party workers, etc.

24. The use of grand juries and other mechanism for/against racism.

25. The decline in Negro land-holding. Hard figures. Why. How can trend be reversed (Bob Thompson, a good resource).

26. Negro churches -- a new look at their function. Contrast those that accept and those that reject racial status quo. Their leaders.

27. Courts and judges (federal and state) whose decisions generally undercut Supreme Court in racial area. Who are the liberal southern judges. What is right or wrong with system for their election or appointment.

28. The racial "undecideds" -- why they don't take positions . . . the kinds of people they are. Who and what position their lack of decision aids.

29. Occupational distribution -- changing trends, e.g., white replacements for tradional Negro bellboys.

30. The press and race.

31. The return of racism in Florida gubernatorial campaign.

32. Bussing in the South -- how its used to maintain segregation. Contrast with desire to use it for "racial balance."

ADDENDA:

Two suggestions from Al Ulmer:

1. The amount of outright defiance of the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Law across the South. Restaurants, motels, bathrooms. Documentable. Negroes still have to plan their trips in terms of places they know will accept them.

2. The ominous beginnings in South Carolina and Mississippi of a revival of post-construction statutes allowing local officials to be appointed rather than elected. Will correlate with Negro registration where such has been enacted.

Bit
al

Marion
attenda

on focus
d'after agree
avoid travelled
must knows?

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?

Community & Philanthropic Service
Better Human Relations

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? _____

Yes - thru the Anti Defamation League on a National Level

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites ☑
B. Upper income Negroes ☑
C. Middle income whites ☑
D. Middle income Negroes ☑
E. Lower income whites ☐
F. Lower income Negroes ☐

A. Whites with grammar school education ☐
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☐
C. Whites with high school education ☑
D. Negroes with high school education ☑
E. Whites with college education ☑
F. Negroes with college education ☑

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☐
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☑
D. Distribution of literature ☑

1) Your own ☐
2) Other sources ☐

Please specify: _____

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? _____
General Apathy
Fear of reprisal

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
Yes ✓ No ____. Please comment: All the prominent white racist groups - A plethora of conservative organizations, some smattering of Negro racists

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☑
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes ____ No ____. Please comment: yes - particularly the John Birch Society

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? _____
Apathy - Let someone else do it - fear of business reprisal

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: Most of this is done by the NATIONAL body

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

    A. Highly influential ☐
    B. Influential ☑
    C. Somewhat influential ☐
    D. Almost without influence ☐

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes _____ No ✓.

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?
    Positive _____ Negative ✓

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?
    Yes _____ No _____. Please comment: Yes, but not necessarily in a manner favorable to better race relations

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?
Yes ✓ No _____.

Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes ✓ No _____. Please comment:

This is not done on the local level

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? _____

Greater Religious tolerance — more awareness of inequities of treatment of religious minorities
Breakdown of quota systems in colleges

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes ✓ No _____. Please comment: _____

on local, District & National levels

18. Is your organization a membership organization?
Yes ✓ No _____.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?

60 %

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +	☑			✓	
B. 500-1,000	☐				
C. 100-500	☐				
D. - 100	☐				

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?
Yes ✓ No ____

The last two years?
Yes ✓ No ____

Please comment: ____

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes ✓ No ____ Please comment: ____

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

The interests of the ADL Arm of our org. is educational & legislative & is concerned with the protection of all minority groups with better housing laws, employment practices, & lessened social restrictions re religion. We also are concerned with consumer protection, beautification of our country and the ramifications of all far left & far right movements.

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with? _____

There is greater need now than ever before because of the "Black Power" element injected into the efforts of Negro groups to work toward greater equality

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area? yes

Study groups, workshops, publications, Books - ~~[illegible]~~ panel discussions, films

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?
(Sumter Council On Human Relations)
To conserve the human resources of the county. To improve education, employment, housing etc. enough that we can stop the migration drain of Negro youth ~~out~~ from high school age on.

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? Only by changing the status quo. The public doesn't understand the theories of pronouncements but it is reassured by a smoothly accomplished improvement which, once done, appears to have been natural & logical.

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites ☑
B. Upper income Negroes ☑
C. Middle income whites ☑
D. Middle income Negroes ☑
E. Lower income whites ☐
F. Lower income Negroes ☑

A. Whites with grammar school education ☐ indirectly
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☑
C. Whites with high school education ☐ indirectly
D. Negroes with high school education ☑
E. Whites with college education ☑
F. Negroes with college education ☑

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☐
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☐
D. Distribution of literature ☐

1) Your own [✓]

2) Other sources [✓]

Please specify: We involve individuals in civic responsibilities which they accept & which we feel furthers our aim of interracial communication and understanding.

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? The Senator and City Council members as well as school powers. Antagonism of poor whites, big farmers (some), and middle class housewives who no longer get servants for $2 a day. Many smaller farmers are bitter because they see their mechanization headaches as a race problem.

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?

Yes _____ No ? . Please comment: We have John Birchers, White Citizens Council and Klansmen. But none of them seem to have any particular effect except on their own friends. Unorganized, individual opposition are stiffer.

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential [ ]

B. Influential [ ]

C. Somewhat influential [✓] But only when the moon is dark.

D. Almost without influence [ ]

8. Have such ~~organizations~~ individuals hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes ✓ No _____. Please comment: Senator Richardson still manages not to be able to appoint an OEO committee Washington will approve. The County Education Supt., afraid of the opinion of "big farmers" would not Touch Headstart. We got up a representative committee by the guidelines, incorporated it, big-passed all the county politics & had last summer 1 Headstart, this year 9 schools! Not a farmer has fought it yet.

(temporary, we hope!) →

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? Small group with every member already too busy. Lack of confidence among Negroes in their own leaders. The success of Headstart is changing this for the first time in history.

Also, we have not been able to get the membership of politically & industrially influential whites whose first concern is what their neighbors think.

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: Not really. But we do agree on a general sense that the climate is changing and because of projects on which our members have worked.

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☑ through action (See 23)
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes _____ No ✓ — not as an organization.

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?
Positive ✓ results Negative ✓ more antagonism at first

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?
Yes _____ No ✓. Please comment: Personal opinion: Demonstrations desegregated the first stores, and since then pressures well-timed but unseen by the public have steadily increased the desegregation. But white citizens who spoke out saw the problem as their own - dealing with rebellious Negroes now out of place. I never heard one sympathetic comment from a white outside our own group. However, it is true that, whatever the reasons, now that demonstrations are long ago, our middle class whites talk far more calmly about the "problems".

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?
Yes _____ No ✓.

Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes ✓ No _____. Please comment:
Very good results are often obtained by having just the right member or committee (2 or 3) approach the key person involved in a problem. Even the die-hards will talk to persons privately although they wouldn't dare be known to have been influenced by an interracial council.

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? _____
1 Headstart in 1965, 9 in 1966 with at least ~~two~~ (2) 9-month Child Care Centers planned for this fall's opening. We sponsored a Speed-up team this summer

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes _____ No ✓. Please comment: This has seemed too basic to all progress we seek to fail to involve every member.

18. Is your organization a membership organization?
Yes ✓ No _____.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?
100% to a fair degree

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +	☐				
B. 500-1,000	☐				
C. 100-500	☐				
D. - 100	☑	✓			

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes ✓ No ____

The last two years?

Yes ✓ No ____

Please comment: In most cases where people can change their behavior by laying the responsibility for the change on a higher-up, they seem to relax in their emotions to match their action. There seems to be a lot of indifference now where we had antagonism very recently.

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes ✓ largely No ____ Please comment: ____

But with much time and great patience. They will accept almost anything once it becomes established as the status quo. I really believe many naturally mild-tempered people are relieved to drop the old role and blame the new day on the Federal government. "They've licked us again."

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

Our council was until last year little more than an open communication line between the races & a fellowship of like-thinking citizens. This year we came of age. The year has been spent in setting up a total organization in which each member is able to serve on a particular committee in the field of his choice, these committees meeting as often as desired. They include: education, employment, housing, youth opportunity, Headstart, membership, adult literacy & retraining in skills, finance, The monthly meeting is a clearing house with a special emphasis. These cover most projects - i.e., youth opportunity can employ students in voter registration & education can press for library desegregation, etc.

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with? We must pursue it all the harder as our efforts give results and never slack off until citizens cooperate as people with people, with no "issue of race" involved.

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area? No.

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?
To bring together liberal religious women in prayer and fellowship, spiritual renewal and action service.
Many of our members belong to the League of Women Voters and are active.

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? We are affiliated with and send representatives to the meetings of the Human Relations Council, the Children's Inter-Racial Comm. and the Community Welfare Council.

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites ☐
B. Upper income Negroes ☐
C. Middle income whites ☐
D. Middle income Negroes ☐
E. Lower income whites ☐
F. Lower income Negroes ☐

A. Whites with grammar school education ☐
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☐
C. Whites with high school education ☐
D. Negroes with high school education ☐
E. Whites with college education ☐
F. Negroes with college education ☐

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☐
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☐
D. Distribution of literature ☐

1) Your own ☐
2) Other sources ☐

Please specify: _____

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? _____
Inertia on both sides!

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
Yes ____ No ____. Please comment: _____
Not active enough, so that I'm aware of them as organized groups

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes ____ No ✓. Please comment: ____

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? _____

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: _____

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☑
D. Almost without influence ☐

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes _____ No ✓.

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?

We have had no real demonstrations in this town
Put a few sit ins, gained their objective -

Positive _____ Negative _____

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?

Yes _____ No _____. Please comment: _____

We feel they cause as much adverse feelings as they create concern -

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?
Yes _____ No _____.

Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes _____ No ✓ _____. Please comment:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? _____

Senior Citizens Activities -

_____

_____

_____

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes ✓ _____ No _____. Please comment: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

18. Is your organization a membership organization?
Yes ✓ _____ No _____.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?

10%

_____

_____

_____

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +					
B. 500-1,000					
C. 100-500					
D. - 100		✓			

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes _____ No _____

The last two years?

Yes ✓ No _____

Please comment: _____

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes _____ No ✓ Please comment: _____

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with?

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area?

No

The United Liberal Church - Women's Union. St. Petersburg Fla.

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?

"To unite Church Women in their allegiance to their Lord & Savior Jesus Christ, through a program looking to their integration in the total life & work of the Church and to the building of a world Christian community."

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? yes

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites ☐
B. Upper income Negroes ☐
C. Middle income whites ☑
D. Middle income Negroes ☑
E. Lower income whites ☐
F. Lower income Negroes ☑

A. Whites with grammar school education ☐
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☑
C. Whites with high school education ☒
D. Negroes with high school education ☑
E. Whites with college education ☑
F. Negroes with college education ☑

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☑
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☐
D. Distribution of literature ☐

1) Your own [✓]
2) Other sources [ ] u.c.w. meetings work shops

Please specify: Fellowship of the Concerned

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? Ingrained prejudice - Indifference to our approach or "You can't change me" - "you must be left wing" - etc

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
Yes ____ No ____. Please comment: Some - "Birchites"

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential [ ]
B. Influential [✓]
C. Somewhat influential [ ]
D. Almost without influence [ ]

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes ____ No ____. Please comment: ____

Yes. Some are opposed or afraid to belong to U.C.W. -

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? Not enough who will take a stand and work with us

_____

_____

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes _____ No _____.

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?
Positive _____ Negative _____

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?
Yes _____ No _____. Please comment: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?
Yes _____ No _____. Some

Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment:
Not as much as we would like

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? _____
Drop-outs + tutoring - etc

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment: ___
Christian Social Relations Com. carries the largest responsibility - but nearly all our women cooperate.

18. Is your organization a membership organization?
Yes _____ No _____. U.C.W.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?
1/3

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +	☐		over 1000		
B. 500-1,000	☐				
C. 100-500	☐				
D. - 100	☑	100			

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes ✓ No ____

The last two years?

Yes ✓ No ____

Please comment: There has been a change for the better but there is still a long way to go!!

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes ____ No ____ Please comment:

I hope so

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

We work with Headstart
WICS
Day Care Center - nurseries for Working Mothers -
Fellowship of the Concerned Conferences
Workshops
Human Relations groups
Through the Churches

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with? _____

We must keep on in every way possible -

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area? _____

No - not locally
Every meeting of our K.C.W. is interdenominational and maybe this is an education program

ROUGH DRAFT (SAMPLE TEST

O.K.

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?
To seek solutions to the social problems of interracial living.

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? Definitely on a National level; locally only in line with main purposes of the project.

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income white ☐
B. Upper income Negro ☐
C. Middle income white ☐
D. Middle income Negro ☐
E. Lower income white ☐ — To some extent under new developments
F. Lower income Negro ☒

A. Whites with grammar school education ☐ (See above)
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☒
C. White with high school education ☐ "
D. Negroes with high school education ☒
E. Whites with college education ☐
F. Negroes with college education ☐

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☐
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☐
D. Distribution of literature:
1) Your own ☐
2) Other sources ☐
(Please specify)

Informal contacts ✓
We are working through methods of exposure and community contact to win acceptance by whites of Negroes using a local park.
(Please specify)

63/
175
1
/938

5. On the issue of race relations, what hinderances to your work do you encounter in your area? Our own fears of standing for what is right and confronting those who may disagree with us.

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
   Yes _____ No _____
   (Please comment) No formal organization, but certainly there is informal collectivization against our program in the contiguous white community.

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

   A. Highly influential ☐
   B. Influential ☒
   C. Somewhat influential ☐
   D. Almost without influence ☐

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization in the civil rights and race relations issue?
   Yes X No _____
   (Please comment) But there is a counter, formal organization which supports us, without which we would be unable to challenge that community.

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? Inability to properly access the the depths of the problem, and to agree on the proper response.

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?
    Yes _____ No X
    (Please comment and specify such methods, if any)

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

    A. Highly influential ☐
    B. Influential ☐
    C. Somewhat influential ☐
    D. Almost without influence ☒

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations?

    Yes _____ No _____ Not usually.

13. Do you feel that such demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?

    Positive _____ Negative X

14. Do such demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?

    Yes _____ No _____ Only most vaguely. May bring some realization of the problem, but usually one of misinformation.
    (Please comment)

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations?

    Yes X No _____ On a national level mostly.

    Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily?

    Yes _____ No _____ Locally, sometimes yes, sometimes no.
    (Please comment)

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? In attempting to positively bring change to the lives of inner city people.

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization?

    Yes X No _____ On a national level. Locally, we take it as it comes.
    (Please comment)

18. Is your organization composed of active members?

    Yes _____ No X

19. What percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?

20. What is the size of your organization?

A. Over a thousand ☐
B. Five hundred to a thousand ☐
C. One hundred to five hundred ☐
D. Less than one hundred ☐

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area or areas on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes _____ No _____ Unable to comment

The last two years?

Yes _____ No _____

(Please comment) No extensive contacts in white community.

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached?

Yes _____ No X

(Please comment) An effective means has not yet been demonstrated.

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

Race relations now take a secondary position in our program locally, though it cannot, of necessity, be escaped. We are attempting most directly with attempting to restore livability to slum communities.

D R Yoder
Mennonite Service Committee
540 Hanover St., N.E.
685-0544

app 225 — not counting Emory's list

the human relations councils

Letter to interagency group 1 inquiring of feasibility in sending questionnaire to local chapters.

OK

1. Explanatory letter:
2. Post Card follow ups:

TW: Attached is a list of names from Emory Via for your questionnaire.

He wants you to see him about the letter to be sent to these folks.

Joan Browning.

ack'd
21 July '66
TW

Mr. Fred Hoehler
Education Director
United Steelworkers of America
1500 Commonwealth Bldg.
Pittsburgh, Penn.

Mr. Sinway Young, Pres.
S. C. Labor Council, AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 1411
Columbia, S. C. 29201

Mr. Harold B. Boyd, Pres.
Virginia State AFL-CIO
102 N. Belvidere St.
Richmond, Va. 23220

~~Mr. Sam Ewing~~

Mr. 'charlie Harris, Pres.
Fla. AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 537
Allapattah Station
Miami, Fla.

Mr. Barney Weeks, Pres.
Ala. Labor Council, AFL-CIO
604 Lyric Bldg.
Birmingham, Ala. 35203

Mr. W. H. Montague, Sr., Pres.
Georgia State AFL-CIO
15 Peachtree St., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Victor Bussie, Pres.
La. AFL-CIO
429 Government Street
P. O. Box 58
Baton Rouge, La. 70821

Mr. Claude Ramsay, Pres.
Miss. AFL-CIO
133 South Lamar St.
Jackson, Miss. 39201

Mr. W. M. Barbee, Pres.
N. C. State AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 10805
Raleigh, N.C.

~~Mr. E. T. K~~
Mr. Matthew Lynch, Pres.
Tenn. State Labor Council , AFL-CIO
226 Capitol Blvd., Rm. 205
Nashville, Tenn. 37219

~~Mr. Kate~~
Mr. James E. Noe
Education Director
Int'l. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
1200 15gh Street, N.W.
Washington, D C. 20005

Mr. Carroll Hutton, Director
Education Dept.
UAW
8000 Jefferson Ave.
Detroit, Michigan

Mr. Gus Tyler , Edication Director
Int'l. Ladies Garment Workers Union
1710 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10019

Education Director
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Amer.
15 Union Square
New York, N.Y. 10003

Mr. Charles Kerns, Education Director
United Electrical Workers
11 E. 51st St
New York, N.Y. 10022 ? what the hell!

Mr. Helmuth F. Kern, Educ. Director
Amalgamated Meat Cutters of North America
2800 N. Sheridan Rd.
Chicago 14, Ill.

~~Mr. Don Mahon, Pres.~~
~~U----~~
Mr. LeRoy Johnson, Education Dir.
United Packinghouse Workers
608 S. Dearborn St.
Chicago 5, Ill.

Thirty Organizations from nine Southern states responded to the questionaire.

The specific groups represented were:

a. State Human Relation Councils of Houston, Texas; Richmond, Virginia; Little Rock, Arkansas; Mayesville, South Carolina and Charlotte, North Carolina.

b. Civil Liberties Unions of New Orleans, Louisiana; Miami, Florida; Knoxville, Tennessee; Thomasville, North Carolina and Atlanta, Georgia.

c. League of Women Voters of Lexington, Virginia, Fort Smith, Arkansas; Atlanta, Georgia and St. Petersburg, Florida.

d. United Church Women of Memphis, Tennessee; Greensboro, North Carolina; Fort Smith, Arkansas; San Antonio, Texas; Atlanta, Georgia; Nashville, Tennessee; Miami, Florida and Knoxville, Tennessee.

e. League of B'nai B'ai Rith of Atlanta and Savannah, Georgia.

f. Miscellaneous groups: The Mennonite Service Committee of Atlanta, Georgia; The Penn Community Service Committee of Frogmore, South Carolina; The Citadel Military Academy of Charleston, South Carolina and the Women's Day Alliance of Arlington, Virginia.

Labor groups also

RACE RELATIONS

A Guide For

East Carolina Episcopalians

SEAL OF THE DIOCESE OF EAST CAROLINA

Diocese of East Carolina

Dept. of Christian Social Relations
Committe on Race Relations

The Rt. Rev. Thomas H. Wright
Bishop of East Carolina

The Rev. C. Edward Sharp
New Bern, N. C.
Ex-Officio Chairman

William S. Page, Chairman
Kinston, N. C.

The Rev. William A. Campbell
Williamston, N. C.

The Rev. Hunley Elebash
Wilmington, N. C.

Dr. J. H. Horton
Edenton, N. C.

The Rev. Edwin E. Kirton
Wilmington, N. C.

George R. Little, Jr.
Elizabeth City, N. C.

Wallace C. Murchison
Wilmington, N. C.

The Rev. Richard N. Ottaway
Greenville, N. C.

Walker Taylor, Jr.
Wilmington, N. C.

Introduction

This pamphlet has been prepared to assist Episcopalians in the Diocese of East Carolina to a greater understanding in our relationships with our fellow-man.

It is designed to bring together under one cover the several statements on race relations resulting from the 1964 Diocesan Convention.

The committee hopes this material may guide us all toward a greater fellowship in Chirst.

William S. Page
Chairman

Additional Resources

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL
Episcopal Church Center
815 Second Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10017

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsythe Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

N. C. COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
121 East Third Street
Charlotte 2, N. C.

N. C. GOOD NEIGHBOR COUNCIL
% Governor's Office
Raleigh, North Carolina

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
1818 South Main Street
High Point, N. C.

The Bishop's Address at 81st Annual Convention

. . . . . RACE RELATIONS

I have been requested by a number of our Clergy and Lay people to have a section of my Convention Address on the subject of "Race Relations" and to spell out, as your Bishop, what seems to me to be the Christian teaching about race, the Church's teaching, and the position that the Church has enunciated, in its General Conventions.

I am glad to do this and let me say, first of all, that I am happy that I am Bishop of this particular Diocese — which is comparatively small in number of people, and where, because of this, the Bishop can know personally and intimately many of its people — both white and Negro Communicants. As all of you know, there are times when I Baptize your children — of both races. I Confirm your young people. I take part in your weddings. And I bury your dead. I feel very close to you, my dear people of this Diocese, and I thank God that it is this intimate kind of Diocese that you and I are working and laboring in.

Moreover, I thank God that I can speak today, in this Convention (of both white and Negro delegates) not in an atmosphere of racial tension and mistrust, such as might exist in other areas and groups, but in an atmosphere of Christian fellowship of understanding and of real concern for the feelings of others.

How happy the relationship between the races has been in our Diocesan family. The wonderful fellowship of our Clergy is widely known, in the Church. The Christian attitude of our Lay people has been long evident in the life of our Diocese. We have Conventions together. We have Convocation meetings together. We have study groups and conferences together. Our Young People worship, plan and study

together, in our Youth Division. Now all of this is not new in East Carolina. It is not a product of these times. Much of it has been here for 20 to 25 years. It has grown and developed through the years. This is as the fellowship of Jesus Christ should be. I cherish this relationship, I say. May this Christian spirit between races never be broken, in this Diocese. I thank God for it and I am glad that I can speak today, in the atmosphere of this Convention, in which there is no bitterness, no tension and no mistrust.

Now, having said that, it would be dishonest of me — unfair to you — and in a sense, cowardly, if I let this matter stop here. And if I did not face with you courageously and realistically today the fact that this harmony does not exist, in fact, outside of the organization of the Church and that, in many areas today, there are terrific racial tensions in the nation, in the South, and in our State and section of North Carolina.

About these racial tensions, the Church, above all other organizations, should help men with their thinking — help them "*point the way.*" And that is because religion and life are not in two separate departments of this world. It is where our people live, move, and have their being — all of our people — that religion is concerned. Religion and life are inseparable and always have been. The Old Testament, through the Prophets, spoke out on this. The New Testament, through Jesus Christ, again said this.

Now, let me pause here and re-emphasize and be specific — the New Testament teaches the equality of races. There is not a shred of evidence that points otherwise. The words and teachings of Christ — his story of the Good Samaritan — the answers to questions directed toward him. I do not believe that there is a single New Testament scholar in the world today who does not agree upon this point. Indeed, the first Council of the Church — "*The Council*

of Jerusalem" was called primarily for this purpose — to settle the question of racial discrimination, in the Christian community. It might be interesting for you to know that first heresy in the Church was a heresy — not about matters of abstract theological doctrine — but precisely about the matter of racial discrimination. The earliest recorded conflict between those who want Christianity to adopt the old Jewish law of racial segregation and those who wanted the new message of Jesus and St. Paul, reminds us that from the very start the Christian church took a stand against racial segregation.

Again, we can go a step further. The Prayer Book bears out this Christian teaching. We pray — "*Almighty God, who has made of one blood all nations of men.*" We affirm "*There is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free. We are all one in Jesus Christ.*"

Again, the Constitution and Canons of our Church are clear on this. This make no distinction whatever between races.

Again, the Lambeth Conferences, the highest body of our Anglican Communion, spoke out on this in both 1948 and 1958. In its last meeting in 1958, it specifically condemned discrimination of any kind because of race or color.

Again, the Anglican Congress, meeting last summer, urged its members to witness strongly and wisely against all forms of racial discrimination and segregation.

Finally, the General Convention, the highest legislative body of our own Church in America, called upon all of our Church members "*to work together toward the establishment, without racial discrimination, of full opportunities, in fields such as education, housing, employment and public accommodations.*"

And so let us today make no mistake about it. The faith of Jesus Christ and the Church that we live by, some day will die by, teaches

that discrimination against any people because of race, color or creed, and segregation of any people because of race, color or creed, is contrary to the Christian Doctrine and contrary to Jesus' way of life.

If there is any doubt about this, my brethren, let us remember that Jesus Christ himself was a man of another race.

Now that I have laid out what seems to me to be the Christian teaching about this matter, the next point is quite obviously — what should we do about it? What should we, as Christians and as Church members, try to do about this? Well, first of all, we should make the Christian faith known, at every opportunity — of the equality of all men, in the sight of Almighty God. Second, we should try, in every way possible to help — through conferences and voluntary persuasion to bring about fair, equal and unsegregated treatment for all of our brethren.

The demonstrations in the streets should be moved inside — around the conference tables. There differences should be worked out. Christian brotherhood and understanding should prevail. Episcopalians, I hope, will give full cooperation to the bi-racial committees of their communities and to other agencies working for peace, harmony, good will and fair play, and seek to be "*Beacons of light and understanding*" to a troubled time, in the history of America and yes, one might say, in the history of the whole world today.

Now for the third and last point on this subject of race relations. Let me be very objective this morning. I feel that a special sub-committee of our Department of Christian Social Relations would be very helpful, as occasions arise — to give advice to our Clergy, when asked to do so by the Clergyman himself — to meet with Vestries, when asked to do so by the Vestries themsleves. This Committee would be men with some experience in this area. After consultation, therefore, with the Chairman of our Depart-

ment of Christian Social Relations, the Rev. C. Edward Sharp — Mr. Sharp and I are appointing the following men as members of this "*Sub-Committee on Race Relations.*" Mr. William Page of Kinston, Chairman, the Rev. Richard Ottaway of Greenville, Mr. Wallace Murchison of Wilmington, the Rev. Edwin E. Kirton of Wilmington, the Rev. William Campbell of Williamston, the Rev. Hunley Elebash of Wilmington, Dr. J. H. Horton of Edenton, Mr. Walker Taylor of Wilmington, Mr. George Little, Jr. of Elizabeth City. And, of course, the Rev. C. Edward Sharp, Chairman of the Department, as ex-office Chairman of this sub-committee. I earnestly hope that all of these men will accept this appointment to serve their Church, at this time, as members of this most important and vitally needed group. . . . . .

Kinston, N. C.
January 22, 1964

O God, the Father of all mankind, we beseech thee so to inspire the people of this land with the spirit of justice, truth and love, that in all our dealings one with another we may show forth our brotherhood in thee; for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Almighty God, who biddest thy Church to bring all men to thyself, and to make all mankind one family in thee, make clear to each one of us his part in the task. Fire our minds with a vision of a more perfect society here on earth in which justice and right, peace and brotherhood shall reign according to thy will; and help us, each one, O Lord, to do our part, that thy will may be done on earth as it is in heaven.

Grant O Lord, we pray thee, that as we seek for truth, we may find that the search leads us to thee. Give us the courage to seek honestly, reverence to seek humbly, dignity to hear out points of view other than our own; and when our minds are perplexed and we cannot find peace with the truth, give us patience to go on with our daily duties; thru Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Resolution

RESOLVED, that the Diocese of East Carolina, in convention assembled, affirms the action of the General Convention of the Episcopal Church as expressed in the following resolution:

"*Whereas*, we believe in the natural dignity and value of every man, of whatever color or race, as created in the image of God and as one for whom Christ died, that discrimination by reason of color or race between men has as its root human sin; that the Church must confess its own sin in this area; and

"*Whereas*, we acknowledge that there are no easy answers to the problems created by the effort to apply these convictions to special and local situations, particulary in times of cultural and social change, and that the composite thoughts of Churchmen in conference or convention may or may not be the will of God because we all stand under the judgment of God and not finally under the judgments of fallible men; and also that, despite honest differences of opinion, we are bound together, through our union in Christ and his fellowship of love, to seek God's will; therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we call first upon our fellow Churchmen by God's grace to cleanse themselves of all spirit of racial discrimination; and then upon all persons, especially the members of our Church, to work together, in charity and forbearance, towards the establishment, without racial discrimination of full opportunities in fields such as education, housing, employment and public accommodations."

RESOLVED, FURTHER, that this Convention affirms the right and opportunity of every Church member in the Diocese to participate without discrimination in the full life of the Church, consistent with its doctrine, constitutions and canons.

(Adopted January 22, 1964)

List of Episcopalians in the Diocese of East Carolina who are serving or have recently served on Mayor's Bi-Racial Committees, Good Neighbor Councils or other interracial committees in their communities:

The Rev. Daniel W. Allen
305 South Third Street
Wilmington, N. C.

The Rev. James T. Alves
P. O. Box 466
Vanceboro, N. C.

The Rev. Joseph H. Banks
1303 East Caswell Street
Kinston, N. C.

Mr. Harvey E. Beech
Liberty Hill Road
Kinston, N. C.

Mrs. S. D. Berkeley, Jr.
906 South Pittman Street
Goldsboro, N. C.

Mr. W. S Bost
310 Harding Street
Greenville, N. C.

Mrs. William G. Broadfoot, Jr.
2804 Wayne Drive
Wilmington, N. C.

The Rev. John T. Broome
215 Ann Street
Beaufort, N. C.

Mr. Dick Burnett
6 Robert E. Lee Drive
Wilmington, N. C.

The Rev. William A. Campbell
P. O. Box 463
Williamston, N. C.

The Rev. Adolphus Carty
606 Johnson Street
New Bern, N. C.

Miss Elizabeth Copeland
703 East Fifth Street
Greenville, N. C.

The Rev. Hunley Elebash
911 Hawthorne Road
Wilmington, N. C.

Mrs. W. A. Fonveille, Jr.
2808 Wayne Drive
Wilmington, N. C.

Mr. A. L. Gaylord
Front Street
Belhaven, N. C.

The Rev. Mortimer W. Glover
314 Market Street
Wilmington, N. C.

Mr. N. C. Green
108 Academy Street
Williamston, N. C.

Mr. Oscar Greene, Jr.
P. O. Box 363
Kinston, N. C.

Mrs. S. H. Grimes
406 N. Haughton St.
Williamston, N. C.

Mrs. J. J. Hannibal
Grove Park
Kinston, N. C.

Mr. Jasper G. Hayes
918 Elm Street
New Bern, N. C.

Miss Mae D. Holmes
State Training School For Girls
Kinston, N. C.

Mr. J. C. Jackson
1401 North Elm Street
Lumberton, N. C.

Mrs. S. C. King
204 Brightwood Road
Wilmington, N. C.

The Rev. Edwin E. Kirton
601 Grace Street
Wilmington, N. C.

Mr. George R. Little, Jr.
201 Harney Street
Elizabeth City, N. C.

Mr. Robert Little
221 N. 2nd St.
Wilmington, N. C.

The Rev. Paul K. Mears
314 Market Street
Wilmington, N. C.

The Rev. Angus Miller
409 East Main Street
Belhaven, N. C.

Mrs. Charles A. Miller
1019 "F" Street
New Bern, N. C.

The Rev. Edwin F. Moseley
Hertford, N. C.

Mr. Wallace C. Murchison
16 North 5th Street
Wilmington, N. C.

Mr. Prentiss O'Neal
East Main Street
Belhaven, N. C.

The Rev. Richard N. Ottaway
P. O. Box 564
Greenville, N. C.

Mr. William S. Page
P. O. Box 871
Kinston, N. C.

Mr. W. N. Payton, Jr.
409 E. North St.
Kinston, N. C.

Dr. W. N. Ridley
State Teachers College
Eilzabeth City, N. C.

Mrs. John J. Rowland
1001 Greenbrier Road
Kinston, N. C.

Mr. Winfield Sapp, Jr.
101 North Front Street
Wilmington, N. C.

Mr. S. C. Sitterson, Jr.
P. O. Drawer 989
Kinston, N. C.

Mr. George T. Skinner
1217 Virginia Avenue
Kinston, N. C.

Mr. Cecil Smith
Smithtown
Belhaven, N. C.

Mr. James N. Smith
804 East Beech Street
Goldsboro, N. C.

Mr. Horace Stacey, Jr.
604 West 31st Street
Lumberton, N. C.

Mr. Allan T. Strange
15 North Front Street
Wilmington, N. C.

Mr. Robert H. Tate
101 North Front Street
Wilmington, N. C.

Mr. Walker Taylor, Jr.
915 Country Club Road
Wilmington, N. C.

Mr. George Vann
307 South Andrews Street
Goldsboro, N. C.

Mr. J. E. Waldrop
1803 East Sixth Street
Greenville, N. C.

Mr. Ken Watkins
647 Fairlane Rd.
Greenville, N. C.

Mrs. Titus Williamson
P. O. Box 699
Whiteville, N. C.

The Rt. Rev. Thomas H. Wright
305 South Third Street
Wilmington, N. C.

Mr. Thomas H. Wright, Jr.
2232 Acacia Drive
Wilmington, N. C.

Block Voting

☆

by

GEORGIA COMMITTEE ON

INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

Block Voting

Politicians, columnists, and a host of dubiously authoritative observers — most of them resembling stone-throwing people who live in glass houses — have had a lot to say these past two years about "the Negro bloc" in Georgia.

Some of their talk has ben malicious, some of it well meaning, some of it no more sinister than bridge club gossip. With few exceptions, however, such talk has been based on no more than superficial knowledge of the facts.

Negroes do vote in blocs, of course. There is as much a Negro bloc as there is a labor bloc, a farm bloc, or a Southern bloc. But this bloc is not formed on the signal of corrupt Negro leaders, as some people would have us believe. In the main, Georgia's Negro leadership has been responsible, sensible, and admirably restrained. Rather, the bloc has been merely the Negro's inevitable reaction to the vicious race baiting of some politicians and to a long history of cultural, economic, and political discrimination.

Since March 6, 1946, when the U. S. fifth circuit court of appeals granted Negroes the right to participate in Democratic primaries, Georgia Negroes have voted in about a dozen elections, including the 1946 state primary. The record is not complete on Negro voting, neither as to its extent nor character. In some counties, purposely, no separate count has been made of Negro ballots. In others, Negro ballots have been deliberately miscounted. In still others, Negroes haven't been permitted to vote at all. Nevertheless, from the record as it stands one can draw a highly significant judgement: to date, the chief result of Negro enfranchisement has been to stimulate the dormant white electorate to a more serious concern for politics, and to aid immeasurably in the accomplishment of needed political reforms.

Perhaps more pertinently, the Negros' voting history of the past two years shows these things about bloc voting:

1. In state elections the solidifying factor almost invariably is the Negro's right to vote. Negroes will vote in a bloc only when white supremacy is the issue.

2. In county and municipal elections Negroes tend to vote in a bloc against candidates who have demonstrated a disregard for Negro rights and aspirations, and for those who have proved themselves sympathetic. Sometimes, too, local issues may force them into a bloc vote, especially when those issues relate directly to the welfare of the Negro communities.

3. In those few counties where the Negro's right to vote has come to be accepted, and it is the practice for all candidates to bid for the Negro vote as earnestly as they do for the white, there is no Negro bloc.

The first Georgia primary to which Negroes were admitted was held in Glynn County in March, 1946, less than a month after the Primus King decision. It was in this election, it will be recalled, that all but one of seven incumbent commissioners were turned out of office.

Even without the not unexpected enfranchisement of the Negro, Glynn County politics would have been in ferment that spring. Very simply, people had grown tired of county commissioners who, in the words of one citizen, had acted for too long "as if the county and the court house belonged to them."

A total of 7,200 persons voted in that election — 2,160 Negroes and 5,040 whites. Except in the election of one Commissioner who had a particularly strong following in the Negro community, white and Negro votes were cast on about the same percentage. The majority of Negroes opposed the old commissioners; so did the majority of whites.

Four months later, when the State Democratic primary was held, Negroes again went to the polls in Glynn County. This time, they cast what probably will become a typical Negro vote. They voted in a bloc against a gubernatorial candidate. who had used white supremacy as his rallying cry. But in the election of Representatives to the General Assembly, they voted proportionately as white citizens voted, scattering their votes among all candidates; in this race no candidate had pitched his appeal to prejudice.

The Richmond County primary of April, 1946, was in many ways similar to the earlier

primary in Glynn. Here, however, the reform movement was rooted in more than resentment against incumbent office-holders. In opposition to the entrenched Cracker Party, which had dominated the city of Augusta for 34 years, a well-organized Independent party had sprung up with a long-range program for municipal progress.

The extraordinary interest with which Richmond County Negroes viewed the campaign was considerably heightened during its last ten days by the injection of the Negro issue. In posters, leaflets, and speeches, the Crackers repeated that the Independents were a bunch of "niggers" and "nigger-lovers", whose election was sure to bring a mixing of the races on public vehicles and in the schools. This was a lot of nonsense, of course. The Negroes, quite intelligently, sided with the insurgents, but how little the Independents owed them for victory was shown conclusively when the ballots were counted. The total number of votes cast was 20,241, of which only about 2,500 were cast by Negroes. The three Independent candidates for the legislature won with an average majority of 5,022 votes — a white majority of 3,526, a Negro majority of 1,497. Cracker Party candidates, to whom in times past many Negroes had looked for jobs, received an average of 474 Negro votes, and actually carried the Negro vote in Augusta's Fourth Ward. Thus, the Independents won with a white majority that was greater by a thousand-odd votes than the total number of Negroes voting. They would have won even if every Negro vote had gone for the Crackers.

In Chatham County, coincident with the 1946 state primary, the Negro bloc expressed itself similarly in a local election that saw the successful beginning of a movement to replace the oldline Administration machine with the Citizens' Progressive League. It was not so much the race issue that caused Negroes to oppose the Administration, although they had ample reason to distrust an Administration tax collector who had tried, unsuccessfully, to block Negro registration. Savannah Negroes had been plugging for some specific benefits for a long time, and they figured merely that their chances for getting them were better with the CPL.

Both the CPL and Administration made bids for the Negro vote. The Administration, though, got a polite turndown. Negro leaders had little faith in the promises of Administration forces who in 25 years had failed to provide anything more than bare minimum services to the Negro community. With the Citizens Progressive League however, they talked straight politics. The Negroes would like some Negro policemen to patrol colored residential districts, several Negro matrons in the city jail, some paved roads, more street lights, better schools, and better health facilities. The CPL said it would do its best.

As it turned out, Negroes voted in a bloc for CPL candidates for the legislature, who won, and voted in a bloc for an independent candidate for judge (a woman lawyer who had declared herself unequivocally in favor of the Negro's right of ballot), who lost. In the legislative race, CPL candidates polled an average of 23,005 votes, and against 13,359 for the Administration slate, giving a total majority of 9,646. The CPL's white majority was 4,542, its Negro majority 5,106. Administration candidates received an average of 1,463 colored votes. The majority of Negroes did vote for the Citizens Progressive League, but, significantly, so did the majority of whites.

Despite the irrefutable evidence of the returns, there is a persistent opinion, encouraged by some of the defeated candidates, that the Negro vote alone was responsible for the reform victories in Chatham, Glynn, and Richmond Counties. Negro participation was an important factor in those victories, but for an entirely different reason. It was important because, in each instance, it brought to the whole electorate — predominantly white — a new sense of civic responsibliity.

This was manifested particularly by some phenomenal increases in registration. The result was that in all three counties registration lists soared far beyond the limits of machine control. In Glynn, registration went from 3,500 to 9,157 (2,400 Negroes); in Richmond, from 9,000 to 26,541 (4,716 Negroes); in Chatham, from 15,000 to nearly 60,000 (19,000 Negroes). Then, sometimes to their mutual surprise, the newly franchised Negro and the newly registered white found themselves on the same side of the political fence.

Since present Georgia laws do not provide for educational qualifications for voting, since most rural Negroes are poorly educated and kept in poverty, it is undeniably true that in some Counties Negroes, like many whites, can be controlled and "voted" — just as in others they can be controlled and not allowed to vote. They can be bought exactly as any oppressed, dependent people can be bought — by threats, by cash, by deceptive promises, sometimes by a simple display of kindliness.

The Georgia Association of Democratic Clubs, the statewide Negro group for political action, has recognized this danger and has consistently fought to avert it. From the beginning the Association has resisted the impulse to rush the Negro population politically beyond the natural limits of its preparedness for citizenship. Wherever feasible, the Association has set up regular orientation classes, their purpose being to acquaint eligible colored voters with the mechanics of the election process and to teach them some simple principles of democracy. It has insisted that Negroes look to their own leaders for political guidance, rather than to white politicians. To further reduce the Negroes' vulnerability, it has maintained that all programs with political implications be financed exclusively by the Negro communities. To preclude the charge of "outside control", the Association has scrupulously avoided taking any partisan stand in local elections.

Yet it has been charged, not without substance, that a recent election in Liberty County was swung by a Negro bloc controlled by a white politician.

Liberty County is one of the 39 Georgia counties where Negroes outnumber whites. It is a coastal county, however, and unlike that of most counties in the Black Belt, in recent years its dominant political temperament has been pro-Rivers, or anti-Talmadge. In 1946 it was perhaps the only county in the Black Belt where no effort was made to purge Negroes illegally from the registration lists. It is the only such county where Negroes have voted in strength.

The outstanding political figure in Liberty is Sheriff Paul Sikes, part owner of the Lilberty Oil Company and an employer of many Negroes. Whether his reasons were laudable or not, it was he who championed the Negro's

right to vote in 1946. Liberty County Negroes have been grateful ever since.

When Sikes came up for reelection last January, his reputation as a law enforcement officer was hardly exemplary. A citizens' committee had charged him with having conspired in the illegal operation of slot machines and had filed a petition seeking to remove him from office. Nevertheless, he was reelected by an overwhelming majority. He polled 1,500 of the 2,316 votes cast. His nearest opponent received 449.

The Liberty County election seems to be a unique instance in Georgia where a candidate has won entirely on the strength of a Negro majority. It is reported that of the 2,316 voters, between 1,200 and 1,500 were Negroes and between 800 and 1,100 were whites. It is impossible to know exactly how, or in what percentage, votes were cast, but in Liberty County it is generally believed that all but a few Negroes voted for Sikes—so many that he would have won even if all the white voters in the county had united solidly behind one of his three opponents. Besides the evidence of the election count, indignant white citizens cite the fact that for weeks before the election Sikes had been appealing directly to the Negro population.

Negro leaders do not deny that Sikes actively courted the Negro vote. They do resent the inference that Negroes were "voted." They say that the Negroes supported Sikes primarily because two years earlier, at a crucial time in their political growth, he had defended their right of franchise. Their voting for him indicated only that) they recognized where and with whom their fundamental interests lay. To them, the slot machine scandal—as deplorable as it was—was strictly a side issue.

Such has been the character of local elections during the past two years that Negroes frequently have viewed candidates simply as friend or foe. It may be regrettable that in their support of a friend they have sometimes overlooked what to other people seem to be the superior merits of opposition candidates, but it's nonetheless understandable.

In voting solidly for Lewis Wilson for mayor of Macon last summer, Negroes were voting for a proven friend. Wilson is a progressive-

minded grocer who through the years has demonstrated a generous understanding of his Negro customers. They would have voted for him in a bloc, even if his opponent hadn't solidified their loyalties by raising the race issue. "After all he'd done for us," one Negro man said, "we had to back Mr. Wilson. Why, if we hadn't, no white man running would ever again have any faith in us."

In Albany last November, Negroes voted in a bloc against the winning candidate for mayor, because, in their minds, he had proved himself "foe." Of 864 Negro votes cast, 819 were cast against him, a fact The Albany Herald decried as evidence of "thoughtless leadership." On the contrary, Albany's Negro leaders were quite thoughtful. In 1946 Smith had managed Eugene Talmadge's campaign in Dougherty County. On several occasions he had taken the stump for Talmadge and employed the Talmadge brand of race baiting. At a rally in Mitchell County he had presented Talmadge a check for $500. Negroes simply did not have it in them to support such a man, no matter how many worthy municipal reforms he might advocate.

It was this same psychology, of course, that caused some 100,000 Negroes throughout the state to vote in a bloc against Eugene Talmadge for governor. Talmadge ran in 1946 on a white primary platform, and, undisputably, Negroes opposed him with all the strength they could muster. As one legislator has explained it, "They voted against him for the same reason that I would have voted against him if my name were Knucklehammer and he'd said that if elected he would see to it that nobody named Knucklehammer would be allowed to vote."

For Georgia Negroes, these past two years have been a severely taxing transition period. Having finally won a fundamental political right, that of the ballot, they have had to exercise it in a segment of society which had taught them from birth to regard citizenship as the special prerogative of the white man. The amazing fact is that, despite their own unpreparedness and the prevalent hostility of election officials, they have, on the whole, handled themselves in such a way as to be a healthful and constructive influence. That influence promises to be more and more healthful as the fact

of Negro participation becomes less and less restricted.

Considering the terribly irresponsible attitude of all too many white voters, it would be impertinent to make any special apology for the voting conduct of Negroes. With respect to bloc voting, the experience of the past two years would seem merely to confirm a verity: the trouble with Negroes is the trouble with whites - and that is, simply, that they're human beings.

17 EAST CARY STREET
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23219
TELEPHONE: AREA CODE 703—648-4444

AN OUNCE OF PREVENTION

Textbook Changes Attacked

By Robert P. Hilldrup, Education Editor

The executive director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations charged today that two textbooks used in Virginia schools have been altered to eliminate stories favorable to Negroes.

The Rev. Robert Lee Combs said he and other members of the council would meet with the state Board of Education's textbook and curriculum committee and Dr. Woodrow W. Wilkerson, the state Superintendent of Public Instruction, tomorrow at 2 p.m.

Mr. Combs said the group would seek to find out who decided to eliminate the stories. In addition, he said, the group planned to appeal for state approval of a wider selection of "multi-ethnic" books which would give favorable portrayal of minority groups.

The two books were identified by Mr. Combs as a fourth-grade reader and a sixth-grade reader, both published by Scott-Foresman and Co.

(Actually, educational sources here said, it is not at all unusual for a publisher to produce on his own initiative more than one version of the text. The so-called "ethnic" version of these Scott-Foresman books, containing the Negro stories, reportedly has never been submitted for approval in Virginia.)

Mr. Combs said the fourth-grade book normally contained a section on the Negro astronomer Benjamin Banneker, but that in copies of the book used in Virginia that section had been replaced with one on Revolutionary patriot Paul Revere.

In the sixth-grade reader, he said, a story on the evils of the slave trade and an account of how a Negro boy rescues a white youth from drowning had been deleted in the Virginia edition of the book.

In previous meetings with Dr. Wilkerson, Mr. Combs said, the superintendent had taken the position that the state simply passes upon the suitability of both textbooks and library books as submitted by the publishers.

"This would lead us to believe that the censoring was not done by Virginia officials," Mr. Combs said.

"However, we want to clear up that point."

The council's challenge thus becomes the latest in a series that has taken the state board and the state Department of Education concerning book selection policies.

The board, which is tentatively scheduled to meet Thursday, already is expected to hear a report from Dr. Wilkerson brought to by two other incidents.

These are the state's refusal to place on the approved list the Pulitzer Prize-winning novel, "To Kill a Mockingbird," and a science book, "The Great Dismal Swamp."

No official reason was given for the first rejection. The second book apparently was turned down because it referred in one paragraph to the swamp as an alluring and seductive woman.

The request the council delegation plans to make for more "multi-ethnic" books on the state-approved list echoes pleas it has made to the state in the past.

A few such books are approved by the state. Urban school systems in Northern Virginia and Tidewater, as well as Richmond, use such texts, which portray both white and Negro youths in their illustrations.

In Virginia, a locality is free to use any book in its school system that local officials wish. However, when a book not on the state-approved list is purchased, the locality can get no state money to help pay for it.

Mr. Combs said the desire for "multi-ethnic" books is not just in behalf of Negroes.

He said the American Indian, Jews and Roman Catholics are as fairly represented in approved texts now available.

"This is a grave injustice and continues a teaching pattern unfair to these minorities," he declared.

THE RICHMOND NEWS LEADER
Area News
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1966 13

A-2 The Virginian-Pilot, Sunday, July 18, 1965

Southside Accused Of Blocking Votes

RICHMOND (AP)—The Virginia Council on Human Relations [illegible] Saturday several Southside Virginia counties apparently are [illegible]ng to make it difficult for Negroes and [illegible] register to vote. Immediate denials came from officials of two [illegible]ties cited as examples by [illegible] council.

[illegible] chairman of the Nottoway [illegible]nty Electoral Board, Haynie [illegible]ertson, termed the charge [illegible]sonous."

[illegible] council statement said several counties recently have established central voter registration centers to replace district [illegible]sters in various areas of the [illegible]nties, and the council said [illegible] boards of supervisors have [illegible]o set up extremely short [illegible]urs for the registration offices. The action "appears to be another way of denying the right [illegible] vote to large groups of citizens," the council said.

"The 'subtle' practice now is keep this central registration [illegible]fice closed most of the time *during the month . . . this works* a hardship especially upon the Negro and the laboring class of whites, who in most cases would have to get off from work in order to register or vote."

The council cited as examples Sussex County, which it says has a registration center open only one day a month; Nottoway County, two days a month, and Lunenburg County, four hours on the second and fourth Thursday of each month.

Officials in Lunenburg County said the county went to the central registration system when nearly two-thirds of the county registrars resigned after the 1964 presidential election.

Equal Opportunity Commission Urged

Staff Correspondence

RICHMOND—The Virginia Council on Human Relations has requested support from Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr. in its attempt to create an equal opportunity study commission.

Norfolk Sen. Henry E. Howell Jr. has introduced a resolution to create the study commission and have it make a report to the 1966 General Assembly.

Godwin met Thursday with Howell and Sen. William B. Spong Jr. of Portsmouth, a copatron on the resolution, and a delegation from the Council on Human Relations.

Among those in the council delegation were the Most Rev. John J. Russell, bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Richmond; the Rev. William H. Marmion, bishop of the Sothwest Diocese of the Virginia Episcopal Church; David Scull, council president; Dr. J. Rupert Picott, executive director of the Virginia Teachers Association; Moses Riddick, president of the Virginia Independent Voters League, and the Rev. Robert Lee Combs, executive director of the council.

The Howell resolution would direct the commission to include in its study, and report its analysis of, the educational and employment opportunities currently afforded to citizens of minority and racial groups in the state.

Howell said that 42 other states have equal opportunity agencies.

Co-patrons on the Howell resolution are Norfolk Sens. Robert F. Baldwin and Edward L. Breeden Jr. and Sen. Spong, William H. Hodges of Chesapeake and William P. Kellam of Virginia Beach.

Friday, Feb. 4, 1966

Government Jobs Sought For Negroes

VCHR

The Virginia Council on Human Relations has passed a resolution urging the adoption of fair employment policies throughout Virginia's state government.

The VCHR, a biracial organization operating as a part of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, urged the appointment of state, county and city officials without regard to race, color or national origin.

"Minority groups in Virginia, particularly Negroes, today face an almost all-white officialdom. . . . This must be corrected to provide more employment opportunities for minority groups and to help insure fair treatment of all citizens before the law and the government," the resolution stated.

"Key state governmental positions do not include responsible Negroes," the VCHR said further in a news release. Recent appointments to state positions have not included outstanding Negro citizens.

The VCHR commended the appointment of Dr. W. F. Reid as a member of the Virginia Metropolitan Study Commission but pointed out the scarcity of Negroes at city hall or local courthouses.

The council is a private, nonprofit group that says it seeks "lawful and orderly solutions of basic problems, with emphasis on education, public accommodations, youth groups, job opportunities, housing and voter registration.

Richmond News Leader, Tuesday, June 21, 1966 15

Flexible Situation

8/10/65 Page 9 Prothro-Jolly Petersburg

Federal Voting Registrars Not Coming Here

By PAT MATTHEWS

A representative of the Virginia Council on Human Relations says he is "not aware" of any promises plans to bring federal voting registrars into this section of Virginia.

However, he pointed out that if the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights receives 20 or more valid complaints of racial discrimination in voting in a particular county, it would warrant bringing in a federal registrar.

"There are groups working in this area who are aware of this," he said.

The council, which made a voter registration survey last month, pointed out that counties such as Sussex which had a voting record in the 1964 presidential election of 63.6 per cent, Lunenburg with 41.7 per cent, and Nottoway with 49.3 per cent are in danger of having federal registrars. The council spokesman said that the state voting record in the presidential election was 45.1 per cent.

The U. S. Attorney General can order a voting examiner into a county if he decides it is necessary.

The Rev. Robert L. Combs, executive director of the council, said today that "we urge the state, the county and the local governments to emphasize voter registration and voter participation to improve the records within the state of Virginia in order to allow Virginians to handle their own affairs, thus preventing federal registrars from coming into this state to do the work we should be doing without discrimination or intimidation."

The council, the largest biracial organization in the state, has been assisting federal agencies by serving as a fact finding body. The state group, which has local chapters in 30 sections of Virginia, is set up to better human relations, reduce intergroup tensions and conduct an educational program for the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the state.

A council spokesman said the following alleged irregularities in voting procedure and public accommodations have been reported to a team from the federal civil rights commission:

Prince George and Hopewell—testimony has been taken regarding alleged violations in the July Democratic Primaries in both localities.

Dinwiddie — a complaint has been received against a McKenney restaurant.

Petersburg — a formal complaint has been submitted to the Civil Rights Commission against Petersburg General Hospital. No details of the complaint have been made public. Testimony was also taken in Petersburg regarding voting procedure.

Sussex — complaints against manner of handling poll tax and voter registration, and complaints of irregularities in the July Democratic primary have been noted. No formal complaint has been made to date in the public accommodations section.

The representatives of the council explained that information regarding voting violations that occurred prior to the voting rights bill would be filed by federal authorities to determine a pattern of irregularities. Areas with a number of irregularities will be observed closely in the future by the Virginia Council, he said.

The Council has just announced results of a voter registration survey conducted last month. They report the following conditions existing in certain counties:

1. One county has previously marked through the poll tax bill being sent to certain residents of that county "which has been a subtle way to indicate to some people that they did not need to pay the poll tax bill as they paid the personal property taxes."

1. Many county tax collectors have told certain residents that they do not have to pay the poll tax.

1. Other county tax collectors have told certain residents that they did not have the proper receipts to issue for back payments of poll taxes and that the payments would have to return in the future to pay the taxes.

4. Many residents have not received poll tax bills unless they are already a qualified registere voter or demand the bill.

5. Poll tax records are not being kept accurately.

6. County and city officials ar making little or no attempt to collect back poll tax payment which are in arrears.

"The poll tax collection system in the state of Virginia, for the most part, is designed to limit the number of qualified registered voters." Payments of the poll tax for the most part is, the council report says, "a clumsy and outdated method of keeping the voter registration list updated. It is very self evident that the poll tax method used in the state of Virginia is a means to discriminate against potential registration at voters."

4 Richmond News Leader, Friday, August 20, 1965

Powhatan Group Asks Aid of U. S. Agency

A group of Powhatan county citizens has appealed to the federal Community Relations Service to assist in negotiations with county officials over alleged civil rights grievances.

The request, mailed yesterday, was made under Title X of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The federal agency is part of the Department of Commerce and is designed "to provide assistance to persons or communities requiring help with civil rights problems where discriminatory practices impair constitutional rights."

REQUESTS OF NEGROES

The request stems from requests presented to the board of supervisors by county Negro citizens in the fall of 1963 and again this month.

The supervisors said they lacked jurisdiction in most of the requests, and took the others under advisement.

A sit-in was held at the courthouse this month in connection with the requests.

In the appeal, the citizens listed the Citizens for Public Education and the Powhatan branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as private agencies that might be of assistance in settling any dispute.

The names and number of those making the request were not determined.

NEGOTIATION EFFORT

The Virginia Council of Human Relations is a private group that today that it had attempted negotiations among many of the parties concerned.

The Community Relations Service is "authorized to cooperate with both public and private agencies, either on its own initiative or upon request from local officials or interested persons in situations where disputes threaten serious racial relations among the citizens of a community."

THE RICHMOND NEWS LEADER
THURSDAY, APRIL 29, 1965 A

Anti-Poverty Progress Questioned

A controversy broke out at a welfare conference session today over just how well the anti-poverty program is doing in Virginia.

The difference was made by Richmond City Welfare Director William E. Waddington of Social Welfare Section of the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

Waddington said that has not been the case in Virginia because of a lack of direction.

Robert Lee Combs, executive director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, stood up. He told the audience of some 100 social workers that the federal programs have shown little initiative.

The answer, said Kirby, is that for the Economic Opportunity Act to be effective the organizational work in Virginia must be done at the local level. The Economic Opportunity Act does not permit them, he said, to do it.

Combs said further that the federal government has indicated that the Virginia council can do this job in particular.

LOCAL LEADERS

He said the social workers in Virginia could help in the interest and enthusiasm of the participants, Charles W. Prentis, executive director of the Richmond Area Community Council.

Prentis said that the local leadership "is not made up of the people who have been asked to do the same in Virginia.

As for the council, said Combs, this is a field into which it has not ventured before. It has not been encountered in programs in Virginia considering it.

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FOREWORD

While many communities in the North, such as Rochester and Harlem, New York, and in the deep South, such as Birmingham, Alabama, Albany, Georgia, and Oxford, Mississippi, have been plagued with discord, tension and rioting during the past several months, Virginia can be proud that we have had only one incident within our State of comparable nature.

While there are so many people of good-will within our State, and many groups which have been concerned with improving human relations, we, the Virginia Council on Human Relations, have been dedicated for the past ten years to the work of building better understanding, between all Virginians, regardless of ethnic, cultural, racial or religious backgrounds and persuasions.

VCHR feels that through our thirty-two local councils, located in as many communities throughout the State, and through our state staff of dedicated workers, we have had a part to play in Virginia's ability to avoid conflict, tensions and misunderstandings among our citizenry.

VCHR, furthermore, feels that the time has come for all concerned Virginians to share in both the knowledge of our work, and to be given an opportunity to participate in the many activities of our organization.

To the Virginia business and industrial communities, we dedicate this brochure with the belief that the information herein contained will serve as a stimuli for your consideration to support the over-all work of the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

AN OUNCE OF PREVENTION

We are living through a time of transition. Sometimes that transition is smooth and gracious. Sometimes it is violent and tragic.

How can we in Virginia preserve what is finest in our heritage while accommodating to new ways for these new days? How can we make sure the transition in race relations is marked by understanding and humanity? How can we protect the Old Dominion from the bloodshed, the violence, the hatred and the fear that have scarred other States?

How, in fact, can we purchase an ounce of that priceless prevention which is worth incalculably more than a pound of dubious or partial cure?

We have tried to indicate some of the answers in this presentation. We hope as you have read it through you felt that the problems raised and the solutions suggested were your direct concern. It used to be that the field of human relations, and of race relations in particular, was the special province of those we refer to with good-humored contempt as "do-gooders."

Today, it is the province of every citizen, every taxpayer, every businessman. For unless each of us accepts a share of responsibility, the positive climate for growth will be jeopardized.

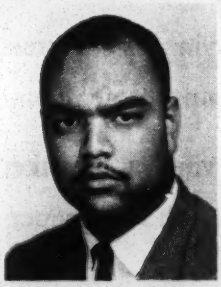
VCHR Serves Virginia Through Its Professional Staff

Community needs and problems are varied - from the Eastern Shore to Southwest Virginia, from the Potomac to South Hill. It is apparant to every thoughtful person that local solutions must be worked out by competent local leaders in every situation. Where counsel and the benefit of wider experience is needed, the Virginia Council on Human Relations is ready to make available competent leadership anywhere in Virginia, with the recognition that the only valid approaches to situations of tension or opportunity are those made by people of the locality.

The Virginia Council on Human Relations works through a seven-member state staff; through its seventy-five member Board of Directors, representing all areas of Virginia; and through over twenty local chapters throughout the state. Through the state staff, VCHR keeps in close contact with state and national agencies which are concerned with issues pertaining to inter-group relations. Furthermore, the state staff maintains working relationships with many private organizations which are committed to the realization of "liberty and justice for all".

Any community within Virginia may obtain assistance in regard to community problems, public relations, negotiation, inter-group adjustments, or the organization, financing and programming of a local chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

Robert Lee Combs,
Executive Director



Bailey G. Wharton,
Associate Director

Abner E. Lee,
Equal Job Opportunity

VCHR staff is available to any Virginia Community and has worked for the past ten years—

1. Organizing local councils whereby the local community leaders and interested citizens may build better community human relations.
2. Assisting local councils in programming and developing activities related to their local problems.
3. Working with Mayors, City Councils, Chambers of Commerce and community leaders to keep open lines of communication, thus relieving tensions.

4. Negotiating between community groups for a fair and reasonable degree of progress in opening Hotels, Motels, Restaurants, as well as Theatres, and places of public accommodations to all.

5. Providing State-wide consultations and workshops whereby problems and solutions may be discussed on a larger plane.

6. Serving as lecturers and speakers to Churches, Colleges, Civic groups, professional groups, and community meetings.

7. Serving as speakers on Radio, Television and forums, and through Newspapers to the larger community.

8. Working with private and public agencies to build the larger community of concerned for better human relations within Virginia.

9. Attending National meetings and keeping abreast of the National climate and developments in the human relations field.

10. Working with business and industrial leaders of Virginia, sharing information as to how many firms can implement merit employment practices.

11. Moving into communities such as Danville and Prince Edward County, where tensions build up and seeking to assist in removing both the tensions and the cause.

12. Mailing newsletters and thousands of pieces of valuable information and educational material to state and community leaders in Virginia.

UNDER no circumstances do we advocate or participate in demonstrations, boycotts or picketing.

The Virginia Council on Human Relations works at the local community level through its local councils—

Community needs and problems are varied—from the Eastern Shore to Southwest Virginia, from the Potomac to South Hill. It is apparent to every thoughtful person that local solutions must be worked out by competent local leaders in every situation. The Virginia Council on Human Relations recognized that the only valid approach to situations of tension or opportunity are those made by people of the locality.

VCHR seeks to establish local councils on human relations in every Virginia Community, and has succeeded in organizing local groups in the following communities:

Alexandria
Arlington
Blacksburg
Charlottesville
Covington
Danville
Fairfax County
Fredericksburg
Franklin
Giles County (New River)
Hanover County
Hopewell
Lancaster-Northumberland
Lexington
Loudoun County
Lynchburg
Mercer-Tazewell
Norfolk
Peninsula (Hampton-Newport News)
Prince Edward County
Prince William County
Petersburg
Portsmouth
Radford
Richmond
Roanoke
Rockingham
Virginia Beach
Warrenton
Williamsburg

Virginia College Council

VCHR's local councils provide for the local community as follows:

PROVIDE a meeting ground for all citizens regardless of race, creed, color, national origin or political persuasion, where dialogue, a rapport and communication may begin to take place and genuine acquaintances can be made.

ENABLE people from varied religious and professional groups to find a means of effective, cooperative action in community human relations enterprises for the common good, when they may sometimes be unable to do this through present structures of their religious or professional bodies.

DEVELOP a climate of respect, understanding and good-will among responsible community leaders and citizens, wherein local issues can be faced and resolved, thereby avoiding critical stalemates and outside intervention.

EFFECT a vigorous and courageous organization, marked by fairness and good-will, which will be so effective in its work and techniques of fact-finding, education, communication, negotiation and persuasion, that it will neutralize extreme and violent elements before they are capable of damaging a community's life.

DEVELOP programs and methods for the maximum, effective utilization of the industrial and professional skills of all our citizens, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin, thereby creating the most fruitful economic development possible.

DEVELOP an organization and programs through which concerned individuals and groups can do something more significant than merely "feeling right" about race relations, brotherhood and the democratic ideal.

LOCAL COUNCILS OFFER OPPORTUNITIES FOR PRIVATE CITIZENS TO DO SOMETHING SIGNIFICANT ABOUT BETTER HUMAN RELATIONS:

I. THROUGH MONTHLY MEETINGS—where all citizens of a community are provided a meeting place where acquaintances and understanding can be realized.

II. THROUGH EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS—where all community problems can be faced and discussed, and methods found to deal with these under the techniques and methods which build better human understanding.

III. THROUGH SPECIAL COMMITTEES—where citizens, who have felt they should do something constructive for the betterment of community problems, have the opportunity to serve with others of similar attitudes.

IV. THROUGH INTER-GROUP DIALOGUE—where persons can develop a climate of respect for those of different ethnic, cultural, religious or racial background.

V. THROUGH NEGOTIATION—where individual citizens can assist in bringing together people of community influence where lines of communication may be opened and good-will established across community lines.

VI. THROUGH BUILDING AN ATMOSPHERE AND CLIMATE—within a community which will neutralize extreme and violent elements before the community's life is damaged.

VI.I DEVELOP MAXIMUM STATE ECONOMY—by community effort contributing toward maximum effective utilization of industrial and professional skills of all citizens, thereby creating the most fruitful economic development possible.

AN INVESTMENT IN VIRGINIA'S PROGRESS

The task of the Virginia Council on Human Relations is to safeguard that climate for growth and to dispel the dark emotions that threaten it.

We ask your support in fulfilling this task. We ask you to invest in us so that we may meet the growing challenge in Virginia.

Whether your investment is $500 or $5,000, it will repay you in the rich dividends of peaceful cooperation and community harmony.

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS ARE TAX EXEMPT

AS AN INVESTMENT in the development of equal opportunities for all the citizens of Virginia and the effective utilization of their industrial and professional skills.

The undersigned subscribes $..... for the year ending December 31, 196 .

Signed: .....

Address: .....

.....

THE RICHMOND NEWS LEADER
State News
FRIDAY, MAY 14, 1965 25

MEETINGS HELD MORE FREQUENTLY

Biracial Group Functions in Prince Edward

By Staff Writer

HAMPTEN-SYDNEY, May 11 About 20 whites and 20 Negroes met near here at Mercy Seat Baptist Church, a Negro church about half a mile south of this college community.

The occasion last night was a meeting of the Prince Edward Council on Human Relations, which affiliated about six months ago with the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

The biracial meeting in the attractive church building, which dates from 1870, was hardly historic or unique.

And it was far from commonplace in Southside Virginia, which has only two formal human relations groups.

But it was an occasion that is recurring with more frequency in Prince Edward county.

The Prince Edward council is an outgrowth of a study group set up about two years ago. The Rev. Arthur M. Field Jr., pastor of College Church, has been a guiding force.

The Mercy Seat Church, with its hard-backed wooden pews and rural flavor appears to be one of five "acceptable" meeting places in the county.

The council says 23 potential meeting sites were surveyed in the county. A spokesman said five churches—three Baptist and two Catholic — agreed to make facilities available. Two groups were reported to have replied "no," and 16 did not answer.

The council meets once a month, except during summer months.

When organized, the council said it had 42 members enrolled. Dr. C. G. G. Moss, the treasurer, says the total now is about 50.

The white members appear to be mainly from the Hampden-Sydney and Longwood College communities.

Dr. Marvin W. Schlegel of Longwood, president since the council was organized, was re-elected last night to a year's term.

Other officers include Edgar Latham, vice president; Mrs. Etta Lee, recording secretary; Mrs. Graves Thompson, corresponding secretary; Dr. Moss, treasurer, and Mr. Field chaplain. All except Mrs. Mrs. Thompson were re-elected.

Last night the Rev. Robert L. Combs, new executive director of the Virginia council, told the group "there are still many battles to be fought. This year in Prince Edward obviously know."

Some battles concerning people of good will "we shall lose, others we shall win. We are still very much in the hell of war for good human relations. . . . But surely we shall win."

The Free Lance-Star, Fredericksburg, Virginia 3
Wednesday, January 19, 1966

Human Relations Unit to Prod Anti-Poverty Programs Here

By WILLIAM LAKEMAN

The Fredericksburg Human Relations Council is going to prod city officials about starting community-action projects here under the federal anti-poverty program.

Letters will be sent to the City School Board, the mayor and the Fredericksburg Biracial Commission after HRC's executive committee gathers statistical evidence of the need for the projects here.

The HRC vote last night followed a board discussion of whether Fredericksburg is slipping into complacency after making large strides in the past two years through the quiet work of its biracial panel.

The executive secretary of the Virginia Human Relations Council told the group "there is entirely too much foot dragging" on anti-poverty programs in several areas of the state.

In some cases committees have formed and lapsed, said the Rev. Robert Lee Combs, and in others there is great publicity given to "Head Start" programs but very little said or done about the many other programs available under the Economic Opportunity Act.

Combs, a former Presbyterian minister of Norfolk, cited the case of his hometown, Charlotte, N.C., which drifted into complacency on inter-racial matters, he said, until it was shaken by a series of bombings last year.

Even in Richmond, he warned, there are trends of complacency and lack of communication between races and classes that he believes could lead to conditions like those in the Watts area in Los Angeles.

In a broad state wide review that touched upon voting rights, education, employment and housing, Combs noted "many things for which to be thankful" and voiced "real hopes" for Gov. Mills E. Godwin's plans to step up aid to education.

But he warned that the Ku Klux Klan is actively organizing in Virginia, and he noted that Attorney General Button is still contesting the Voting Rights Act in the courts and $100,000 in state tax funds is still supporting the Commission on Constitutional Government that was set up in "massive resistance" days to publish states' rights tracts. The state panel is now asking for $250,000, he added, which could be better spent on forming a commission on equal employment or human relations.

The local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People feels that Fredericksburg is becoming complacent with token desegregation of sales clerks in stores, the HRC meeting was told.

Hopes have turned to launching occupational training programs at Walker-Grant High School, but it has lagged, partly due to a lack of student interest, the session was told.

One Negro family has rented an apartment "in a better neighborhood," it was reported, but another told of a long and unsuccessful search for housing that convinced him "only Mayfield is for the colored man." The Area Ministerial Association is studying a proposal on "open occupancy," but has not acted on it yet, the meeting heard.

Combs suggested that the HRC should invite Reuben Clay of the Federal Housing Authority office in Richmond to speak on the FHA's rules about open-occupancy requirements under the Civil Rights Act.

HRC president Wilbur Chance suggested that a letter be sent to City Council, urging that it look into the need for projects here under the federal "war on poverty" program. The vote, however, called for citing concrete evidence of low-income housing and routing it to the Housing Commission and School Board in launching action here.

In two other [illegible] ing at Trinity [illegible] the chapter [illegible] Petros to committee [illegible] and set [illegible] mittee [illegible]

Human Relations Council Backs Tutoring Program

[illegible] a Andrews, professor of [illegible] at Randolph-Macon Col[illegible], was elected president of [illegible] Hanover County Council on [illegible] Human Relations at its May [illegible] meeting.

[illegible] Mrs. Schuyler Miller was [illegible] elected vice president. Mrs. [illegible] de Anderson, secretary; John R. Fleming, treasurer.

Also at the meeting members of the Lambda Chi Alpha fraternity at Randolph-Macon and also Mrs. Marjorie West, guidance counselor at Gandy High School, gave reports on the tutoring program which the fraternity has been sponsoring this semester. One hundred Gandy students participated and 25 Randolph-Macon students gave their services. It was felt that the tutoring program had been successful but that more planning and coordination were needed to insure greater efficiency and more children reached.

There were suggestions to expand the tutoring to the elementary grades and to other schools. Richard Wood, professor of English at Randolph-Macon, assured the group of the interest of some of the college faculty in giving direction to the program.

The Hanover Council on [illegible] Human Relations plans to cooperate with the fraternity in [illegible] the program in the [illegible] spokesman said this we[illegible]

Richmond News Leader, Tues., Feb. 22, 1966 23

Voter Project To Get Assist

The Virginia Council on Human Relations will assist the Southern Regional Council, Inc. Atlanta, Ga., in its voter education project in Virginia, the VCHR announced today.

The VCHR said it will provide grants to local human relations councils and other groups to assist in programs of voter registration, citizenship education and leadership training.

Plans are already under way for programs in Richmond, Roanoke, Danville, Lynchburg, Petersburg and the 4th Congressional district.

Movie Planned By HR Council

A movie titled "No Hiding Place" will be shown at 8 p.m. Thursday at a meeting of the Charlottesville Chapter of the Virginia Human Relations Council.

The meeting will be held at the First Presbyterian Church at 500 Park St.

"No Hiding Place" was the winner of the 1964 Blue Ribbon Award of the Education Film Library Association. It was shown on television as part of the series "East Side. West Side". It concerns integration of a suburban, white neighborhood.

A spokesman for the council said that the film is being shown to dramatize the problem of segregated housing.

500 State Students Fan To Help Negroes In Prince Edward

By Robert Mobley

Free-Dispatch Staff Writer

FARMVILLE, April 22 — Nearly 500 students from colleges in Virginia and other states planned to travel to Prince Edward county this weekend to help Negroes there continue their fight for equal opportunity.

Thursday was the deadline for students from 11 colleges to register for the Prince Edward County Community Action Program for disadvantaged students.

Participating colleges will be represented by students from Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Bridgewater, Longwood, Mary Washington, Madison, Hampden-Sydney, Lynchburg, Randolph-Macon, Sweet Briar, Washington and Lee and Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

Students will be assigned to work in the county with the Prince Edward Council on Human Relations, the local chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Prince Edward County Community Action Program, and the Prince Edward County Community Center.

Students will be housed in the homes of Negroes who have offered to provide a room where students can sleep and a meal.

The local chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations is sponsoring the program. Contact for Human Relations in Prince Edward County, Inc., recording secretary, said that "we have received more than 500 applications from students who want to come to Prince Edward County to work with the Negroes in their fight for equal opportunity."

Students will be expected to pay their own transportation and meet expenses of different responsibilities and meet expenses of different responsibilities and meet expenses of different responsibilities

WHAT THEY SAY ... about the Council on Human Relations.

DR. J. RUPERT PICOTT, Executive Secretary, Virginia Teachers' Association — Effective communication between people is the great need of our times. The Virginia Council on Human Relations deserves hearty congratulations for fulfilling this role.

The Most Reverend JOHN J. RUSSEL D.D. Bishop of Richmond — With inner human problems as with any other, negotiation and mediation seem the best answer. TheVirginia Council on Human Relations has exhibited to me its ability for creating this better understanding among all men.

EMMET ALLEN FRANK, Rabbi, Temple Beth El, Alexandria, Va. — The program and objectives of the Virginia Council on Human Relations are highly commendable. They deserve the wholehearted support and encouragement of every patriotic American in the state of Virginia.

DR. THEODORE F. ADAMS, Pastor, First Baptist Church of Richmond — I am sure that many are grateful for any worthy means of promoting understanding and brotherhood across the lines of color and creed. The Virginia Council on Human Relations provides just such a channel for many men and women of goodwill.

DR. ROBERT P. DANIEL, President, Virginia State College, Petersburg — The Virginia Council on Human Relations makes a significant contribution to the cultivation of wholesome attitudes necessary for the solution of the racial issues involved in community problems. Tensions and misunderstandings can be removed, indeed prevented, by the cooperative efforts of people of mutual respect and goodwill.

COL. BENJAMIN MUSE, Manassas Virginia, Former Ambassador to Mexico, Former Member Va. State Senate. — Membership in the Virginia Council of Human Relations enables us to play a part in the greatest movement of our day. We can help to banish racial discrimination and prejudice from our state and nation.

A Special Opportunity for Every Concerned Virginian

By being a member of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, you will automatically become a member of the local council if there is one in your area, and will receive VCHR's Newsletter, plus other material and special information mailed members from time to time.

The work of the Council is dependent upon concerned Virginians, who are willing to invest of their time, talents and money for this all-important cause of fostering better human relations in our time.

All Memberships and Contributions To The Virginia Council on Human Relations are Exempt for Federal Income Tax Purposes —

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

EQUALITY

IN VIRGINIA

...HE AMERICAN DREAM OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY...

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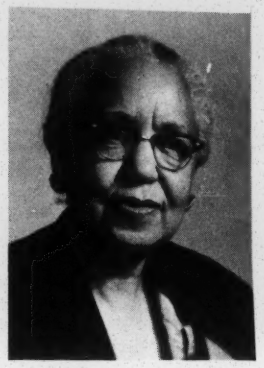

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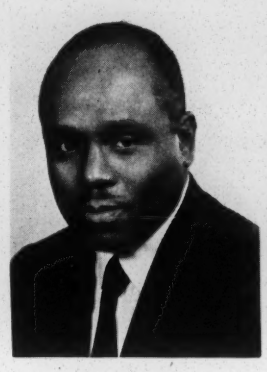

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THE AMERICAN DREAM OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY WAS NURTURED

By Thomas Jefferson, who wrote:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. . ."—*Thomas Jefferson, July 4, 1776.*

"Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion. . ."—*Thomas Jefferson's First Inaugural.*

. . . . and by other Virginia patriots who laid the foundation for a democratic society.

THE AMERICAN DREAM OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IS GROWING

In Virginia. In:

- **Public Education**
- **Public Accommodations**
- **Merit Employment**
- **Voter Registration**
- **Stabilized Residential Areas**

Lending information and consistent support in more than 30 communities across Virginia is the Virginia Council on Human Relations, with these local councils and cooperating groups, including high school and college councils on 17 campuses:

Alexandria
Arlington
Blacksburg
Charlottesville
Covington
Danville
Fairfax County
Fredericksburg
Franklin
Giles County (New River)
Hanover County
Hopewell
Lancaster-Northumberland
Lexington
Loudoun County
Lynchburg
Mercer-Tazewell
Norfolk
Peninsula (Hampton-Newport News)
Petersburg
Portsmouth-Chesapeake
Prince Edward County
Radford
Richmond
Roanoke
Rockingham
Virginia Beach
Virginia College Council
Williamsburg

THE AMERICAN DREAM OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY WILL BE FULFILLED

By Achieving Such Goals As:

—voter participation comparable to the **61.1%** national average, contrasted with the 1964 Virginia record of **41.1%.**
—expanding areas of public accommodations where every citizen is accorded the dignity of fair and courteous treatment.
—integrated quality education, complying with orders of the courts and offering challenging opportunities for every student.
—equal justice, under the law, with enforcement bodies and the judiciary reflecting the constituency of the community.
—job opportunities without discrimination, and geared to contributing to an expanding economy.
—recreational and cultural facilities provided for and shared in by the total community.
—elimination of poverty and disease as a perennial scourge of minority groups and a blight upon a prosperous state.
—adequate housing for the total population, policies of open occupancy as a guarantee against urban blight and the destruction of economic values
—opportunity for every person to rise to the capacity of which he is capable.

Objectives of the Virginia Council On Human Relations

1. The Council is a private, non-profit, voluntary organization open to all Virginians who will approach these objectives through constructive under standing and appropriate action.
2. The Council unites Virginians of common purpose to seek lawful and orderly solutions of basic problems and to help create a climate in whic men and women of goodwill work together for the welfare of the entire community.
3. It uses fact-finding, education, negotiation, persuasion and publicity to advance the legitimate aspirations for all citizens without regard to rac creed, color or national origin.
4. It works through a professional staff, more than 30 local chapters, and members representing all walks of life and many religious groups.
5. It cooperates with civic leaders and public officials at all levels in seeking equal opportunities and justice for all citizens.
6. It is linked in cooperation with similar councils in the other southern states, all related to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., in approachin Southwide problems with a common understanding and shared resources.
7. It seeks to keep open lines of communication with business and professional leaders and it maintains close liaison with Federal agencies an private organizations.
8. It relies for financial support on membership dues and the generous (tax-deductible) contributions of concerned Virginians who are committed t the realization of America's democratic idea.

The VCHR is concerned about:

EDUCATION
PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS
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EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITIES
FAIR HOUSING
VOTER REGISTRATION

You can find an opportunity to help with these and other significant enterprises in your local chapter.

NUMBERS COUNT—If you can become only a member, this helps.
DOLLARS COUNT—If you contribute financially, this helps. (Tax-deductible)
IDEAS COUNT—If you are able to help solve even one part of one problem, this helps.
INFLUENCE COUNTS—What you think and how you act will have a telling effect on countless other people.

Mail your application for membership **today** to the address given below, together with $5.00, annual dues for single persons or for married couple

MEMBERSHIP

NEW SOUTH $2.50 is the annual subscription rate for the monthly publication of the Southern Regional Council, providing valuable articles and the results of important studies. NEW SOUTH must be ordered from SRC—5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga., 30303. For information about literature, professional staff availability, speakers, and activities in your local community, write:

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, 17 East Cary Street, Richmond, Virginia 23219, Phone 648-4444

11-10-62

The Saturday Evening POST
FOUNDED IN 1728 BY B. Franklin

Oxford, Mississippi, September 30, 1962.

THE MISSISSIPPI STORY

A Comprehensive *Post* Report

"I was sure that if I were killed, somebody else would take my place someday." These were the thoughts of James Meredith as he stood at the very center of a historic national crisis with the world watching.

In the following pages:

- Meredith tells his own story for the first time: what it is like to be a living target of threats and hatred; what he has heard and thought and felt as the drama on the Ole Miss campus was played out around him.
- *Post* Editor Robert Massie, who saw the sudden, chilling violence and then traveled the state searching for the deeper meaning, reports the story behind the crisis.
- John Faulkner, brother of the great Mississippi novelist, describes the attitudes and reactions of his fellow townsfolk of Oxford.

"I'll Know Victory or Defeat"

By JAMES H. MEREDITH

If you asked me when it all began—what brought me to the campus in Oxford that first week in October—I guess I would say it began when I was a boy in Kosciusko, up in the hill country of Mississippi, where I was born. I used to lie in bed and dream about a city—I didn't know what city or where it was—I just knew it would be different from Kosciusko, because I didn't like the way things were there.

Kosciusko isn't altogether typical of Mississippi, I would say. It is an area of small farms, and most of the farmers, Negro and white, own their own places. I think the Negroes there might be a little more progressive than in some other parts of the state. Some Negroes there—my father, for example—have been voting for as long as I know of. I think you'll find that many progressive Negroes come from an area like this, where they own their own land. Still, I certainly can't say I liked it in Kosciusko. They tell me I was always strong on the race issue when I was young. For example, I remember a wealthy white man who used to go around town handing out nickles and dimes to Negro children. I never would take any.

In Kosciusko I grew up between things. Part of my family was much older than I was, and part was much younger. It was like being an only child. I really only got to know my brothers and sisters later. Also, I lived in the country and went to school in town. In small towns in the South you're either a "city boy" or a "country boy," but I wasn't either. I got used to taking care of things by myself.

When I was 16 I left Kosciusko to finish my last year of high school in St. Petersburg, Florida. I had a desire to go to a better school, and I had an uncle and a sister living there. I graduated from high school in June of 1951 and enlisted in the Air Force the next month. I had a brother in the Air Force, but that wasn't the reason I joined. It was common knowledge among Negroes that the Air Force was a better branch of service for them.

Influence of Air Force Duty

Certainly my Air Force days were the most influential time of my life. I served in nothing but integrated units. It seems to me the integration of the armed forces is one of the most important things that has happened to the Negro in the United States. For that reason, I thought it was particularly unfortunate that the Army apparently resegregated its units in Oxford after the night of campus rioting. If Negroes could fight side by side with whites around the world, they should be able to serve with them in Mississippi.

I never had any "bad" incidents when I was in the Air Force. There were occasional small things, reminders that a Negro was a Negro. I remember when I was in basic training at Sampson Air Force Base in New York State, all of us were invited to spend weekends with families in Syracuse. I spent a weekend with a white family there, and they were very nice, but they kept reminding me in subtle ways that they were being unusually nice—in other words, they didn't have to do this; it was just a favor. There is always that air of difference about being a Negro that you can never quite touch.

But life was pretty good in the Air Force. As I say, I served in nothing but integrated units, and everything was OK as far as promotions went too. I remember very well one particular hearing for promotion, when I was up for staff sergeant. I was to go before a board of three colonels. Usually they question you about your qualifications and try to decide whether or not you can take on the responsibilities of the next rank. I came up before the board just two months after the Supreme Court school-desegregation decision in 1954, and they didn't ask me anything about my qualifications. All they asked about was my opinion of the decision, what my family thought about it, and all that. Well, I told them. I'll always remember that when it was over and I had made staff sergeant, they told me they were with me in the struggle but that "the outcome will depend on you." I took that "you" to mean Negroes, all Negroes, and I guess it has been sort of a badge of responsibility ever since.

"Look in a Mirror to Remember"

In 1955 I reenlisted. I always had it in mind to come back to Mississippi and study law, but I didn't think I was ready then for the responsibilities I would have to face, so I reenlisted. I was in Japan from 1957 till 1960, and there isn't any doubt that this was the settling-down point for me. I decided not only what I wanted to do, which I have known for a long time in a vague way, but how to go about doing it.

Being in Japan was an amazing experience. Negroes say, "When you're in Japan you have to look in a mirror to remember you're a Negro," and it's true. Japan is the only place where I have not felt the "air of difference."

I was surprised that the Japanese people were so aware of the racial situation in America. For instance, I met a boy—I don't suppose he was more than 12 or 13—and he knew more about Little Rock than most American kids that age. He was amazed when I told him I was from Mississippi and that I intended to go back. This kind of reaction further convinced me that I would go back to Mississippi and try to improve these conditions. I was discharged in July, 1960, and by the end of the month I was back in Kosciusko.

I entered Jackson State College, a Negro school in Jackson, and quickly met other students who felt as I did—that Negroes in Mississippi did not have the rights of full citizens, including the right to the best education the state offered. Someone had to seek admission to the University of Mississippi, and I decided to do it. But there were many of us involved. Although the lawsuit was mine, the others were with me, and I sought their advice on every move I made.

As soon as I filed application for admission, I contacted Medgar Evers, Mississippi field secretary for the N.A.A.C.P., and through him I asked for N.A.A.C.P. legal aid. Mrs. Constance Motley, associate counsel of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund, came to my assistance. The N.A.A.C.P. was prompt and efficient, and that was of prime importance. There was a great morale factor here, and every time we called them, they were there.

The court fight was long, and there were times when I wondered if it would be successful. I kept winning in court, but I didn't get any nearer to the university. Finally, after the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals had said I should be registered, I felt the responsibility was the Federal Government's; it was out of my hands to do anything.

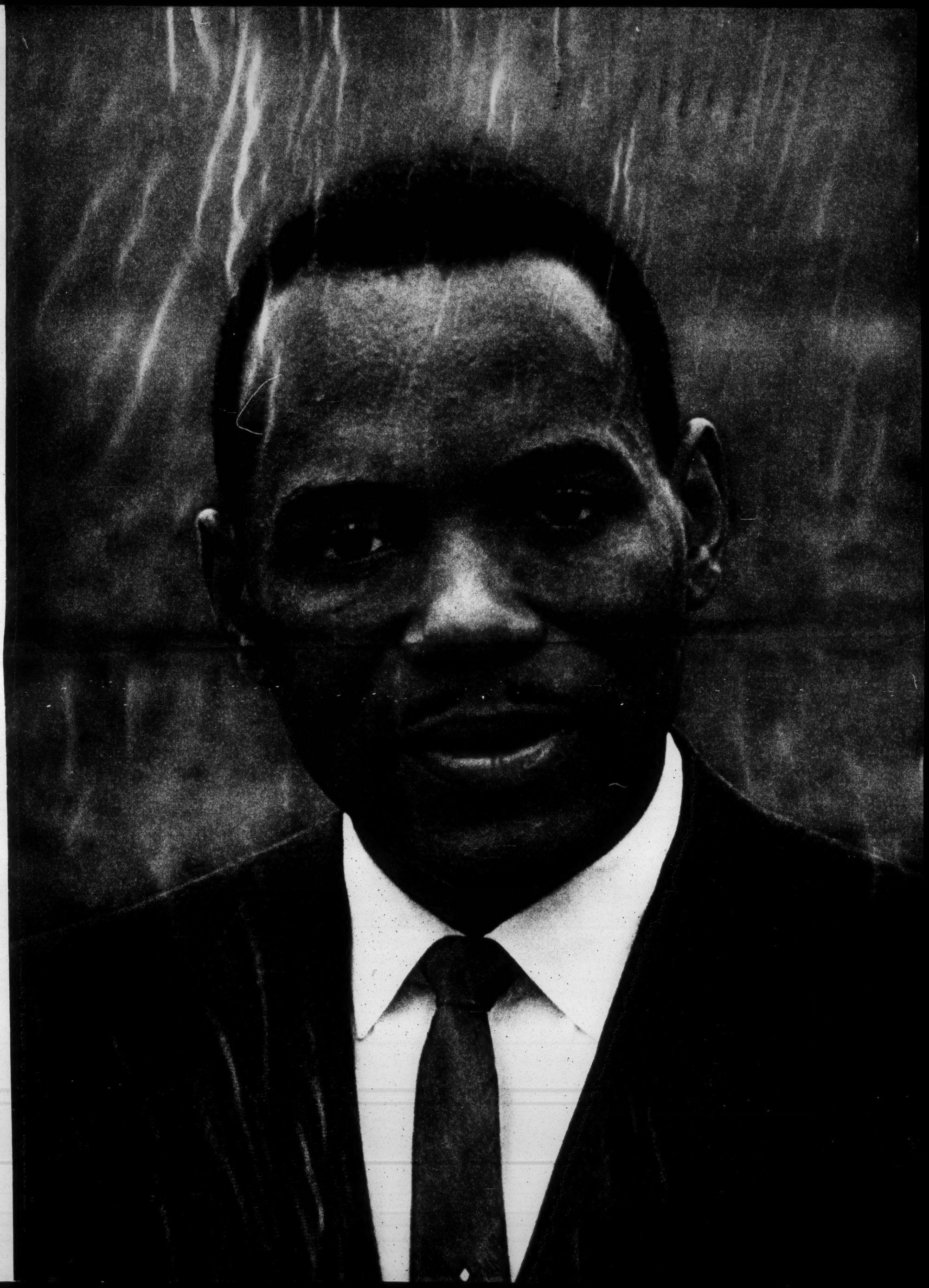
People have asked me if I wasn't terribly afraid the night we went to Oxford. No, my apprehensions came a long time before that. The hardest thing in human nature is to decide to act. I was doing all right in the Air Force. I got married in 1956, and my wife was able to work as a civil servant on the same bases where I was stationed. I had to give this up, this established way of things, this status, and try something new and unknown. That's where the big decision was—not here, last month, but there, a couple of years ago. Once I made that decision, things just had to happen the way they happened.

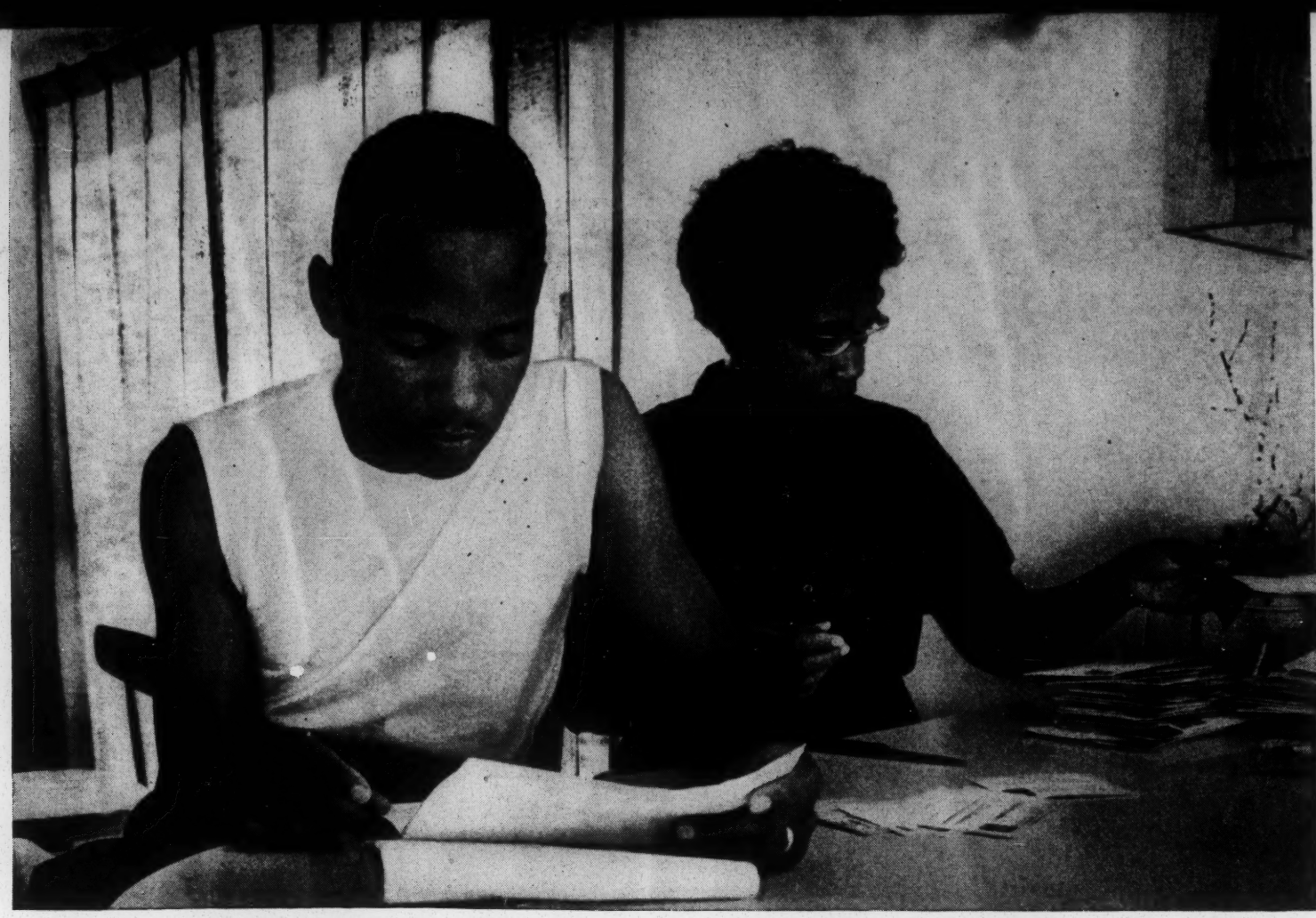
I think maybe a quote from Theodore Roosevelt that I read somewhere was more important than anything else in helping me make this decision. I think I read it around 1952, and I clipped it out, and everywhere I've gone since then—every place I've lived or everywhere I've worked—I have put that saying in front of me. I guess I must have read it two or three thousand times by now. It says, "It is not the critic who counts. . . . The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena, whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood . . . who at the best knows in the end the triumph of high achievement, and who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that his place will never be with those cold and timid souls who know neither victory nor defeat." At different times different parts of that quotation have been important to me, but when I made the decision to return to Mississippi and later to enroll at the university, the part I kept seeing was the part about "cold and timid souls who know neither victory nor defeat." I didn't want to be one of those.

Fear Is Just Another Obstacle

As far as fear of death or personal injury goes—and I consider this most important for everybody to understand—I put death or the fear of getting hurt in the same category with legal objections to my entering the university, or moral objections, or objections on grounds of custom. They are all on the same level. They are all just ways to keep me out of the university, and no one is any more important than any other. It wouldn't matter if I stumbled and fell and couldn't go to classes or whether I cut my finger and couldn't write for a month or whether I was shot and killed—they're

Author Meredith: "They tell me I was always strong on the race issue when I was young."





With his wife, Mary June, in the kitchen of a friend's home at Jackson, Meredith pores over the letters and telegrams which have deluged him. Most support his cause; a few threaten his life.

all just things in my way. I might do quite a bit to put a stop to the act of being killed. I have done this several times already—I've taken the advice of the Federal marshals on several occasions, for instance. But this was because, if something happened to me, it would have put everything back as far as the Negroes in Mississippi are concerned. If I have lost an hour's sleep in recent weeks, it has been over some philosophical point, or through apprehension of not succeeding in entering the university, and of discouraging others from trying if I failed, but not over what might happen to me personally.

I was sure that if I were harmed or killed, somebody else would take my place one day. I would hate to think another Negro would have to go through that ordeal, but I would hate worse to think there wouldn't be another who would do it.

I had an older brother who was scary as a boy. Back home he wouldn't go certain places after dark or walk here or there. I always walked wherever I wanted. I walked four miles to Scout meetings at night, and I always went through all the hollows and the places where you were supposed to be afraid to go. I must admit my hair has stood up on my head at times, but I never ran. They used to say, "If you see a 'hant' put your hand on it." Most of the time you find it isn't there. I think it's an utter waste of time to worry about dying. It's living that matters—doing something to justify being here on God's green earth. I do what I do because I must. I've never felt I had a choice. There is some urge that I can't explain easily—I guess that's as close as I can come to defining it.

There is something else here, too, and it's hard to say right. People can misunderstand it. But it's this—generally at home I was always thought to be pretty smart. I wasn't particularly proud of it; it was just almost a fact of life. There was an expectation or a more or less acknowledged fact that I was one of the sharpest in the group. I was a champion in my group in Mississippi, but then, when I went to Florida to change high schools, I wasn't a champion at all. I had to fight to keep up. I hadn't been prepared. Since then, one of the biggest things in my life is that I have always felt I was never able to develop my talents. I have felt many times that, given the opportunity, I could develop into practically anything. Many times I have been angry at the world for not giving me an opportunity to develop. I am sure this has been a strong motivating force with me, and I'm sure it is with many Negroes. Since then I've always tried to see myself in relation to the whole society. Too many Negroes see themselves only in relation to other Negroes. But that's not good enough. We have to see ourselves in the whole society. If America isn't for everybody, it isn't America.

Through all that has happened I have tried to remain detached and objective. I have had all sorts of reactions to things that have happened, but mostly they have been personal reactions and realistic reactions, both at the same time. When I was in the middle of the force of marshals being gathered to take me to Oxford I thought, personally, how utterly ridiculous this was, what a terrible waste of time and money and energy, to iron out some rough spots in our civilization. But realistically I knew that these changes were necessary. I knew change was a threat to people and that they would fight it and that this was the only way it could be accomplished.

I have tried to be detached and realistic. When we were turned away the first time I tried to register at the university, and especially the second time, at the State Capitol in Jackson, I saw the mobs and heard them jeering, "Go home, nigger" and that stuff, but I never recognized them as individuals at all, even those who showed the greatest contempt for me. I felt they were not personally attacking me but that they were protesting a change and this was something they felt they must do. I thought it was impersonal. Some of them were crying, and their crying indicated to me even more the pain of change and the fear of things they did not know. I feel the people were keyed up by the actions of their leaders. With Gov. Ross Barnett taking the position he did, the people were bound to act that way, and it didn't really have anything to do with me personally. That's the way I saw it.

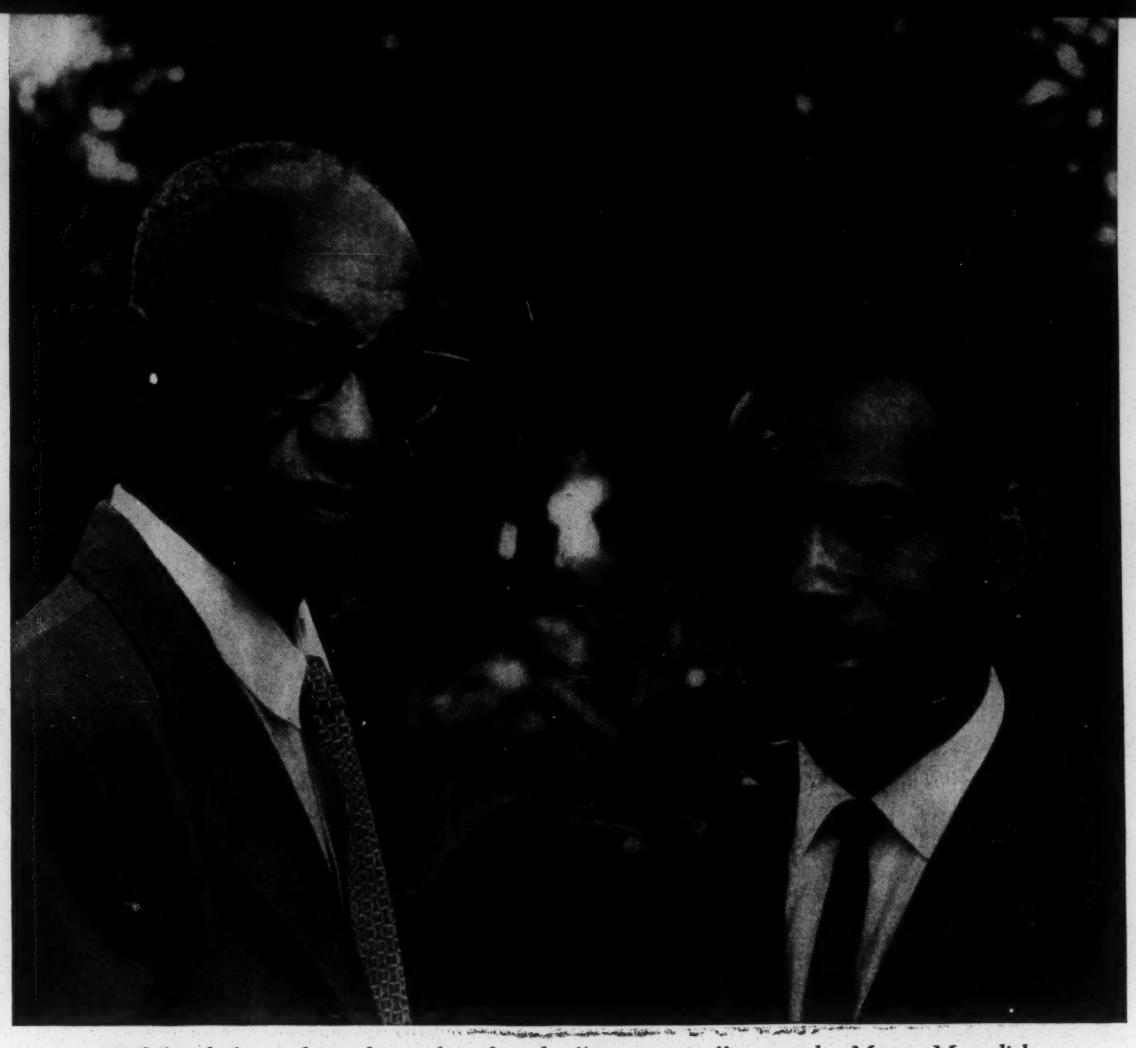
I might add that I thought the governor put on a pretty good performance. The first time, when he turned us away at the university, he reminded me of Charlton Heston, I believe it was, in a movie about Andrew Jackson. Very dramatic.

I don't think I have had a real low point in recent weeks. It always seemed to me it was the Government's job to carry out the court order and it would be done. The most annoying time was when there was so much talk about a possible deal between the Federal Government and Governor Barnett. But when the Federal officers told me we were going that Sunday, just a few minutes before we took off for Oxford, the annoyance disappeared.

When we landed in Oxford it was almost dark. We got in a car and I remember seeing a truckload of marshals in front of us and one behind. I went straight to the university and was taken to my rooms—an apartment, I guess you could call it. Since they knew some Government men would be staying with me, I had two bedrooms and a living room and a bathroom. The first thing I did was make my bed. When the trouble started, I couldn't see or hear very much of it. Most of it was at the other end of the campus, and besides I didn't look out the window. I think I read a newspaper and went to bed around 10 o'clock. I was awakened several times in the night by the noise and shooting outside, but it wasn't near me, and I had no way of knowing what was going on. Some of the students in my dormitory banged their doors for a while and threw some bottles in the halls, but I slept pretty well all night.

I woke up about six-thirty in the morning and looked out and saw the troops. There was a slight smell of tear gas in my room, but I still didn't know what had gone on during the night, and I didn't find out until some marshals came and told me how many people were hurt and killed. I had gotten to know these marshals pretty well in recent weeks, and I was so sorry about this. Some supposedly responsible newspapermen asked me

"If I can't live in Mississippi, I very definitely intend to leave the country."



With his father, whom the author found a "progressive" example. Moses Meredith, 71, has voted for years though many other Negroes are barred from the polls.

if I thought attending the university was worth all this death and destruction. That really annoyed me. Of course I was sorry! I didn't want that sort of thing. I believe it could have been prevented by responsible political leaders. I understand the President and the attorney general were up most of the night. They had all the intelligence at their disposal, and I believe they handled it to the best of their knowledge and ability. I think it would have been much worse if we had waited any longer. Social change is a painful thing, but it depends on the people at the top. Here they were totally opposed—the state against the Federal Government. There was bound to be trouble, and there was trouble.

Monday morning at eight o'clock I registered, and at nine I went to a class in Colonial American History. I was a few minutes late, and I took a seat at the back of the room. The professor was lecturing on the background in England, conditions there at the time of the colonization of America, and he paid no special attention when I entered. I think there were about a dozen students in the class. One said hello to me, and the others were silent. I remember a girl—the only girl there, I think—and she was crying, but it might have been from the tear gas in the room. I was crying from it myself.

I had three classes scheduled that day. I went to two, and the third didn't meet because there was too much gas in the room. No marshals were in the classrooms with me, nor were they all week.

I have received hundreds of telegrams and more than 1,000 letters, most of them expressions of support. One guy sent me a piece of singed rope, and another sent a poem, I guess you'd have to call it:

Roses are red, violets are blue;
I've killed one nigger and might as well make it two.

But most of the letters and telegrams have supported me, and some of them have been really touching—letters from 10- and 11-year-olds who think I'm right and offer me their help and that sort of thing.

As far as my relations with the students go, I make it a practice to be courteous. I don't force myself on them, but that's not my nature anyway. Many of them—most, I'd say—have been courteous, and the faculty members certainly have been. When I hear the jeers and the catcalls—"We'll get you, nigger" and all that—I don't consider it personal. I get the idea people are just having a little fun. I think it's tragic that they have to have this kind of fun about me, but many of them are children of the men who lead Mississippi today, and I wouldn't expect them to act any other way. They have to act the way they do. I think I understand human nature enough to understand that.

It hasn't been all bad. Many students have spoken to me very pleasantly. They have stopped banging doors and throwing bottles into my dormitory now.

One day a fellow from my home town sat down at my table in the cafeteria. "If you're here to get an education, I'm for you," he said. "If you're here to cause trouble, I'm against you." That seemed fair enough to me.

Marshals Are a Distraction

I am taking five courses—Colonial American History; a political science course called American Political Parties, Theories and Pressure Groups; French literature; English literature; and algebra. I expect to be able to get my B.A. in history, with a minor in political science, in two semesters and one summer, if everything goes right.

I'm not sure what I will do in the future. A lot depends on how things go at the university. We are just at the beginning of a process of change in Mississippi. I would like to help that process along, and that probably would mean some kind of job in public life. Whether this will be possible in Mississippi or not we'll just have to wait to see. I do know this: If I can't live in Mississippi, I very definitely will leave the country.

If the decision is made to keep the marshals and troops on the campus until I complete my course, it is all right with me, but certainly I hope that won't be necessary. I think the marshals have been superb. They have had an image of America—that the law must be obeyed, no matter what they may think of it or what anybody else may think of it—but they are certainly a distraction on the campus. The thing that grieves me most about all this is that the students are not getting the best college results because they're spending too much time looking on at these various events involving me. I didn't get much studying done that first week, and I don't think anybody else did.

Personally the year will be a hardship for me. My wife will be in college in Jackson. Our son John Howard, who will be three in January, is living with my parents in Kosciusko. I expect to see them both very often, but I don't think families should live apart. On the other hand, this is nothing new to my wife. We spent most of our courtship discussing my plan to come back to Mississippi some day, and I guess you could say her understanding that I would try to do this sometime was almost part of the marriage contract. She has been truly marvelous through all of it. I called her three nights after the trouble, and she picked up the phone and was so calm you'd have thought we just finished a game of 500 rummy and she won. She's a remarkable woman.

I don't think this has had any effect on my family in Kosciusko. I have talked to my father. He asks me how I am, and I ask him how he is. He knows what I mean by the question, and I know what he means by the answer. That's the way it is in our family.

I don't pretend that all the problems are over. But, whatever the problems are, I don't expect them to be too much for me. Nobody really knows where his breaking point is, and I can't say I know where mine is. But I know one thing—in the past the Negro has not been allowed to receive the education he needs. If this is the way it must be accomplished, and I believe it is, then it is not too high a price to pay. **THE END**

What Next in Mississippi?

In Oxford's aftermath, moderates ask for time to prepare for further integration. Negroes say "Now." Extremists cry "Never."

When the violence erupted at Oxford, Post *contributing editor Robert Massie was a closeup witness. He secured candid comments from all principals—students, townspeople, rioters and the "Feds." When the campus was quiet again after the incredible hours, Massie crisscrossed Mississippi to search out the reasons why the disaster had happened, and what Mississippi's future holds. Here is his dramatic report.*

From eight o'clock Sunday night, September 30, 1962, until nine o'clock the following morning, a second American Civil War was fought on the campus of the University of Mississippi and in the nearby small town of Oxford, Mississippi. Although the final outcome was never in doubt, there were moments when even the President of the United States, listening to reports of the battle over an open telephone line into a university building, wondered whether the forces he had committed would be overwhelmed. In the end, 500 United States marshals and 60 Mississippi National Guardsmen, along with bayonet-wielding U.S. military police, beat off a mob of 2,500 Mississippians, and several critical issues were settled on the spot. It was determined that the state of Mississippi could not successfully defy the Federal Government. It was also determined that 29-year-old Negro James Howard Meredith would attend the University of Mississippi.

But a number of things were not determined, and in the wake of the violence some agonizing questions still remain. How could a civilized country have allowed this situation to develop? Who was to blame? More important, what effect has this had on the people of Mississippi, and on the rest of the troubled South?

These questions were forced into the open on the evening of a day that had begun in deceptive calm. At four o'clock that golden Sunday afternoon, the students on the campus and the people of Oxford looked up to see four-motored U.S. Air Force planes circling overhead. By tuning their radios, they discovered what was happening—United States marshals were landing to prepare for the registration of James Meredith at Ole Miss. This was a shock. Three years before, Mississippi had elected a governor who had promised: "Ross Barnett will rot in jail before he will let one Negro ever darken the sacred threshold of our white schools." The governor, Barnett, had constantly repeated his promise.

Curiosity Changes Rapidly to Hate

What most Mississippians didn't know was that Ross Barnett, at noon that day, had told the President of the United States that he would order the Mississippi State Highway Patrol to stop blocking Meredith's entrance to the campus. For most Mississippians, however, this reversal came too late. Four times the previous week the state police had physically prevented the marshals from having Meredith registered. Now, the Ole Miss students saw the state troopers escorting "the Feds" on campus. By five P.M. the marshals were drawn up before the Lyceum building. In their white helmets, with their tear-gas guns cocked skyward, they became an object of a curiosity that changed rapidly to anger, and hate.

The spark that brought violence was the sudden arrival on this twilight scene of news photographers. As flashbulbs popped in the milling crowd of students, there were attacks on photographers and their equipment was smashed. Students began kicking and rocking a car occupied by television cameraman Gordon Yoder and his blond wife, who happened to be from Jackson, Mississippi. "Nigger-lovin' Yankee bitch," the boys screamed. One Ole Miss coed giggled nervously and asked her date, "Lord, Joe, what are they gonna do to that woman?" "Kill her, I guess," the boy said. "She's a nigger lover, isn't she?" Finally three state troopers hurried Mrs. Yoder away.

Students Besiege U.S. Marshals

The mob pressed forward toward the Lyceum, jeering at the marshals. Eggs and lighted cigarettes arched onto the three army trucks parked before the building. A student wrenched the fire extinguisher from the cab of one of the trucks and fired it into the face of the Negro driver. Other students slashed at the tires. A state patrolman stood by, grinning. The marshals made no move. Emboldened, the students switched to bottles and rocks. Finally, when a piece of lead pipe caught a marshal on the helmet, knocking him down, Chief U.S. Marshal James P. McShane gave the order: "Gas." "It was terrible, terrible," he said later. "I prayed we wouldn't have to use gas. But we had no other choice." Just as the first pellets came sputtering on the grass, spewing their choking fumes, President Kennedy's voice was heard over dozens of car radios parked before the Lyceum. The President announced, "The orders of the court . . . are beginning to be carried out. Mr. James Meredith is now in residence on the campus of the University of Mississippi." With an ear-splitting rebel yell, the mob picked up rocks, bricks, bottles and charged the marshals. This was the first mass assault of the night.

Among the few men who tried to talk sense to the mob that night were Rev. Duncan Gray, of St. Peter's Episcopal Church of Oxford, and Rev. Wofford Smith, the University's Episcopal chaplain. They moved through the crowd, taking bricks and rocks from temporarily sheepish students. Near midnight, Father Gray recognized ex-Maj. Gen. Edwin Walker standing by the tall Confederate statue near the foot of the Grove. Four days before, Walker had issued a radio call over a station in Shreveport, Louisiana, proclaiming, "It is time to move. Rise to a stand beside Governor Ross Barnett. Ten thousand strong from every state in the Union." Ten thousand didn't come but Walker himself did. "I compliment you on what you are doing," he shouted hoarsely to the rioters. At this point Father Gray tried to talk to Walker. Walker turned to the crowd and said, "There is an Episcopal priest here who wants you to go home. He makes me ashamed to be an Episcopalian."

The madness grew. Lights shining from the Lyceum illuminated clouds of gas and silhouetted wave after wave of attackers running behind Confederate flags. The flare of burning cars would catch a student in a full Confederate uniform. It was not James Meredith who was the target that night—it was the Yankees, the Federal Government that had conquered the South and was about to inflict James Meredith on them. "Shoot the Yankee, shoot. Give me your gun if you won't shoot," one boy implored three state patrolmen running before a gas barrage. As two other boys hurried toward the battlefield, their arms loaded with rocks, one said to his red-headed companion, "I'm with you, Red, you know I'm with you. If we can just kill one, I'll be happy." For several hours it seemed as if the mob would succeed. They battered at the marshals with a bulldozer, a fire engine, streams of water from a fire hose, shotgun blasts and rifle fire. At about 2:30, the marshals were reeling from exhaustion; 166 were injured and tear gas was running low. But already small groups of Federal troops were filtering in, and almost imperceptibly the tide of the battle began to turn.

No Grief for Those Who Died

With dawn a gentle rain began to fall. Driven from the campus, vicious remnants of the mob roamed the town, hurling bottles and rocks at Army trucks, stopping cars and demanding to know the drivers' sympathies. By noon the town square had been cleared, and General Walker was under arrest. The cleanup began.

There were two bodies. One was that of Ray Gunter, 23, a local Mississippian. The other dead man was Paul Guihard, a French reporter, who was found shot from the back at close range—there were powder burns on his shirt. Since Guihard, with his accent and red beard, was obviously a foreigner, it is not too far-fetched that he may have been challenged, and then simply marched off and executed. There was no grief at the deaths. "The real hell of all this is that all the girls are leaving," declared one boy.

Who started the riot? In Mississippi the view crystallized immediately that the marshals had caused it. "Trigger-happy marshals," Governor Barnett charged on TV, had "fired point-blank into the backs of state police" and "into groups of young people." Rev. Wofford Smith disagreed. "Those marshals were the bravest men I ever saw," he said. Thirty-eight members of the Ole Miss faculty signed a resolution protesting the

By ROBERT MASSIE

attempt to blame the marshals. The marshals themselves, many of them Southerners, were astonished to find that they were being held responsible for the riot. "Those people were savages. It was war," said one marshal.

It also rapidly became accepted in Mississippi that the riot was caused by "outsiders." University provost Dr. Charles F. Mayeard blamed "men like General Walker." "I didn't see a single boy I recognized," said Sidna Brower, the girl editor of *The Mississippian*. "That's absurd," snorted one Ole Miss professor, when he heard the claims. "They were all students, at first. Of course, as the night went on, a lot of outsiders did come in." These were the lean men from the shacks in the hills, who began to come into town with rifles and shotguns in the trunks of their cars. Yet, paradoxically, often the same student who claimed that "outsiders" had caused the riot would say, when asked what would happen to Meredith if he were left unprotected on the campus, "We'd kill him." Many said they would do the job themselves. One said he had a friend who was saving two hand grenades.

Mayor's Calls for Help Unheeded

A sizable portion of blame must go to the gray-uniformed men of the Mississippi Highway Patrol. "Those bastards just walked off and left us," said one top official of the Department of Justice. When one group of boys began beating a photographer before the gas attack, an Oxford woman rushed over to a state trooper. "Aren't you going to stop them?" she cried. The patrolman grinned at her. "I don't see nothin', lady, do you?" Even Oxford's mayor, Richard Elliott, could not get help from the Highway Patrol. "They said they had no authority. That's why I called for the Army." On Monday morning three carloads of troopers sat passive in a filling station while a mob threw rocks and bottles at passing Army trucks. An old Negro drove up to the stoplight. An empty bottle case shattered the truck's window, and the Negro started through the light. A highway cruiser pulled in front of him, blocking his way. Desperate, the Negro escaped by backing up and speeding between the pumps of another filling station. Later in the week the state senate resolved that by "their faithful and courageous efforts to maintain peace and order, the Highway Patrol and other officers reflected credit on themselves and the state of Mississippi."

How could an entire state rally to keep one man out of a university? Why was there no serious effort by any prominent man in the state to convince Mississippians that they were embarked on a futile crusade? One answer lies in the fact that Governor Barnett and the politicians around him had created a climate of total disbelief that the United States Government would ever enforce integration in Mississippi. The governor rested his legal case against James Mere-

Inside the embattled Lyceum, marshals spread-eagle and search a young rioter.

In violence's wake: A gutted news bus.

"We are going to file suit this fall to desegregate the public schools of Jackson."

dith's admission to the university on the theory that Mississippi in its supreme sovereignty could "interpose" itself between the Federal court and the university. Barnett was aware this was thin. When one of the university's lawyers told him that interposition was invalid as a legal argument, Barnett said, "Of course I know interposition is invalid. I'm bluffing. But you wait and see. I'll bluff the Justice Department into backing down."

In his bluffing game, however, Barnett needed allies. When university chancellor J. D. Williams was threatened with a citation for contempt of court, Barnett reminded him of his own promise to go to jail before seeing Ole Miss integrated and added, "I hope you'll go to jail with me. Remember that I have a lot of influence with those fellows in the state legislature. If you will stay with me in this fight, I'll see that the legislature doubles your salary." The chancellor was too shocked to answer, the governor smiled, and the matter was not raised again.

Secession Petition Is Offered

Along with his legal maneuvers, Barnett spent the weeks before the riot flooding the airwaves and the newspapers with oratorical calls to battle. As the arch segregationist Jackson *Clarion-Ledger* saw Barnett: "The humble plowboy from Standing Pine, fearless in his refusal to yield principle to compromise, stands assuredly today on the blazing pages of American history. . . . The next move is up to the Kennedy brothers, a pair of Washington officeholders on loan from the swimming pools of Boston to the swimming pools of the nation's capital." State Senator E. K. Colling declared, "We must win the fight, regardless of the cost in human lives. Meredith cannot be enrolled in the university as long as there are red corpuscles in the bodies of true Mississippians." Yet, when one state senator, Jack A. Pace, of McGehee, offered "a petition to the United States Congress to sever relations between the Union and the state of Mississippi," the senate was quickly adjourned. A group of Pace's colleagues hurried him off to lunch and argued him out of his resolution. "I don't know what happened to ol' Jack," said another senator. "Usually he's not that crazy."

By the weekend of the riot automobiles across the state had blossomed with Confederate flags tied to radio antennas and with stickers saying, HELP ROSS KEEP MISSISSIPPI SOVEREIGN; HELP ROSS BEAT L'IL BROTHER, and THE CASTRO BROTHERS ARE IN THE WHITE HOUSE. Mississippi's few moderates were helpless. The *Delta Democrat-Times* of Greenville, Mississippi, a paper made famous by Hodding Carter and now run by his son, Hodding Carter III, a former Princetonian and Marine Corps officer, did raise one of the few brave voices. In an editorial headlined SEDITION, Carter said that Barnett had come close to committing sedition and that if he actually did, the governor "should be jailed."

Ross Barnett, of course, did not singlehandedly rouse Mississippi to defy the Federal Government; the seeds of that defiance had been planted more than 100 years before. Mississippi has had more than its share of troubles, all of which have had their effect on Mississippians.

Today Mississippi is the poorest state in the Union. Its 2,100,000 people (1,200,000 white, 900,000 Negro) have an average per-capita income of $1,173. Yet before the Civil War Mississippi's wealth, based on cotton, made it one of the richest states. The War devastated Mississippi. Sherman ravaged the state on a kind of trial run for his subsequent march through Georgia. From Jackson, Sherman wrote to Gen. U. S. Grant: "We have made fine progress today in the work of destruction. Jackson will no longer be a point of danger. The land is devastated for 30 miles around." The word "Yankee" never quite shook off its connotation of "destroyer." And in the Reconstruction period that followed, with uneducated Negroes, all former slaves, in the state legislature, white Mississippians developed an abiding fear of what they call "racial submergence." Mississippi has the highest percentage of Negroes (43 percent) of any state. In some rural counties, the percentage of Negroes runs to 60 or 70 percent. To preserve their mastery in these areas and, as they claimed, to protect their white women, white men turned easily to violence. The Negroes remained submissive, and to this day, any Negro who gets "uppity" risks a beating, and if he persists, the threat of worse. By the standards of men who think this way, James Meredith is "uppity" beyond their wildest imaginings.

Race hatreds were intensified by the state's grinding poverty. White men worked hard to scratch a living from the red-clay hills that covered much of the state, but their constant reward was defeat. The only satisfactions Mississippi's poor whites had came from fire-and-brimstone evangelical religion and the grim knowledge that there were others—the Negroes—whose lot was worse.

Demagogues' Stamping Ground

In other Southern states the bitterness and prejudice that spring from poverty were partially dissipated as great cities grew up and industries moved in, bringing jobs. In 1940 Mississippi's largest town was Jackson, the capital. It had only 40,000 people. Jackson today is a city of 150,000, with no other town in the state even a third that size. With no urban bastions against racial extremism, Mississippi became the stamping ground of the demagogue. Men got themselves elected by being more pro-segregationist than their opponents.

As one white-haired Mississippi lawyer put it last month, "What the Negroes want is race mixing. Nigger men have a thing about white women. Look what happens when nigger soldiers go overseas. In the South we like niggers. The N.A.A.C.P. won't give a scrap of food to stray niggers but we do and we're glad to do it. Niggers have no morals. Half their kids are illegitimate. Now we just can't have our white children going to school with a pack of nigger kids." As for the constitutional argument, the lawyer went on, "The North has been using the Constitution against us for years. Everything they're doing now is clearly unconstitutional. But I'm not surprised. All the justices on the present Supreme Court are ignorant men."

Because most Mississippians share these views, they were outraged in 1954 by the Supreme Court's momentous decision that public schools in the United States should be desegregated. That summer a Citizens Council was organized to fight the Court decision. Most people hurried to join; others needed a little push.

"I'll tell you why I joined the Citizens Council," said one small-town businessman. "Three men came to see me and asked me to join. One was my banker, who holds the mortgage on my house. One was my lawyer. And the third was my wife's brother."

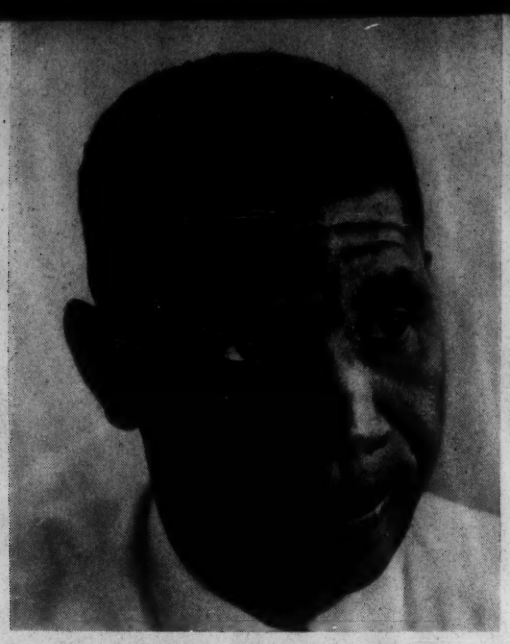
"Our Mississippi Way of Life"

The man running the Council was William J. Simmons, a tall, soft-spoken professional racist. Simmons bases his own race views on what he considers to be scientific data: "The average Negro brain has a cerebral cortex fourteen percent thinner than that of the average white brain." Simmons quickly took the offensive to purge the state from within. Council members were urged to be on the lookout for any sign that neighbors or acquaintances did not wholly support "our Mississippi way of life." The Council arranged its own weekly radio and television forums, conducted high-school essay contests on such subjects as "Why I Believe in Segregation and States' Rights," and produced a 30-minute film titled *The General They Couldn't Muzzle*. The general was General Walker.

In 1959 the Council went into gubernatorial politics. It backed tall, slightly stooped Ross Barnett, a 61-year-old damage-suit lawyer who had tried politics before and failed. Barnett stumped the state shouting to audiences on courthouse lawns that Negroes had "sloping foreheads" and "small brain cavities." Never, he promised, would Mississippi be integrated.

Barnett won, and the outgoing governor, a moderate named J. P. Coleman, invited the governor-elect to come in for a chat. Afterward, a dismayed Coleman reportedly told a friend that he had never met a high public official so completely uninformed of history, politics and government. With Barnett in power, the Citizens Council, a private organization, began receiving a monthly subsidy of $4,500 from the state treasury. The money was appropriated by the legislature to an official State Sovereignty Commission which simply turns the money over to the Citizens Council.

Rebel flags fluttered, but students were social rather than seething when they entrained for Jackson to see Ole Miss play a football game a few days after Meredith's enrollment. Back at the campus, the tough MP's had things well in hand.



N.A.A.C.P. Secretary Evers:
"We're not going to wait any longer for Mississippi to comply with the law."

Businessman Mounger:
"We adult leaders have failed our children. We have allowed them to be incited."

Citizens Council Chief Simmons:
"If they put Negroes in high and grammar schools, it will take millions of troops."

At present it is widely believed in Mississippi that Barnett has his eye on the U.S. Senate seat currently held by Sen. John Stennis. Some even say that Barnett staged his whole show of defiance to present himself to the voters as the martyred savior of the state. For the moment, of course, he has been successful. "Ross could have beaten Jesus before the riot," said one Oxford restaurant owner.

"Bill" Simmons is far from downhearted at the turn of events. As he looks at the governor's mansion in Jackson from an office across the street, he argues that Meredith's registration "doesn't mean that Ole Miss is integrated. It's occupied. And it took 15,000 troops to do it. If they plan to put one Negro in each of the ten white colleges in this state, it will take 150,000 troops. And if they want to go ahead and put Negroes in the high schools and grammar schools, it will take millions of troops. I don't like violence, but I am far more upset about what caused the violence than about the violence itself."

Bill Simmons is not alone among Mississippians in his readiness to continue the fight. But the shock of the battle at Oxford has had a profound effect across that state. A number of Mississippi's most prominent men have realized that if Mississippi is going to prosper economically, law and order must be maintained. And, for the first time in years, they have begun to speak up.

Even before the riot, a group of Ole Miss alumni who felt Barnett was using the university as a political football began to organize. "We tried to reach the governor," said one, "but Simmons and that crowd had him all blacked out." Seventy business leaders met anyway on the Saturday before the riot and tried to agree on a resolution asking for law and order. They failed to agree on wording. Coincidentally, that same day in Oxford a small group of professors ran into the same kind of deadlock.

The first powerful voice of reason came with dramatic timing and effect. On Monday morning, October 1, William H. Mounger, president of Jackson's Lamar Life Insurance Company, awoke at six o'clock to hear on the radio that fighting was still going on in the streets of Oxford. Mounger, a former FBI man, had a son at Ole Miss and he was deeply worried. He dressed, drove to the studios of WLBT-TV, a station owned by his insurance company, and announced that he wanted to go on the air immediately. He walked on camera at 7:40 A.M. and said, "As a citizen of Mississippi, I apologize for not having spoken out. . . . We adult leaders have failed our children. We have allowed them to be incited to the point where they themselves have caused violence and resisted the United States of America." Mounger repeatedly urged Barnett to go to Oxford and speak to the mob. Then he said bluntly what no man had said to a large audience in Mississippi for a long time. "We are a part of the United States of America, and we must obey the laws of the United States of America."

The reaction to Mounger's talk was 95 percent favorable. At eleven A.M. the following day 127 prominent Mississippians met in the Crown Room of Jackson's King Edward Hotel. There was intense argument. A few wanted to censure Barnett outright. In the end the men agreed on a compromise, damning the Supreme Court's 1954 decision but calling for obedience to the law. Afterward a smaller group met to begin building a permanent committee which would prepare Mississippi to accept peaceably the further shocks that the desegregation battle will bring.

The one thing these moderate leaders need if they are going to recapture Mississippi is time—and time is the one thing that Mississippi's aggressive Negro leadership is no longer willing to give. Mississippi Negroes, even the humblest, are aware that changes that will affect them are coming. A laborer working on the Ole Miss campus said, "Yessuh, I'se for Meredith if that'll raise my wages." Among the Negro leadership some, like Dr. E. P. Burton, a surgeon in Mound Bayou, speak amiably. "We aren't asking for integration for integration's sake, but my son wants to be a doctor, so I send him to school in New York. Don't you think that if he could get a good education in Mississippi, I'd rather have him here with me at home?"

State's Isolation Is Ending

But Medgar Evers, the husky and articulate young Mississippi Field Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., shows no inclination to hold back now. "After eight years we're not going to wait any longer. As a matter of fact, we are going to file suit this fall to desegregate the public schools of Jackson." Evers senses, perhaps better than most whites can, the speed with which Mississippi's long isolation is ending. "Whatever the different sizes of their houses," he explains, "the Negro sharecropper and Ole Massa have the same size TV antenna. On television, Mississippi Negroes see Negro entertainers treated as equals, they see African diplomats being given ticker-tape parades. They learn that there is a different world outside Mississippi."

Of all the changes in store for Mississippi, the one with the most profound future implications has already begun—the mechanization of the state's agriculture. Today more than half Mississippi's 2,100,000 people draw a living from the earth. The cotton fields are still filled with armies of Negroes. But now the most prominent sight at almost every Delta crossroads is the farm-machinery store with its big red and yellow machines parked outside. Farms worked by machinery are more productive and require far fewer Negro field hands.

"Already eighty-five percent of the cotton in our county is machine picked," says one Delta farmer. "The only thing we use Negro field hands for is to chop weeds. But when some of these new chemical weed controls now being worked on are perfected, we just won't have any use for Negroes. We'll be farming as they do in the Midwest, with just a few skilled men to operate the machinery. The Negroes will have to go. There simply won't be any jobs for them."

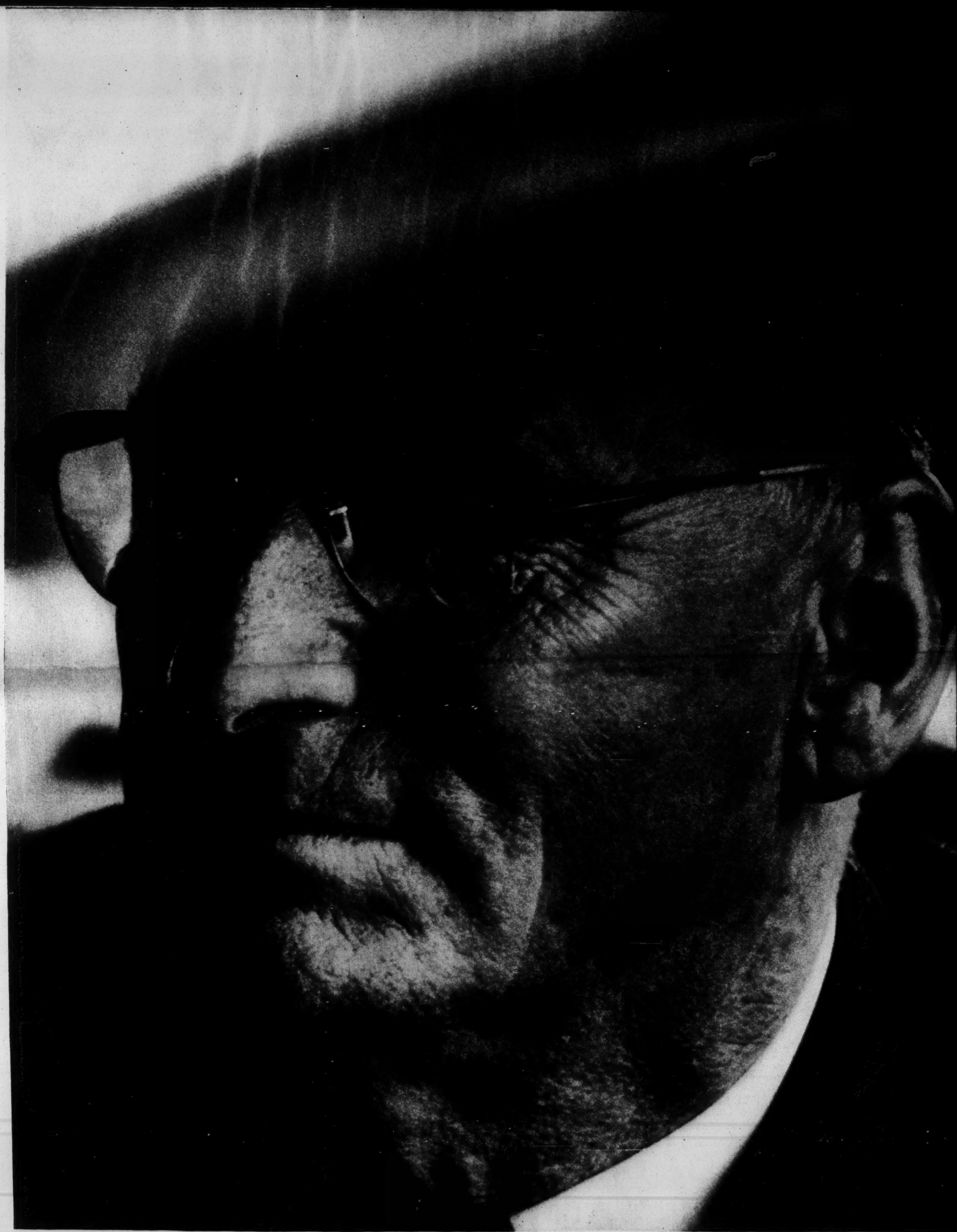
Intrusions of the Space Age

In Sharkey County where this farmer lives, the Negro population has dropped 23 percent in the last decade. Thirty thousand Negroes are leaving Mississippi every year. If the exodus continues at that rate another 50 years, Mississippi's race problem will automatically vanish.

In the meantime, however, Mississippi is getting a strong tug into the mainstream of American life from the industrial development. Today nuclear submarines are built for the U.S. Navy in the Mississippi Gulf coast town of Pascagoula. In the flat Mississippi coastlands NASA has acquired a 13,300-acre tract as a test site for moon-rocket engines and plans to spend in Mississippi $200,000,000 to $400,000,000.

The giant intrusions of the space age will not replace all of the shacks with ranch houses. The new factories will not all have integrated unions. The public schools will not be immediately desegregated. But in time these things will come. It was with something like this in mind that James Meredith declared that his enrollment at Ole Miss was "more for America than for me."

Resistance to integration has not ended in Mississippi. The majority of Mississippians are not even very contrite about the wrecking of their finest university and the deaths of two men. "We are licked but not beaten," shouted one Jackson newspaper. But the Battle of Oxford did achieve two things: It shattered the dogma that the Federal Government would never demand that Mississippi obey Federal laws. And it spurred a small group of prominent Mississippians to realize that, since integration is coming, the best way they can serve Mississippi is to lead the state through the period of readjustment. In the success of their leadership lies Mississippi's hope for a calm and prosperous future. **THE END**



Mississippi Gov. Ross Barnett, "the humble plowboy from Standing Pine." Still defiant weeks after the murderous campus riot, Barnett has declined to repudiate his actions in the Meredith case. "My conscience is clear," he said.

John Faulkner on the Ole Miss campus. "Two giant politicians, a President and a governor, stoked a fire on our campus."

"How Much Hate There Is Now!"

By JOHN FAULKNER

William Faulkner's brother, a lifelong Oxford resident, tells how his town reacted.

Oxford is a small town. We occupy a square mile in the middle of Lafayette County. We call it LaFAYet. The university has the square mile to our west. Our lines adjoin, but a railroad runs between us.

Oxford is an old town. Our history goes back almost to the beginning of the white man's progress across the Western world. Four hundred and twenty-one years ago DeSoto went into winter camp just 30 miles to the east. Spanish spurs of that period have been found near Wilson's Millpond, 10 miles from our courthouse.

Our cemetery, St. Peter's, is filled with names and dates that could be taken straight from history books. There's the Jacob Thompson Circle, ringed in ancient cedars, where lies buried a boy who died of "congestive chills" on his way to the war with Mexico in 1846. Two students from the university's first class are out there, buried in Ole Miss's first Winter. The rainy season had started, and they could not be taken home because of muddy roads. That was 1848.

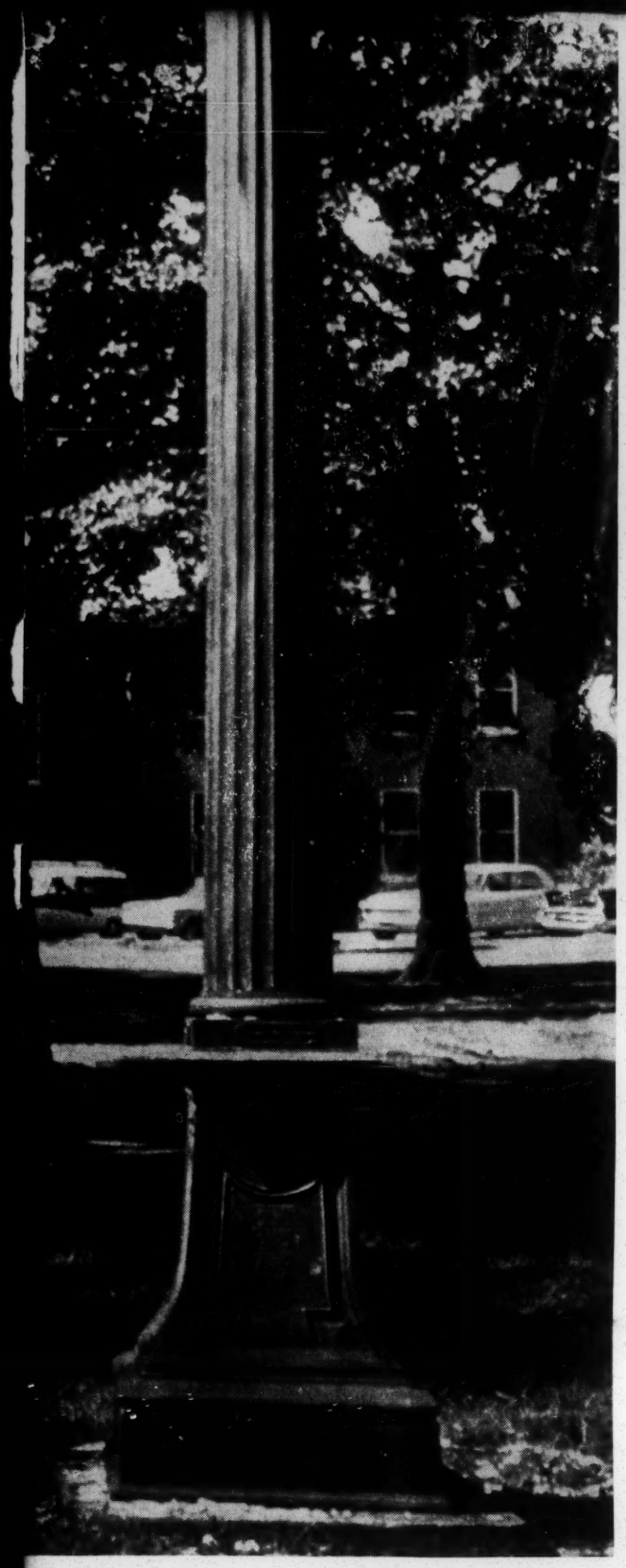
A boy who was wounded at Murfreesboro on the last day of 1862 was brought to Oxford and died here and was buried in St. Peter's. Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar, Interior Secretary and U.S. Supreme Court Justice, who sought to reconcile both sides after the Civil War, lies there, along with William Delay, who fought in the War of 1812. And there's my brother, whose death was noted far beyond our tiny limits.

By our university golf course is the Confederate Cemetery. About 600 men from Shiloh who died in our University Chapel, made over into a hospital, are buried in its walled enclosure. Some are our own men; some, Yankees. We know 130 of their names; the rest sleep in anonymous comradeship.

Impressive Scroll on the Square

The Lyceum, our university's centerpiece, was a convalescent ward in 1862. A century later—on the night of September 30, 1962—the riot took place before its columned front.

In our courthouse square we have a marker and on it a scroll of our dead from World War II. An MP sergeant stood there a day or two after the rioting and read the double column of names. "That's quite an impressive record," he said.



Like most small towns, we have our gossip exchanges. We meet for coffee break at our drugstores and lunch counters and discuss ourselves and the national situation and our golf scores and China and Cuba and tell our latest jokes and talk politics

Morning Meeting at Leslie's

My hangout is John Leslie's, our Walgreen store. A cross-section of the town meets there every morning—almost everyone from our side of the square, and others too. There are merchants and farmers and doctors and lawyers, our own Federal marshals, men from the Government bureaus—the Soil Conservation Service and such—folks from over to the courthouse, students and coaches and a sprinkling of professors from the university. I guess you could call these the responsible citizens of Oxford. Of the riffraff who actually engaged in the riot, Oxford supplied its few, as did the towns around, but these are not the men who meet every morning at Leslie's.

We took vocal interest in the Meredith case from the start. We argued States' Rights against Federal power and nobody ever won because everybody stuck to his own point. Then someone would say, "States' Rights? We lost that fight a hundred years ago." We would all laugh and begin getting up. It was our tag line. It meant coffee break was over, and it was time to be getting back to work.

During the week when they tried four times to enroll Meredith, we could still joke about it. One of us said, "If they are bound and determined to integrate us, they ought to let us have some say-so about who they do it with. I vote for Lenny Moore. We need a good running back to take to the Sugar Bowl with us."

Expecting a Peaceful Sunday

We watched that week while Meredith was turned away by the reading of a piece of paper, and we thought our troubles were over, that the Federal government was through and that our differences would be settled in a legal battle over constitutional law. Some of us remembered Little Rock, but that was supposed, by now, to have been a mistake. It would not happen again. True, Federal troops had been moved into Memphis, but they were just a housekeeping outfit for the marshals who surrounded Meredith. We were in the hands of our topmost political leaders, our President and our governor. They would take care of us. The welfare of the people was their principal responsibility. We had nothing to worry about. We went off to Jackson for the Kentucky-Ole Miss football game.

I talked to a reporter Sunday, after the National Guard had been federalized. "How much violence do you expect?" he asked. "Violence?" I said. "This is all maneuvering to get this thing on a courtroom floor and settle it once and for all." "What about the Guard being mobilized?" he asked. "That's campaign stuff for next election," I answered. "The President can claim he did it so the governor couldn't get his hands on the Guard and so he forestalled violence." "Then you don't think there might be violence?" the reporter asked again. "No. And neither does the President. It's a grandstand play. This is headed for court."

A few still shook their heads, but most of us went our peaceful way that Sunday—to church and to the golf course at the country club. None of us foresaw what would happen that night. We did not think it possible. We believed laws to be so constructed as to constitute a shield behind which we could go our daily ways and live at peace with our neighbors.

About an hour after dark we knew we were wrong. Cars had been streaming back from the football weekend in Jackson, but I noticed how many of them had out-of-state licenses.

Yelling began on campus. It was not much different from a pep rally except it was the wrong time for that and there were no organized cheers. The university property line runs right in front of my yard. Between the campus and my property there's a bridge. A few of us had gathered in my yard—a banker, an oil distributor, a high-school principal, a Catholic priest and myself—and now we walked up toward the bridge.

We were only about 1,000 feet from the rioting. We could see and hear it all—the yelling, the tear gas floating against the light. We couldn't believe it. The Highway Patrol was there. They were checking students in and turning away the rest. Cars were soon parked against the curbs on both sides of the street as far back as we could see. Teen-age boys, with an older man here and there, came walking fast up toward the bridge. We asked each other, "Who are these people?" They were young, but they were the kind you would hate to come on after dark. They looked like they needed a square meal and a bath. They had on tight pants with their shirttails out. There were some ducktail haircuts among them, like teen-age gangs in the movies. The Highway Patrol stopped them, but then they slipped down a side street and crossed over the railroad tracks in the dark.

We were watching when the showdown came. The marshals were pinned down with only 20 minutes' tear gas left, and the only men available to save them were the 63 men of the Oxford National Guard unit who had been back at the armory, two miles away, under orders since eight o'clock that morning. They did it. They had 23 casualties, but they broke through 200 yards of mob and got to the pinned-down marshals. They have been decorated with a combat unit citation by the Secretary of the Army for that. All of them call Oxford home.

Next day our square was closed at noon, and we were advised to stay home. One hundred and fifty rioters had been identified by then. Some of these 150 came from as far as 500 miles away. None came from Oxford.

"What Hate There Is Here Now!"

Things are quieter now, and we are back at Leslie's every morning, but we'll be arguing this for 100 years. Everybody's talking like they're infected with talk. I think most of us feel that the law of the land brought the Negro to the campus and set off the riot, so there must be something wrong with the law of the land.

It's true the Guardsmen saved our university, the very buildings on it, and the Army saved our town. But the stench of what happened here will remain with us whose home it is as long as we shall live. Two giant politicians, a President and a governor, stoked a fire on our campus that boiled a pot of tar, and the tar flowed across the railroad tracks to stain everybody in town. What tension, what hate there is here now! And then for days over the radio we listened to them plead with us before the nation to cease rioting, return to reason, come to law and order; this to us, the responsible people of Oxford, who raised no finger against any man.

Now our preachers have gotten in on the show. We have been called to our churches for penitence meetings. We are to ask forgiveness for our parts in bringing on the riots. I shan't go. If all the sin I have to answer for is my part in bringing on what happened here that Sunday and Monday, then I relinquish my place to someone more needful of forgiveness than I.

When we gather at Leslie's drugstore now, everybody is saying, "To hell with both of them, the governor and the President, who let this happen to us." And we have a new tag line: "Lord have mercy on us all." **THE END**

Klan

October 29, 1963

Mr. Michael Wolfson
4129 NW 7th Street
Gainesville, Florida 32601

Dear Mr. Wolfson:

Under separate cover we are mailing you the items you requested.

Regarding the Klan, for your paper in Sociology, I can list some sources of materials that you can look up, and copies of a few of the more comprehensive news clips. You might write to United Klans of America, Inc., Box 10753, Atlanta 10, Ga. and request materials from them. These would give you an idea of the sort of things they publish and pass out at meetings.

Sources:
Newsweek, 8-28-63, "Button Down Bed Sheets"
Saturday Evening Post, Oct. 22, 1949, "The Truth About the Klan Today."
American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y., For Your Information, "Review of Ku Klux Klan Activities" Vol. IV, No. 6, June 1959.
Anti-Defamation League, Facts, January 1961, Vol. 14, No. 1, "The Ku Klux Klans"
New York Times, 7-8-63, "Klan Chief Urges Savannah Rally"
New York Times Magazine, 8-11-63, "Once More--The K.K.K."

In January, 1961 the ADL pamphlet mentioned above said, in an estimate of Klan strength: "in sum the total southwide Klan membership is no more than 50,000 and may be about 35,000 or somewhat less." Klan membership has widely fluctuated since 1954, and estimates are usually too high, since the Klan has a habit of going way overboard in claiming membership, habitually counting people who have long since ceased to belong (and in some cases long since ceased to be). There has been a slight increase in Klan strengh in some areas this past year, but nothing significant. In Alabama and Georgia, the two states with the largest Klan membership, KKK has held its own this year in Alabama; it has shown definite signs of increase in Georgia in 1962 up to September and October, but has very probably fallen off since the old political order has collapsed. Klan meetings in recent years have been shunned by responsible political figures and attended only by the die-hard locals and state has-beens.

We hope you will find this of help to you.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Enclosed:
newsclips on Albany rally, 9-3-63
copies of some Klan literature passed out at meetings (4)

70 cash
10/24/63
LA

October 22, 1963

Mr. Albright

Would you please send the following material:
A Southner's Words Supply Rebuttal by John Lofton.
The Unequal Badge by Elliott M. Rudwick.
Racial Violence and Law Enforcement by George McMillan.
Map, showing percentage of non-white population.
W hat the Supreme Court Said by Prof. Leflar.
The Easy Chair by Harry Ashmore.
Action Patterns in School Desegregation: A Guidebook byWeyand Corey.
The Southern Regional Council Reports the Changing South
Leadership Reports:
L-1
L-22
L-29
L-33

Sent 10-24-63 MA

Enclosed is $70.

Klan letter

If you have any specific info rmation on the KuKlux Klan that I could use for a college paper in Sociology would you include it or any sources that I may write to to obtain information on the Klan. Thank you very much.

write ADL & Klan agencies assured

Michael Wolfson
4129 NW 7th St.
Gainesville
Florida
32601

Klan

December 4, 1963

Mr. Jimmie Campbell
115 South Third Street
Richmond, 19, Va.

Dear Mr. Campbell:

Your letter to Mr. Ralph McGill has been referred to us for reply.

We do have material in our files on the Klan, but we only have one copy and we do not have any published pamphlets or materials to mail you.

From the January 1961 Anti-Defamation Leggue pamphlet, Facts, January, 1961, Vol. 14, No. 1, "The Ku Klux Klans," in an estimate of Klan strength: "in sum the total southwide Klan membership is no more than 50,000 and may be about 35,000 or womewhat less." Because so much of the Klan literature is anti-semitic, the Anti-Defamation League has kept up with actitivities of the Klan for some years. We try not to duplicate the research and programs of other agencies, but work in other areas and use the information they have gathered. We can tell you, however, from scanning all materials and news clips we have, that Klan membership has widely fluctuated since 1954, and estimates are ususally too high, since the Klan has a habit of going overboard in claiming membership, habitually counting people who have long since ceased to belong (and in some cases long since ceased to be). There has been a slight increase in Klan strength in some areas this past year, but nothing significant. In Alabama, and in parts of Georgia, the two states with the largest Klan membership, KKK held its own in Alabama in 1962-1963; showed definite signs of increase in Georgia up to the fall of 1962 but has very probably fallen off since the old political order in Georgia collapsed. Klan meetings in recent years have been shunned by responsible political figures and (noticiably in Georgia) have been attended only by the die-hard locals and state has-beens. In Mississippi the Citizens Councils are strong and the Klan is not very active. There were some cross-burnings during the past year, notably on the lawns of the parsonages of the 28 young ministers who signed the "Born of Conviction" statement in January, 1963.

If you need more information than this for your book review, you could look up the following in your library:

Newsweek, 8-28-63, "Button Down Bed Sheets"
Saturday Evening Post, Oct. 22, 1949, "The Truth About the Klan Today."
New York Times, 7-8-63, "Klan Chief Urges Savannah Rally."
New York Times Magazine, 8-11-63, "Once More--the K.K.K."
American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.
For Your Information, "Review of the Ku Klux Klan Activities," Vol. IV, No. 6, June, 1959.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

November 27, 1963

Mr. Jimmie Campbell
115 South Third Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Campbell:

Mr. McGill is out of town and will not be in the office to answer mail until later on in December; so we are writing to avoid your having a delay in getting the material you need for your report.

We are turning your letter over to the Southern Regional Council, a research organization in Atlanta, and asking them to mail some material to you. We do not have mailings in the office as ours is confined to reference material.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mr. McGill

Richmond, Virginia
November 25th, 1963

Mr. Ralph McGill
Editor - Atlanta Constitution & Journal
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am writing to ask you where I could get all the information that I can about the Ku Klux Klan.

I need it for a book report at school. If you will please let me know this or send me the material if you have any, I will appreciate it very much. I need it as soon as possible.

Sincerely,
Jimmie Campbell

P.S. I used to live in Georgia and I always enjoyed reading your paper.

115 South Third St.
Richmond 19, Va.

KKK Here Pickets Integrated Places

Atl. J&C 1/12/64

Desegr. Orgs. KKK

By PAUL VALENTINE

Ku Klux Klansmen, many of them robed and carrying signs, picketed a number of desegregated restaurants and hotels in Atlanta Saturday afternoon.

The Klansmen's appearance—their first overt activity in Atlanta in several months—will continue "indefinitely" on a daily basis, declared Calvin Craig, Georgia grand dragon of the United Klans of America, Incorporated.

The Klan action started as the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference was meeting at Allen Temple AME to determine whether the city's Negroes should continue negotiations for their demands or start full-scale demonstrations.

MR. CRAIG, dressed in a business suit, toured the various locations where Klansmen picketed during the afternoon. The pickets passed out handbills saying: "White customers — warning—this store is integrated." They also carried various signs telling passersby that the owners of the picketed establishments are "integration leaders."

Picketed were Davis Bros. restaurants on Luckie Street and at Marietta and Forsyth streets, the Americana Motel, the Biltmore Hotel and Herren's Restaurant.

The number of pickets ranged from three to six at each location. Police patroled the areas.

MR. CRAIG explained the picketing "is to protest the breakdown of law and order in Atlanta and the advocation of it by the city administra-

He said police "have refused arrest" recent waves of uthful Negro demonstrators o have sat-in at various segated eating establishments the city.

"It's dangerous for white people to come into Atlanta at night," the Grand Dragon observed. He said there have been reports of white persons injured in establishments where Negroes demonstrated.

He said Mayor Ivan Allen's plea for voluntary desegregation and his support of a national public accommodations law leaves Atlanta businessmen with "two alternatives: either you accept it, or you go out of business."

HE WARNED: "This public accommodations thing is going to be in the streets and out of the hands of the lawmakers before the next inauguration. I believe it will lead to violence."

In fact, he said, "We've already had violence." He was referring to reports of injured white persons at segregated eating places recently visited by Negro demonstrators.

Starting Monday, he said, Klansmen will picket all integrated public accommodations in the city. "We plan to hit the hotels at night," he said. The list of targets also includes The Atlanta - Journal - Constitution building, he said.

A spokesman said the KKK expects "moral support" from "other organizations" in the city during the current picketing activity. "You bet we will," he said, "just ask Jack Callaway (president of the Atlanta Citizens Council)."

Mr. Callaway, contacted by telephone, said, "As far as moral support is concerned, they (the Klan) have our belief . . . We don't like white people to integrate any where, any way. We don't believe in it, just as you could say the other crowd doesn't."

He said he knew of no present plan by the Citizens Council to join the picketing Klansmen. "I can't make that decision," he said. "It would be up to the national board (of directors)."

KLAN PARK RALLY APPROVED BY CITY

2-12-64

The City of Atlanta, after deferring the decision for more than a month, has acknowledged the Ku Klux Klan's right to use a public park for a rally without first revealing its membership.

The aldermanic Parks Committee, responding to advice by the city attorney, voted Tuesday to grant a request by the Klan to use Hurt Park as long as the date the Klan chooses does not conflict with other activities there.

Mayor Allen, in earlier correspondence with Georgia Klan Grand Dragon Calvin Craig, said he would recommend the Parks Committee deny the permit request unless the Klan revealed its membership and clarified its relationship to other Klan groups on the U.S. attorney general's subversive list.

Craig retorted that the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled private organizations are not required to disclose membership. He also forwarded the mayor a letter from U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman James O. Eastland indicating Craig's group—called United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—is not on the attorney general's list. Even if it were, Craig told the mayor, the courts have ruled it as irrelevent to the right to use a public park.

LAST WEEK, the Georgia branch of the American Civil Liberties Union leaped to the Klan's defense and sent a critical statement to Mayor Allen. Shortly thereafter, Mayor Allen announced he would refer the matter to the city attorney's office for a determination.

The office ruled in agreement with Craig, the ACLU and the Supreme Court.

Craig has since requested the Parks Committee for use of Hurt Park on March 22 at 2 p.m. In his letter of request, dated Feb. 10, he invited Mayor Allen to be the "principal speaker" at the Klan rally.

"I feel, sir," the Craig letter said, "that you have the right of freedom of speech and the right of peaceable assembly. Your acceptance to be a principal speaker at this meeting will prove to the people all over America that you are a man of broad vision and wise judgment."

On the night prior to the rally, the Klan has scheduled a state convention banquet at the Henry Grady Hotel at which speakers from both Georgia and other states will appear, Craig said. He said the convention relates to Klan business and election or re-election of the state grand dragon.

Klan to Organize Its Own Towns As Havens From Desegregation

Racis. - KKK

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times 3/23/64

ATLANTA, March 22—The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan are planning to move—hood, [illegible]—into private Caucasian communities to escape racial integration.

Klansmen, according to the plan, will live with their families in Klan-built houses and have their own schools, churches and parks while continuing to earn their living in the outside world.

This plan is one of several innovations intended by the leaders of the United Klans of America, Inc., the largest of the Klan groups scattered across the South, to give the racist fraternity unity, money and respectability.

The Klan, which has all but died at several periods, recently has had a new spurt of growth, particularly in such areas as North Carolina and Mississippi, where it was almost nonexistent several years ago.

In the process it has been trying to shed the stigma of its reputation as a gathering of uneducated ruffians with violence on their minds.

At recent Klan meetings, for instance, members have been turned away because they had alcohol on their breath, or because they failed to wear a tie and jacket.

"The Klan has gone Ivy League, in its fashion," one observer said. "It has gotten to be a sort of poor man's John Birch Society, while holding on to its radical racism, symbols

Continued on Page 16, Column 3

KLAN WILL RETIRE TO ITS OWN TOWNS

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

and costumes that strike terror in the superstitious and uneducated."

In some areas the Klan has become competition for the white Citizens Councils, the nonsectarian organizations that seek the support of the influential members of a community.

The leading Klansman today is Robert M. Shelton, 35-year-old Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America.

Mr. Shelton is in the air-conditioning business in Tuscaloosa, Ala. He spends most of his time, however, looking after his multitude of klaverns, or local Klan chapters, which, he says, extend from California to Canada.

Unifying Splinter Groups

Mr. Shelton has had unusual success in bringing together the fragmented Klan groups. His modestly furnished Imperial office is on the fourth floor of a Tuscaloosa office building. Unlike the old-fashioned Klan leader, Mr. Shelton readily submits to interviews, talking at length about the "Communist conspiracy" he says is threatening the nation.

Mr. Shelton confirmed reports that the leaders of his organization, the Grand Dragons and the Titans (heads of states and provinces), were planning to build Caucasian communities under private corporations that would not be subject to Federal integration orders.

He said a pilot project was to be established in the Birmingham-Tuscaloosa area on a plot of land to be purchased outside an unnamed municipality. He declined to disclose further details.

"We feel like this is the only way to get away from the Federal Government," Mr. Shelton said.

He was also asked about reports that an insurance company would be established within the Klan organization, with klansmen as full-time salesmen, to give the organization a broader financial base.

"That's something that's been planned for next year," he said.

Except for his service in the Air Force, Mr. Shelton, a slight man with a crew cut, has spent his whole life in Tuscaloosa. He has a high school education, is married and has three children.

Both his grandfather and father were klansmen. He has the bearing of a man with many worries, and seems to be humorless.

Mr. Shelton came to Atlanta today as a klokard (lecturer) at a Klan rally held in a small downtown park.

While numerous kleagles (organizers), klexters (outer guards) and cyclops (head of a klavern) wore hoods ranging from white sheets to red satin, Mr. Shelton wore an expensive gray suit and red tie.

Loudspeakers blared revival hymns, American and Confederate flags draped the speaker's platform and hooded women — members of Klan auxiliaries — roamed through the crowd of several hundred.

A kludd (chaplain) from a small Georgia town prayed that the Almighty "see how we are losing our freedoms" and "bless all klansmen everywhere."

Gets Little Applause

There was little applause as

Associated Press

PLANS WHITE TOWNS: Robert M. Shelton, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, who said Klan would establish communities to exclude all but Caucasians.

other than the Klan, are active in northern and western states, he said.

"You would be surprised at how much strength we have in California," he said.

The organization's literature is strongly anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic, as well as anti-Negro.

Many other smaller Klan organizations exist, and it is often impossible to tell which organization is involved when there is violence.

Mr. Shelton said his group preached nonviolence, but this was not given much emphasis at meetings.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation recently arrested five Klan members on charges of bombing a Negro home in Jacksonville, Fla.

Racist literature was dropped by airplane in the same area by "the white Knights of Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi."

In North Carolina, the Klan has been dormant for several years. But, as of Jan. 25 of this year, reliable sources said there were chartered Klaverns operating in that state with an over-all membership of 650.

Mr. Shelton said his group neither cooperated with nor opposed other right-wing organizations.

The Klan, organized after the Civil War to restore white rule in the South, enjoyed its greatest strength during the Communist scare of the Nineteen-twenties. It has never been strong since then, and is still opposed by most Southerners.

members of Klan auxiliaries — roamed through the crowd of several hundred.

A kludd (chaplain) from a small Georgia town prayed that the Almighty "see how we are losing our freedoms" and "bless all klansmen everywhere."

Gets Little Applause

There was little applause as Mr. Shelton attacked the civil rights bill pending in Congress and told his audience that Communists were behind the integration movement in the South.

Two Negroes were in the audience. They identified themselves as members of the Black Muslums who had come as observers.

The rally seemed rather dun and out of place in Atlanta. More enthusiasm was generated at a small-town Klan meeting a few nights ago outside Tuskeegee, Ala. Negro voters there outnumber whites and are running for office in the Macon County elections.

Driving late-model automobiles, most of them dressed in business suits, the klansmen gathered at an abandoned airport and set up lights and a loudspeaker.

Sponsors of the meeting had planned to stage a cross burning, but before Mr. Shelton's speech was finished there was a cloudburst.

The audience retreated to automobiles, continued to listen to the speech and honked their horns for applause.

In an interview in his office, Mr. Shelton said that, although the Klan was primarily a fraternal organization of Caucasian Christians, it had become active in politics to carry out a policy of "self-preservation without violence."

He said klaverns, provinces and realms of the Klan screened political candidates and decided on a slate to support. Klan support, he said, gave the last two Governors of Alabama, Mr. Wallace and John Patterson, the margin of victory. Neither Governor disclaimed Klan support.

Mr. Shelton would not disclose Klan membership or the specific areas where the organization was active. He said it was strong in Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, Tennessee and Louisiana.

Klaverns, under some name

Klan Using Mails For Call to Arm

4-10-64

By JOHN PENNINGTON

A small Atlanta Ku Klux Klan group, operating under one of four different names, is using the mails to disseminate a document urging citizens to arm themselves for war against "black riots" and "our traitor government."

The same group, all headed by Atlanta attorney James R. Venable, is pursuing the same anti-Negro, anti-Jew, anti-government goal under the following names:

—The National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.

—Defensive Legion of Registered Americans.

—Committee of One Million Caucasians to March on Congress.

—Christian Voters & Buyers League.

THE KKK group says in mailed pamphlets that it "is determined to become once again the dominant political force in our glorious country."

The "defensive legion," whose slogan is "We're taking back our country," urges "patriots" to buy rifles, shotguns, pistols, walkie-talkies, food supplies for "war." It says "the people . . . are the government," and urges defiance against "tyrannical government."

The "committee of one million" seeks contributions for a big march on the nation's capitol, 40 per cent of which would go to the committee for its costs, and cites a "list of demands" to be made on Congress. Several of the demands coincide exactly with printed "demands" of the KKK group.

THE "VOTERS and buyers league" is an agency for selling records narrated by Wally Butterworth, who is associated with Mr. Venable. The records discuss Negroes, Jews, federal judges, mental health, the Kennedys — subjects relating primarily to racial matters.

The document of the "defensive legion" urging citizens to arm themselves in preparation for bloodshed covers six legal-size pages.

". . . Blood will surely flow in the streets," the document says. "Let it flow! Let us arm our homes to make sure that Negro-Jew blood flows—not ours."

It goes into the nature of race riots: "There are no battle lines. Defense shooting will be at close range. . . ."

IT RECOMMENDS shotguns 12 gauge, with "00 Double Ought" pellets, for close range shooting, and some high-powered rifles with telescope sights "for distance shooting."

The paper urges "patriots" to set up a budget, taking money from each paycheck, for arming themselves. "When the trouble starts," it says, "and it will because the blacks are already armed, then you can depend on our traitor government trying to padlock the gun stores. Get your supplies NOW. . . ."

A "vast stock" of ammunition is recommended, and the author of the document urges the acquisition of .22 caliber weapons for "women and teen-age kids," with hollow-nosed bullets that "go clear through your game, either two-legged or four."

WALKIE-TALKIES are urged because "telephones will be put out of order by rioters . . . or by subversives . . . in the 'phone company monopolies,' or by the government itself."

The document urges rebellion against "any police agency" attempting "to restrict use of arms. . . ."

"Use it (the weapon) on them to protect your basic freedom," the document urges. "If every good citizen is fully armed, no tyrannical government will be big enough to disarm you."

The call to arm has been sent through the mails, along with advertisement of records and KKK pamphlets.

According to Title 18 of the U.S. Code, it is against the law to use the mail for "any matter advocating or urging treason, insurrection, or forcible resistance to any law of the United States. . . ."

THE LEADERS of the group urging an arming of "patriots" are also the leaders of the group attempting to organize a march of "Caucasians" on Washington.

The slogan of the "march" committee is the same as that of the "defensive legion"; "We're taking back our country."

TV Newsman Beaten During Klan Filming

Journal
4-20-64

JACKSON, La., April 20 (UPI) — A television newsman was beaten and his life threatened by a group of armed men Sunday as he tried to film a backwoods meeting for a documentary about the Ku Klux Klan.

Bob Wagner, capital correspondent for WDSU radio and television of New Orleans, was seized near a farm house about a mile east of Jackson as he and Robert Schaefer of United Press International were scouting the meeting.

Wagner has been conducting an investigation of Klan activities for several months and is preparing a documentary program on the Klan in Louisiana.

He said he would not press charges against the men who beat him. He was warned that if he told anyone of the beating, he would be killed "within 24 hours."

Schaefer said he counted about 30 armed men when he and Wagner drove past the farm house, on a gravel road in a heavily wooded rural area.

Schaefer said Wagner wanted to take movies of about 15 armed guards at the farmhouse gate and posted along a fence. He drove the car on the return trip, while Wagner sat in the back heat and filmed the men.

WAGNER was dissatisfied with the footage he had shot, Schaefer said. They stopped about a mile from the farmhouse and Wagner tried to walk near the house to take more movies.

In a grove of trees, one of the men stuck an automatic pistil in Wagner's back and ordered him to kneel. Then, Wagner said, the man placed the pistol between his eyes and said:

"You've reported your last story."

BUT INSTEAD of shooting, he called the other men over.

Wagner's camera was confiscated. Then he was forced to run across a pasture to a parking area, where he was beaten with a leather strap. He said several men took turns beating him.

He was forced into a cage normally used to transport hunting dogs and mounted in the back of a pickup truck, taken to the farmhouse and beaten again.

Wagner said some of the younger men were in favor of killing him, but older heads voted to turn him loose with a warning.

Eyes on the Klan

4-25-64 Natl Observer Miss. Klan

The White Militants, Too, Worry Mississippi; New Legal Weapons

JACKSON, MISS.

Harried Mississippi officialdom, braced for the promised summer "invasion" by civil-rights demonstrators, now finds its rear echelons threatened by mushrooming white supremacist groups. Two recent legislative actions point up the immediacy of the threat.

On May 11, the Mississippi Senate passed a bill to outlaw "criminal syndicalism." Legislative sources said the bill could be used to suppress groups of militant white supremacists who advocate violence. To be sure, the measure could be used against racial extremists on either side.

Under the bill, which is awaiting House action, "criminal syndicalism" was defined as "the doctrine or precept which advocates, teaches, or aids and abets the commission of crime, sabotage, unlawful acts of violence and force, arson, or other unlawful acts or methods of terrorism as a means of . . . effecting any political or social change or for profit."

Then, on May 13, the Legislature completed passage of a bill giving the state highway patrol full police powers, if the governor so orders, and adding 200 men. At present, the patrol has no jurisdiction in towns and cities, but has authority only in state-owned domain. Its principal function is state traffic patrol.

But should the governor decide that local authorities are not meeting their obligations to keep the public peace, the new bill would empower him to order the highway patrol into the area. The state component of the National Guard normally is used by a governor in these instances, but the guard always stands the chance of being Federalized, leaving the governor without troops of his own. One legislator said the bill was aimed more at control of white supremacist groups than at suppressing civil-rights workers.

Behind all the official concern are two main groups—the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and the Americans for the Preservation of the White Race, Inc. The Klan says it has more than 96,000 members and the preservationists claim more than 30,000.

Watchdog Agency's Warning

On the night of May 16, the KKK held an announced rally at a fairgrounds near McComb in southwest Mississippi. The week of the rally, Erle Johnston, Jr., director of the State Sovereignty Commission, Mississippi's watchdoog segregation agency, issued a warning. In a speech to a Canton, Miss., civic club, Mr. Johnston admonished Mississippians against joining any secret organization that "could get out of hand under emotional leadership."

The comment was significant coming from Mr. Johnston, whose agency was created by the Legislature more than a year ago to preserve Mississippi's segregationist tradition by keeping an eye on groups who hope to undermine it. The agency was provided with a budget and a staff; some of the money has been contributed to groups in Washington that are fighting the civil-rights bill.

Mr. Johnston did not mention any group by name, but said, "If you are approached by a representative from any of these new undercover groups disassociated with any law enforcement agency. . . . politely decline and reaffirm your determination to co-operate with those legally constituted to enforce the law."

The same day, Gov. Paul Johnson, who hasn't held a press conference in five weeks, granted an exclusive interview to the McComb newspaper. In the interview Governor Johnson said, "We will counsel no insubordination whether by white, Negro, or Chinese. We will not tolerate anyone taking the law into his own hand." He added, "This policy is founded in law and order in the preservation of peace, and in avoiding violence in our state. . . . It applies to everyone (including) . . my own brother."

In a paid advertisement, the Klan had predicted 15,000 to 20,000 members would turn up at the Pike County Fairgrounds to hear Imperial Wizard Robert M. Shelton of Tuscaloosa, Ala. Actual attendance was estimated at 1,000 for the rally, which sported none of the usual Klan trappings of hoods, robes, and burning crosses. One leader noted during the rally that a number of law enforcement officers were members of the Klan.

The Friday Night Burnings

For the past six months, cross burnings attributed to the Klan have taken place across the state, becoming almost a regular Friday night affair. The most concentrated effort came three weeks ago when crosses were burned in a reported 64 counties. U.S. Sen. John C. Stennis, Mississippi Democrat, speaking in Cleveland, Miss., condemned the cross burnings and noted that such actions were hindering the efforts of Southern leaders in their fight against the civil-rights bill in the U.S. Senate.

Headquartered in Natchez, in southwest Missisipppi, the Americans for the Preservation of the White Race, Inc. has branched out with about 15 chapters as far north as Hinds County in central Mississippi and two others in nearby Louisiana parishes (counties). A number of Klan members are also reportedly members of this group. Chartered by the state, the group sponsors weekly meetings open to the public in many areas. It is dedicated to "keeping the white man white, and the black man black, like God intended."

In addition to the Klan and the preservationists, some vigilante groups of whites have been organizing secretly in many sections of the state. Several reported racial incidents have been attributed to the white supremacist groups, which deny any involvement. Both Klan and preservationist leaders have stated publicly that their groups do not advocate violence.

Before the resurgence of the Klan and the vigilante groups, the Citizens Council was the unofficial guardian of segregation in the state. The council is officially opposed to both the Klan's return and the establishment of more radical organizations.

The plea of Governor Johnson and Sovereignty Commission Director Johnston to let law officers enforce the law so far goes unheeded, and secret meetings are still being held in deserted fields and abandoned buildings over the state.

—BETTY MILLER

Klan

April 29, 1964

Miss Becky Christman
1920 W. Wood St.
Decatur, Illinois

Dear Miss Christman:

A book by James Graham Cook, The Segregationists, has a chapter on the Ku Klux Klan. It was published by Appleton, Century, Crofts.

The best source of material on the Klan would be the Klan, and they are always happy to send material to anyone who writes them. Write to United Klans of America, Inc., P. O. Box 10753, Atlanta, Ga.

For fairly recent articles on the Klan, see the following:

Newsweek, 8-28-63, "Button Down Bed Sheets"
Saturday Evening Post, Oct. 22, 1949, "The Truth About the Klan Today."
New York Times 7-8-63, "Klan Chief Urges Savannah Rally."
" " " Magazine, 8-11-63, "Once More--the K.K.K."

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

April 28, 1964

Miss Becky Christman
1920 W. Wood Street
Decatur, Illinois

Dear Miss Christman:

We do not have regular mailing material on the Ku Klux Klan, but I am sending a column Mr. McGill did last Friday which you might find helpful, and I would also suggest that you refer to his book, "The South and The Southerner", which probably is in your local library. In order that you may have additional material, I am forwarding your letter to the Southern Regional Council, a research organization, and they more than likely will have some material that will help you.

Sincerely,

Secretary
To Mr. McGill

P. S. Mr. McGill will be sorry he was out of town and unable to answer your letter personally.

April 18, 1964

Dear Mr. Mc Gee.

Can you please send me information or refer me to sources which have information on the founding and history to present day on the Ku Klux Klan.

I would like this information for a term paper in my history class. Our local library has very little information.

Thank you,

Becky Christman
1920 W. Wood St
Decatur,
Illinois

Atl. Con.
Resist. Grp. KKK 5/20/64

Klan Barred from July 4 Parade; Request Too Late, Sponsors Say

The Ku Klux Klan can't be in Atlanta's Fourth of July parade because their request was made too late, the parade's sponsors said Tuesday.

"Actually, a request has not been made directly to us," said a spokesman for WSB-TV, which sponsors the parade. "All we have is the letter which was sent to the mayor."

Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. received a letter from Calvin Craig, grand dragon of the Georgia Klan, asking permission for the KKK to have a 48-man marching unit and two color guards in the parade.

Allen's office referred the letter to WSB-TV, where a spokesman said that the deadline for entries in the parade was May 1. The deadline was established "months ago" in planning the parade, the spokesman said.

Revived KKK Isn't Funny Any More

Fragmented Klans Getting Together Under Leaders Bent to Violence

7/5/64 WP Resistance Org. KKK

By Robert E. Baker
Staff Reporter

FEDERAL and state officials are becoming increasingly concerned over the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in the South.

In the past, the Klans were fragmented groups competing against one another. Occasional outrages committed by individual Klansmen were generally decried by Klan leaders. The order's hooded appearances at ritualistic rallies were almost comic.

But today, there is nothing funny about the Klans. They are still generally fragmented, but there is evidence of increasing cooperation, growth and seizure of power by violent leaders.

There are even more ominous signs. The Klans are more bellicose; many Klansmen are heavily armed. Their leaders have directed engagements against civil rights demonstrators with walkie-talkies and two-way car radios.

"For the first time," said a Southerner with long experience in the racial field, "there is a real feeling that the Klan is becoming a terrorist movement."

Newspaper Threatened

THIS ARTICLE on the status of the Klans was prepared from research by this reporter and on-the-scene reports from George Lardner Jr. and William Chapman, reporters for The Washington Post, and Robert Wagner, a Baton Rouge newsman who was flogged by Klansmen during his investigation.

From Mississippi, where he has been covering the disappearance of the three civil rights workers, Chapman reports floggings, bombings and cross-burnings in Pike County against Negroes associated with civil rights groups and whites who have urged moderation.

One of many crosses was burned in front of the McComb Enterprise-Journal, a moderate daily newspaper which had reported bombings and cross-burnings. On June 27, a bottle containing the following message was thrown on the lawn of Managing Editor Charles Dunagin: "Keep anticivil rights action off the front page or move. Work with us or against us and take the hard way. Take heed. KKK."

The Enterprise-Journal put the story of the message on page one.

Chapman interviewed J. Emmett Thornhill, 55-year-old multimillionaire who is Mississippi spokesman for the United Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

"He is an uneducated man who never passed the third grade but made millions from oil and gas leases bought up during the war years," Chapman wrote.

"Thornhill claims that he quit the local Klan a week ago because hoodlums have resorted to terrorism and he cannot find out who they are. 'That's not the purpose of the Klan at all,' Thornhill said. 'There's not a man in Mississippi who helps the colored people more than I do. If they want money to pay hospital bills, I give it to them. I never get it back.'

"Despite threats, McComb's respectable leaders are generally willing to oppose the Klan in some ways. The McComb Rotary Club recently refused to let Thornhill's KKK use the club's baseball field for a Klan rally."

Chapman reports that the more activist members of White Citizens Councils have dropped out of those groups to form Klans. In some counties, he says, it is believed that law officers either turn their backs or cooperate with local Klans.

From St. Augustine, Lardner reports that "Florida's Klansmen are currently agreed on only one thing: They hate 'niggers, Jews and the Federal Bureau of Integration.'

"Since the Klan built up its membership last year in organizing rallies that went on night after night, there has been dissension. The FBI says the dissension is over who's going to be the leader—the moderate or the violent."

The moderates, explains Lardner, are those who just hate Negroes; the violent ones want to lash out with bombs, arson and guns.

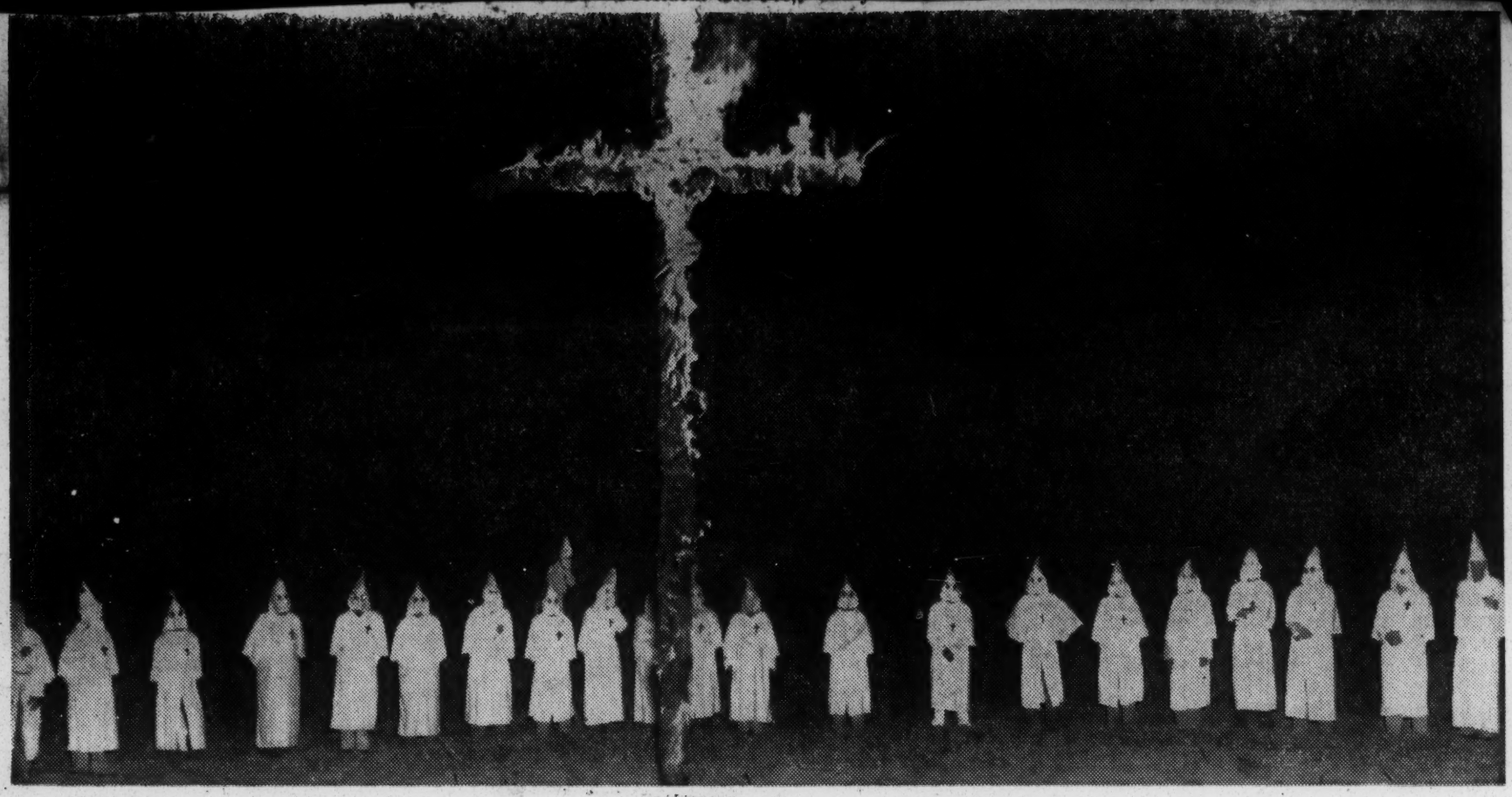
Dragon Overridden

THE UNITED KLAN of Florida is headed by Jason Kersey, about 61, of New Smyrna Beach, a wealthy retired dairyman. Kersey is ill and could not talk to Lardner.

James Crews, former head of the Jacksonville Police Intelligence Division, told Lardner that Grand Dragon Kersey is said to want nothing to do with violence, but violence has been going on in St. Johns County and adjacent Duval County for a year.

Last week, Klansmen were being tried in Jacksonville on charges of conspiracy in connection with the bombing of the home of a 6-year-old Negro boy

See KLAN, Page E3, Column 1



FIERY CROSS HAS BEEN A KU KLUX KLAN TRADEMARK FOR YEARS; NOW IT REPRESENTS MANY SPLINTERED GROUPS
Decay Set In After Klan's Heydey in the 1920's; When It Revived After World War II Factions Competed

7-19-64 Journal-Const

Report on the Klan—1964

EDITOR'S NOTE: Robert Wagner, state Capitol reporter for television station WDSU-TV at New Orleans, was assigned several months ago to gather material on the reactivation of the Ku Klux Klan. During his investigation, he was captured, beaten and warned to keep silent. Here is his story.

By ROBERT WAGNER

BATON ROUGE, La. July 18 (AP)—The Klan guard saw me, and told me to walk toward him with my hands behind my head. He had me kneel in the grass, in front of him. He was perspiring. His right hand, holding an automatic, was shaking.

His eyes had a queer glitter. I watched his eyes, and the black bore of the gun—wobbling up and down, and side to side. I wondered if it would go off. Everything seemed incredibly melodramatic.

When caught, I had been trying to get pictures of a barn-like building, 30 miles from Baton Rouge. It was a Sunday afternoon, April 19. The Ku Klux Klan was holding a strategy meeting in the building.

It was difficult to believe anyone would really want to shoot me on such a pleasant afternoon. After all, I'd only tried to get some pictures. Still, he said they would kill me.

And that queer glint in his eyes suggested it was not entirely bluff.

IN THE END I was released after a flogging, a brief imprisonment in a dog kennel, and a solemn warning that they would kill me if I reported what had happened.

This particular meeting was a "secret" business session. No robes or hoods were worn. They are normally used for public rallies, ceremonial purposes, and cross-burnings.

The place had the appearance of a guerrilla camp. Everybody I saw had a gun. Some carried a shotgun in their hands, and had, additionally, a revolver strapped around their waist. Everybody seemed to be prepared for a war.

Exactly what is this secretive organization?

A PUBLICATION called "The People's Voice," put out at Monroe, La., by the "Knights of the Old Original Ku Klux Klan," outlines the Klan "creed," in part, as follows:

"In time of war, many who are innocent must suffer, as you and I have already suffered. If you don't think this is war, you are very wrong . . . and the best tool the Communist can ever have."

Another Klan publication, this one published by the "Original Ku Klux Klan of Louisiana," declares, "The people whom we have elected to run the affairs of this country are either very stupid, or have joined a conspiracy to sell us out . . ."

The Klan movement does have features that suggest an underground movement against the nation's established authority.

Perhaps it's more than a coincidence that the reactivation of the Klan has been accompanied by a wave of beatings, bombings and intimidations.

IT'S DIFFICULT to generalize about the Ku Klux Klan, because there are so many Klan organizations, each with its own policies, each with its own imperial wizard.

Most Klan organizations are anti-Jewish and anti-Catholic, as well as anti-Negro in the sense that they preach the Jewish and Catholic religions are allied with Negroes in a gigantic conspiracy against white Protestant Gentiles.

The Klan has its greatest influence in small cities and towns, and rural areas, usually in areas that have a high percentage of Negroes.

Essentially, it's a reaction against the civil rights movement, a reaction based upon anger, fear, frustration, and a conviction that only harsh methods will stem the tide.

Potential critics are often silenced through boycott, or threats. A typical tactic is to burn a cross in front of the home of a potential critic, as a warning.

A BASIC PART of the Klan strategy is to infiltrate the sheriff's office and the police force; also, to elect to office public officials who are either Klan members, or are sympathetic to the Klan.

In Louisiana, Klan groups are often armed to the teeth everytime they hold a meeting, evidence that they take their role seriously.

The Ku Klux Klan has traditionally been its own worst enemy. It has always had a peculiar attraction for hoodlums and sadists.

Klansmen often say that the Ku Klux Klan had its most glorious moments during the Reconstruction era. The first imperial wizard of the Klan was Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest, a Confederate cavalry hero.

But nowhere in Klan publications is there any reference to the fact that Gen. Forrest in 1869, about two years after he became the first wizard, found it necessary to denounce the lawless element in the Klan, and ordered the Klan to disband. It was, in fact, wiped out after a few years.

It had degenerated into a terrorist movement, a terror not only to Negroes and carpetbaggers, but to native-born Southerners.

But the Klan lived in legend and myth.

ON THANKSGIVING night, 1915, William Joseph Simmons and 16 followers resurrected the Klan on top of Stone Mountain, near Atlanta. They burned a cross, and took an oath of allegiance to "The Invisible Empire of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan."

Simmons—born at Harpersville, Ala.—later made a deal with Edward Clarke, an experienced Atlanta promoter, to handle Klan promotion. Clarke was made "imperial kleagle," in charge of recruiting.

Clarke took advantage of the anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish, anti-foreign mood of the times to convert the Klan into a movement that was not only influential on a national scale, but also profitable.

The Klan flourished in the early 1920's. But decay set in. Some of the Klan leaders became enormously wealthy from the dues they collected.

Simmons, the imperial wizard, and Clarke, imperial kleagle, were eased aside by Klan reformers. But it was too late. The Klan was already on the decline.

THE KLAN flirted for a time with the German-American Bund in the early stages of World War II, but virtually went out of business after Pearl Harbor.

It revived after the war, especially after the Supreme Court's 1954 school desegregation decision; not as a single, monolithic organization, but as a host of splinter groups, competing with one another.

The Ku Klux Klan has been on the attorney general's list of subversive organizations for years, and is under constant surveillance by the FBI.

James Venable, imperial wizard of National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, declares, "The Ku Klux Klan is determined to become once again the dominant political force in our glorious country.

"We are taking back our country — politically, legally, socially and economically and religiously and financially. All who don't like it . . . get out."

7-5-64

The Imperial Wizard Explains the Klan

By MARGARET LONG

A RESURGENT Ku Klux Klan rides this summer across the South. This revived Klan wears a motley garb—well-tailored suits and bow ties; the satin robes of Wizards and Cyclops (and the familiar bedsheets of lesser Knights); the threadbare work clothes of poor whites hollering "Kill the niggers!" And it has a new voice, warning of Communist conspiracy to mongrelize the white South, disclaiming hatred of Negroes, predicting "racial war" and planning a segregated "all-Caucasian community" in Alabama to escape integration.

There are about a dozen Klans, according to a count made by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. They range from the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klans, Inc., with its Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton of Tuscaloosa, and its publicly mild, new "image" of tolerance and preaching, to the violently excitable new Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, led by Gene Fallow of Jacksonville, sometimes called the North Florida Klan.

The A.D.L. estimates total Klan membership as between 48,000 and 65,000. (Klansmen do not disclose initiation fees and dues, but the A.D.L. figures it's a big and fancy business.) Klans or "Klan mentality" are obviously a force in Alabama politics, as they are in Mississippi (some Klan leaders maintain there are 100,000 members there), where the locally respectable White Citizens Councils now appear too "moderate" for activists against Negroes. According to the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, more than 180 cross-burnings, six killings, several shootings and many beatings of Negroes have taken place in Mississippi since the organization there of a Realm of the Invisible Empire late last year. Now the A.D.L. fears a spontaneous and emotional move into Mississippi this summer by Klansmen rallying violently from other states to combat the non-violent education program of civil rights groups.

THE most striking aspect of the "new" Klan is its incorporation of ideas and phrases from the Negro movement. Imperial Wizard Shelton, at his headquarters in Tuscaloosa, speaks softly and fluently of "nonviolence," "massive rallies," "economic boycotts" and "voter registration to get these politicians out of office." His new Klan plan for "Caucasian communities" on a "reservation" somewhere in Alabama has an interesting precedent in the Black Muslim proposal to evacuate whites from several Southern states to make room for a segregated black state.

The three-room suite of the United Klans, in an old downtown office building, is quietly furnished with old desks, modern chairs, sofa and draperies, photographs of Gov. George Wallace—and with Mrs. Shelton, a smiling young woman with dark eyes in a friendly face, who works all day with "Bobby." Mr. Shelton's purple satin robe with many-colored stripes and insignia hangs in a plastic garment bag next to a Confederate flag beside his desk. An American flag stands on the other side. A red-trimmed, white-satin robe—presumably that of an Exalted Cyclops—hangs on another wall.

Mr. Shelton is a slight, but broad-shouldered, man of 35, with a long, beautifully cut face, light blue eyes and a soft voice. His expression is melancholy and he occasionally emphasizes his speech with a grieved frown of his fair eyebrows.

He is a native of Tuscaloosa, where his grandfather was a farmer and storekeeper and his father is now "a retired merchant." It has been said that they were both Klansmen. Mr. Shelton denied the story.

"That may have gotten started from my belief that a person is born a Klansman," he said. "To a degree, it is a religion, a faith, a belief. A man may subscribe to its principles and live under it, and, in the heritage and background of the Klan—the *only* organization by and for Americans—sentimentally. In this way we are all members."

He graduated from high school, took some correspondence college courses and worked at a local rubber company, first in the plant and then as a salesman, and later sold automobile air-conditioning. (A friend of his said: "Bobby gave up a $10,000-a-year job; he lost it for his work with the Klan. No one has given up more than they have, and I don't see how they make it. He wants nothing for himself.")

HE served three years in the Army, in Berlin during the airlift and at the time of desegregation in the armed services—"a great educational opportunity."

The Klan, Shelton said, "is my entire dedication." He has no time for sports, hobbies or other pleasures except occasional visits from Klan friends at home, and his exercise is "running all over the country." *(Continued on Page 25)*

MARGARET LONG, Atlanta author and editor (of the Southern Regional Council's magazine, New South), won the Florina Lasker Civil Liberties Award in 1961.

FIERY SYMBOL—A 50-foot cross blazes at a rally of today's resurgent Ku Klux Klan, held near Tuscaloosa, Ala.

(Continued from Page 8)

The Sheltons have two daughters and a son, aged 7, 5 and 2.

SHELTON smiled at a mention of the published estimates of Klan membership. He said 65,000 "is closer to the neighborhood of the Alabama Klan alone."

"Secrecy in the business of membership is one of our biggest weapons," he said. "If we boast about it then we lose advantage." He said the Klan is "very active" in states in the North, East and West, is well organized in Alabama, Louisiana, the Carolinas, Tennessee and Georgia, and is having a "great increase in membership and activity in Mississippi, where it is now open and aboveboard." California membership "is very strong," he said, but "we can't come out openly, because the Communist conspiracy is strong and the Klan must not show its hand.

"We've had a very rapid increase since we got chartered, an increase more than we can take care of. We do not have the desire of a rush of volume membership. We don't want people of an emotional crowd feeling, or leaders to satisfy that excited emotional feeling, that can stomp and talk at meetings, and then they'll go out and beat or kill a nigger. No, we wish to provide satisfaction to people in a more constructive manner."

He said his new Klan "has a staff of 13 or 14 men—several lawyers, members of church boards and bank boards." Dues, he said, vary with local klaverns.

"The Klan image," Shelton went on rapidly, "has been so misrepresented in various news medias, misrepresenting that the Klansmen are living on a theory of hate and fear. . . . The Klan symbolizes the Reconstruction. We try to keep the Klan today on the same pedestal of history, of the Reconstruction past, when there were no laws to defend the Southerner under the cruel heel of Federal oppression.

"We are promoting mass education on the general program to the general public to inform them who our enemies are, what they are, the methods employed and how they are to be countered. Though not a political organization, we realize that, utilizing the law of self-preservation, to survive, we must be involved in politics, to extend the Klan program of voter registration."

THE Klan education program he said, has "many stages." One of them is "research on textbooks in schools."

"It is one means of the conspiracy to formulate an alien ideology among young children," and the Klan "contemplates to execute a program of the true writing of history." School officials, he explained, are often innocent of the conspiracy's distorting hand in school books, "and when it is called to their attention, many of them do not have a knowledge of what is taking place in our schools."

He did not name any objectionable books, but said: "The most liberal trend is in the higher echelons of intellect. . . . We find types of fellow travelers in various walks of life. . . . We'll formulate a list of completely falsified textbooks, the constant attempt to create in a young child the beliefs that Southerners have always been backward, hating the nigra and unprogressive."

PICKET LINE—The Klan in Atlanta. The "economic boycott" is one of several ideas today's Klan has adopted from the Negro revolt.

"The Southerner," he declared, "has progressed with the nigra on his shoulders farther than any other section of the country in every area of civilization and society. The War Between the States resulted, particularly in the Southeastern part of the United States, in the South being parched by burning and destroyed in Sherman's march. The South had to completely rebuild and revamp our civilization. And we had to carry the blunt weight of him, the nigra, in the uphill struggle against unfair freight rates, carpetbaggers, scalawags and Federal laws against us."

The North, Shelton observed, "is jealous of the South, our progress beyond them, of many individuals moving South to enjoy our production, our attitudes and our labor forces."

He said Southerners and Klansmen "have no hate for the nigra." They believe "there is a place in society for all persons and races, but you cannot pass or legislate class and social equality. The nigra must study and try to gain this level, rather than force it by legislation. . . . He has far more economy in the South, more business and private ownership, more homes owned by nigras, than in any other part of the country."

MR. SHELTON was for years a member of Local 351 of the United Rubber Workers. He said he believes in unions, but feels that they are "at the national level, infiltrated and rotten . . . with no regard for the Southerner, and control and manipulate us for advantage and capacity in the North. Walter Reuther is an admitted worker to set up a Socialist republic, a Socialist America."

Mr. Shelton considers the Negro movement for integration and the national labor movement to be intertwined in a conspiracy to take Southern union dues "to finance Communistic programs of integration in the South. Using the money and using the nigra as a tool, they continue to utilize and use M. L. King [the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr], Shuttlesworth [the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference] and the N.A.A.C.P. to be more militant participants in racial demonstrations, and they [the Communists] in turn slip into the background and wrest control.

"I firmly believe," he went on, "that M. L. King will be eliminated by his own people—will be assassinated.

"The nigra is beginning to realize that when his people are desegregated, that where the movement has taken hold, that they are affiliated with known Communists, and that it brings about the destruction of his own economy, and the nigra businesses had to close their doors. Many well-meaning nigras know their own people are being used by Communists."

THE Imperial Wizard shares the current fashionable concern with poverty and unemployment, and offers the solution of restricting immigration.

"Cheap labor from foreign countries and a flood of immigration creates more problems," he said. "In foreign countries they look on America as a place to get milk and honey, but their loyalty remains for the motherland across the waters. They are not for our republican form of government. Some of them return to the motherland and still receive their Social Security."

The Klan believes the poll tax is "a necessary method, disregarding race. We require some method of selecting individuals intelligent enough to

(Continued on Following Page)

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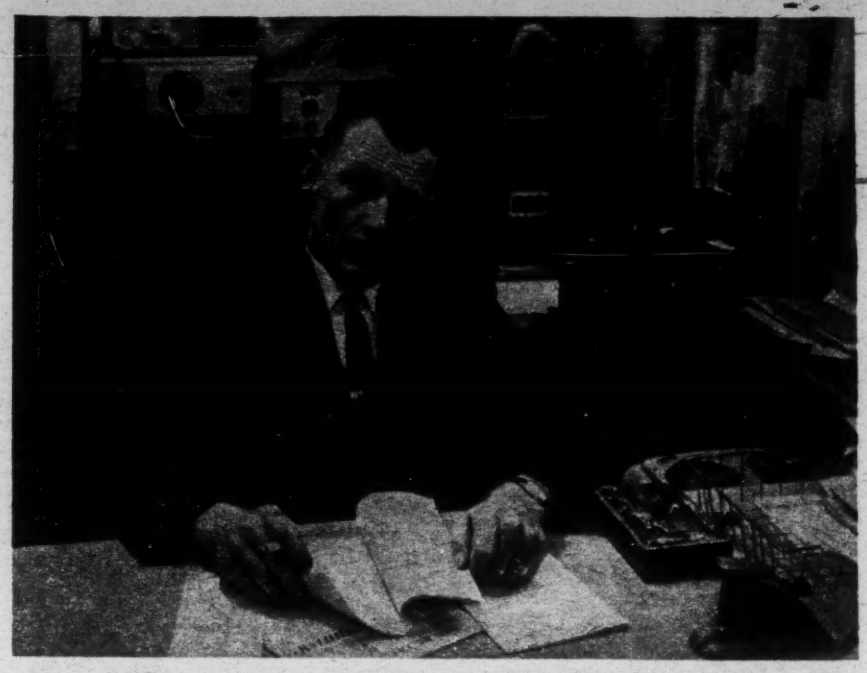


IMPERIAL WIZARD —Robert Shelton, 35, of Tuscaloosa, who organized the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klans, Inc. He seeks to create a "new image" of the Klan.

(Continued from Preceding Page)

elect the leadership to enact the laws that govern us." Shelton himself "would advocate some aptitude test similar to those given men in the armed services, and then they could not holler discrimination."

HE conceded gravely: "If a nigra had the ability to pass such tests, he should have the right to vote. You have the immoral aspects of nigras who do not have the ability to write their names and can be controlled by a carton of cigarettes or a carton of beer; some whites, too, can be controlled. We must select citizens who have the ability to vote for leadership which will enact laws for not only you and I but future generations."

The Klan is deeply concerned over the welfare program known as Aid to Dependent Children.

"Most nigra women have a better contract with the welfare and A.D.C. than unions have with management," Mr. Shelton offered, with a rare, quick smile. "A mother gets $30 for each illegitimate child, and then some of them, her children, are getting the same check for her illegitimate grandchildren. And they make the rounds of all the surplus food, welfare offices and churches, and the more illegitimate children they have, the better they can live. Go to the reciprocants of welfare and you'll see the TV antenna on the house, and a good sound auto in the front yard. They drive late-model Cadillacs and Buicks to the surplus food lines. Should we carry the tab to support such families?"

The Klan program to buy up tracts of land and settle white people in Caucasian communities to avoid integration is "still in the planning stage, in the future," Shelton said.

"We are researching the possibilities and our legal staff is at work on it, and we're interested in it because we're coming under a governing dictatorial body. These reservations will be a sanctity, where a man is to continue to raise up a family and have his beliefs respected."

Unlike most white segregationists, the Imperial Wizard does not profess love for Negroes in their place. Mrs. Shelton has "a white lady" who takes care of her children because he wants them "raised in a Caucasian atmosphere."

"I have a lot of nigras I'm in contact with, who pass on information to us and who have no regard for this movement," he said. "It is infringing on their own beliefs and principles, and they are intimidated and harassed. They say they have a boycott here and they have their own goon squads to harass and intimidate Negroes and snatch packages out of their hands and threaten them.

"They threaten more demonstrations. I welcome them; it shows their ignorance and stupidity. If they flout the laws, we are going to see that they uphold the law. As long as the police can handle it, we'll give them the opportunity, and if they can't, we'll use whatever means are necessary. They will not be allowed to openly flout the citizenry of this town or any town."

He expects a "spontaneous rise" in Negro activity "when the moon comes full. My research shows that the full moon brings out the animal instincts, increases their excitement, and they become violent, restless, inclined to get in trouble and brawls."

I asked Mr. Shelton about cross burnings in Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama and about attacks, some by sheeted men, on Negroes.

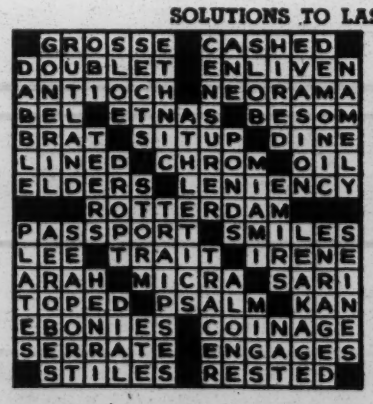
"The Klan has not brought about any propagation of violence and intimidation," he declared. "In many cases, nigras are told that the Klan is responsible for violence against them; stories are exaggerated. The conspiracy will stoop to no level. The violence may be associated, yes, but it is not Klan work. There are, also, a number of Klans."

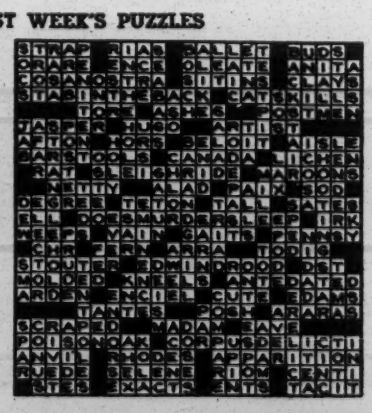
OF current Klan attitudes toward Catholics and Jews, he said: "A foreign section of a sect or belief, or allegiance to a religious body — in some cases Catholics have been pushed to the limit. Leander Perez [the Louisiana segregationist who was excommunicated by the Roman Catholic Church for his war on parochial-school desegregation] rather than bow down to his diocese was excommunicated; he would not be loyal to a mandate or ruling rather than his conviction.

"The argument as to why Jews don't belong to the Klan is belief in Christ. We are a Christian, Protestant fraternal organization, and they believe in the Messiah, Jehovah and other figures, but not Christ. If a Jewish person is a Communist person, we should not be considered anti-Semitic for exposing this person. And many Jews have been found in the Communist conspiracy."

The Klan wants "each race to promote its own culture, to inculcate race pride." But, he added, desegregation "is disrupting and breaking down all connections and communications, so people who five years ago would think nothing of throwing 50 cents or a dollar into the hat of a nigra now won't do it."

SOLUTIONS TO LAST WEEK'S PUZZLES





July 21, 1964

Mr. Ian McCrae
The United Christian Missionary Society
of the Disciples of Christ
222 South Downey Avenue
Indianapolis, Indiana

Dear Mr. McCrae:

Mr. Anthony asked me to reply to your letter of July 17. The attached summaries came from reading news clips and various reports; I would prefer that you not quote me, since these are my own conclusions and not the Council's.

In our latest report, Law Enforcement in Mississippi, pp. 5 and 6, Leslie W. Dunbar mentioned the Klan and a new but fast-growing group called the Americans for the Preservation of the White Race. I am attaching the two pages, for your information. Since this has been published you may use is for a quote if you wish.

A list we have used for reference and reading is also attached: news stories, magazine articles, publications, and books.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Some enclosures to Phil Hirschkop (justice file)
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MA. Will you help this guy please — PA

July 17, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am wondering if you could help me to get some accurate information about the current status of theKu Klux Klan.

Although I have read the Standard Press releases, I would be interested in getting information both in terms of their own statements of their positions and also any evaluations which have been done within the last five years.

I will be grateful for anything which you can suggest to me.

Cordially yours,

Ian McCrae
Ian McCrae

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Letters

REACTION TO KLAN

TO THE EDITOR:

The article reporting the views and plans of Robert Shelton, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, was interesting ("The Imperial Wizard Explains the Klan," July 5).

Shelton and his helpers have recently been picketing the theaters, restaurants and motels in our city which have elected to comply with the provisions of the Civil Rights Bill. The signs would offend the decency and manners of any honorable citizen. The Klan's action has brought the following reaction in a front-page editorial of The Tuscaloosa News on July 7:

"Supreme commander of these reckless and irresponsible white elements is a sickly looking, pitiable little man named Robert Shelton. He has no life savings at stake in any private business enterprise. He has been reduced to living as a human jackal on a racket known as the Ku Klux Klan."

Another front-page editorial appeared on July 8 in our city's leading newspaper:

"Sleep well tonight. But look about you today. The Grand Wizard glides up to a trouble spot, radio antenna whipping the clean breeze above his command car. He puts down the microphone from his command radio and steps out, walking stiff-legged and looking like an owl in his big dark glasses.

"He looks around for those he fears: Negroes, Catholics, Jews, Government men (Federal, that is) and a long list of others who pity a man who is even afraid of the United Fund and condemns its agencies."

The foregoing editorials ought to make it clear that Robert Shelton and his limited followers are not regarded locally as significant citizens of Tuscaloosa. His bid for respectability is a farce. His appeal is limited to a fearful mentality which knows it is by way of being left out in a society which is too busy to hate.

ROBERT KEEVER,
Presbyterian University Pastor,
University of Alabama.
Tuscaloosa, Ala.

'KLAN IMAGE'

TO THE EDITOR:

As for the "Klan image" as explained by Mr. Shelton, when did it not thrive on a "theory of hate and fear"? The writer, reared in the South, has a deep-rooted remembrance of this image—a memory of a shivering, frightened child clinging to her mother, watching for the first time a band of invaders of a peaceful small town, donning white robes and masks, and marching in ghostly procession to force open and search a home in the neighborhood of a reported bootlegger.

Surely, the South today can bring forward better spokesmen for its great history than this "Imperial Wizard." Surely, the South is not to become a "reservation" for the sanctity of those enclaves and "Caucasian communities," where Mr. Shelton and his like

(Continued on Page 14)

(Continued from Page 4)

could live and raise up families and have their beliefs "respected!"

B. DALTON.
Washington, D. C.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 16, 19

Craig Hints Bid for Order For Purge List

Ku Klux Klan leader Calvin Craig said Saturday he may seek a write of mandamus to remove the clerk of Fulton Superior Court and the county voting registrar unless they comply with a law requriing them to process monthly lists of convicted felons so that they can be purged from the registration books.

Mr. Craig, who is Georgia grand dragon of the United Klans of America and is also a candidate for state Senate, sent a telegram Thursday to the county grand jury requesting an investigation in the matter.

He said Saturday he has had no response from the grand jury or from any county officials.

The new state elections code enacted early this summer requires the clerk of court to submit to the registrar a list each month of all persons convicted of felonies in his judicial circuit. The old code required an annual list.

FELONS are disqualified from voting until they complete their prison and probationary terms and obtain a certified restoration of their civil and political rights from the State Pardon and Parole Board.

Both Fulton County Registrar Leon Hay and Acting Fulton Superior Court Clerk Clarence Lanford confirmed the felon lists are not being made. Mr. Hay said no lists have been received by his office in at least three years. He said there are a number of administrative difficulties in a county as large as Fulton that make it "almost impossible" to keep current data on felons residing in the county.

He said it is especially difficult to detect felons convicted in other jurisdictions or states unless they admit it when they come to Mr. Hay's office to register.

He said he is working now to improve the system and bring practice into line with the law.

Rally Hears Klan Controls Nine States

9-6-64

By PAUL VALENTINE

About 600 Ku Klux Klansmen gathered Saturday night in a Stone Mountain field, burned a cross and were told by their leader the Klan now politically controls nine states of the union.

James Venable, Atlanta attorney and chairman of the National Ku Klux Klan Association, praised his organization and said its strength will continue to grow.

A 30-foot cross was lit in the field, owned by Mr. Venable, and burned brightly for several minutes while robed Klansmen stood silently facing the bright light, many of them raising their left arm in a stiff salute.

Many of the Klansmen were both robed and masked. They cheered various calls for patriotism and the preservation of the white man's position in American society. About a dozen speakers addressed the crowd.

AT ONE POINT, several hundred of the spectators turned from the speaker's stand and suddenly rushed toward the gate to the field in apparent response to a reported disturbance nearby.

Many of the Klansmen carried clubs. Some had pistols. One man who had removed his red robe had a pistol tucked in a shoulder holster.

"Do you have your gun?" one man asked another as they ran toward the gate.

In an opening prayer at the rally, a robed preacher asked that "the Lord put grace and grit in the white caucasian race . . . and help destroy this black ape race."

Mr. Venable stressed that the National Association of Klans does not preach the use of violence except in self-defense.

"Our weapons are the boycott and the ballot," he said.

Of acquittal Friday of two Klansmen charged with the murder of Negro Lemuel Penn near Athens, Mr. Venable said:

"You'll never be able to convict a white man that killed a Nigger what encroaches on the white race of the South."

Klan leaders from Florida, Tennessee, Louisiana, South Carolina and Ohio addressed the crowd.

A Georgia Klan leader, Charlie Maddox of Savannah, told the gathering, "We need to do a lot to stop (the liberal legislation of) these national politicians. One man down in Texas did a lot already, remember?"

A Louisiana spokesman estimated the Klan now has more than 10,000 members in his state. Another Klansman, this one from Ohio, predicted that in five years his state will have double the number it had in the 1940s, some 45,000.

The National Association of Klans is a federation of 19 Klan groups across the nation, Mr. Venable said. It embraces six of seven Klan organizations in Georgia. The seventh is the United Klans of America, headed by Calvin Craig in Georgia and Robert Shelton of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, in the nation.

NYT 9/6/64

Regs KKK L

BIG GAINS SCORED BY CAROLINA KLAN

Resurgence Most Vigorous Since the Early 1920s

Special to The New York Times

CHARLOTTE, N. C., Sept. 5—A new Ku Klux Klan, which began raising its fiery crosses over North Carolina 12 months ago, has become the biggest and strongest Klan organization in this state in 40 years.

Not since the early nineteen-twenties, when Klansmen were elected in numbers to the State Legislature, has North Carolina witnessed so vigorous a resurgence of the robed order.

Gov. Terry Sanford and state law enforcement officials, worried about the Klan's potential for violence, have kept a careful watch as the organization has spread rapidly into a majority of the counties in eastern and Piedmont North Carolina.

Only in the mountainous west has the Klan failed to gain a foothold. As one high Klan official told reporters recently, "There ain't no niggers in the mountains."

Many Sympathizers

While no more than 3,000 persons are dues-paying members of the Klan, several times that many North Carolinians are active sympathizers who attend rallies, donate money and follow the Klan's line in politics.

More than 40 klaverns, or local units, meet weekly across the state in lodge halls, private dining rooms, business places and Klansmen's homes.

The Anti-Defamation League, which monitors Klan activity all over the country, now believes that North Carolina is among the four most active states in a national Klan revival. The others are Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee.

The league, along with law enforcement men and other students of the Klan, is convinced that Klan operations in North Carolina today are far more widespread and well-organized than in any other period since the nineteen-twenties.

While the new Klan in North Carolina has its share of older men who are veterans of earlier Klans, the present organization seems to be dominated by men in their 20s and 30s, for whom this Klan adventure is their first.

Led by Former Sailor

Their leader, and the man primarily responsible for the Klan revival in the state, is J. Robert Jones, 36 years old, a former sailor, bricklayer and lightning-rod salesman. He is the Grand Dragon of the state Klan.

Jones, the son of a Salisbury, N. C., railroading family, now devotes all his time to organizing new klaverns and encouraging old ones. He says he has driven 75,000 miles in the last year in behalf of the Klan.

It all began, Jones said in a recent interview, in June, 1963, when he got eight friends together to discuss Communism and the civil rights movement.

"We decided something had to be done," Jones recalled, "whether it was on a local or national basis."

After three nights of talk, Jones and his friends agreed to revive the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina and to affiliate with United Klans of America, Inc., the biggest of several national Klan organizations.

Political Strength Doubted

North Carolina's Grand Dragon and his youthful lieutenants insist that their group has disavowed violence as a means for preserving white supremacy. Their energies will be directed instead toward politics, they

dividuals who may decide, without authorization, to translate violent oratory into violent action.

One veteran Klansman from eastern North Carolina summed it up when asked whether the Klan was serious when it disclaimed violence.

"We really mean it," he said. "But you gotta watch these young boys. They'll go off and do anything."

to be done,
"whether it was on a local or national basis."

After three nights of talk, Jones and his friends agreed to revive the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina and to affiliate with United Klans of America, Inc., the biggest of several national Klan organizations.

Political Strength Doubted

North Carolina's Grand Dragon and his youthful lieutenants insist that their group has disavowed violence as a means for preserving white supremacy. Their energies will be directed instead toward politics, they contend.

Political observers in North Carolina, however, are virtually unanimous in dismissing the Klan as a serious political force in statewide elections.

While the Klan's bloc of votes is almost certainly too small to be significant in statewide races, the Klan still may wield political influence in scattered small towns and rural communities where anti-Negro sentiment is intense.

Despite the new Klan's insistence that it will stick to politics to achieve its goals, there have been strong indications that threats, intimidation and even violence are atill part of the Klan's operations.

Potential for Violence

The Klan's own leaders are ambivalent in public statements on the subject. Nearly every disclaimer of violence has been coupled with an implicit threat of violence.

"We are not a violent order," one speaker told a crowd of cheering Klansmen recently, "but it's better to die for something than to live for nothing."

Law enforcement officials believe that whatever the Klan leaders' real views of violence are, the Klan's greatest potential for violence rests with in-

Resist. Orgs - KKK

Most Southerners Regard Reborn Klan With Contem

Its Estimated 75,000 Members Stir Trouble in Rural Areas

By Paul Good
Special to The Washington Post

ATLANTA, Oct. 7—The image of the Ku Klux Klan is appearing once more on sections of the American social and political landscape.

FBI arrests in McComb, Miss., for the bombing of Negro homes turned up Klan membership cards in the suspects' cache of weapons. In Georgia recently, an all-white jury freed two Klansmen accused of the hi[illegible] of Washington educator [illegible]uel A. Penn, a Negro. And a few days after the verdict, a Georgia KKK leader ran a strong race for State senator in a suburb of Atlanta.

"There has been a significant resurgence of the Klan throughout the South," reports the Anti-Defamation League. "Basically anti-Negro, it is also anti-Semitic, identifying Jews with communism. Continuing [illegible] violence appears inevi[illegible]ble because by its own principles and its very nature, the Klan must use force. If it is not coercive and violent, it is nothing."

The Klan, moribund in the 1950s, has come to new life in Florida, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi. While the Republican convention did not denounce it in the Party platform, Sen. Barry Goldwater took cognizance of its re-emergence in an Aug. 6 statement.

"We don't want the backing of the Ku Klux Klan," the GOP presidential nominee said. "And I don't think we're going to get it."

But some Klan elements are openly endorsing the Senator. How much support, welcome or not, can the Klan muster politically today?

Known facts about the secret organization support two major conclusions:

1. In numbers and political influence, the Klan is a shadow of what it was in its modern heydey of the 1920s. Then, its influence decided numerous state elections and even reached into the Indiana Governor's office. While reliable membership figures do not exist, estimated membership then was possibly a million. Today, it might reach 75,000, drawn largely from the ranks of the ill-educated and economically impotent.

The two major groups—the United Klans of America, Inc., and the National Ku Klux Klan Association—are looked on with contempt by a majority of Southerners regardless of their opposition to integration. They point to past Klan excesses that gave the South an unwholesome reputation and they see no present signs of responsibility. However, in small rural areas, where the Negro is most vulnerable, Klansmen are exerting influence, and Mississippi terror bombings have been coincident, at least, with the rise of the Klan.

2. The KKK renascence appears tied to the inevitability of Negro civil rights progress under Federal legislation. Looking again to Mississippi, a few years ago the Klan was virtually extinct, with militant whites enrolled in ballot-minded groups like the Citizens Council. But as it became obvious the Council could oppose but not undo by vote or persuasion equal rights laws and seconding judicial decisions, direct action extremists left the Council and revived the Klan.

The significance — and danger — of Klan growth is that young, violence-prone segregationists are joining, hating Negroes and viewing the Federal Government as a blood enemy.

In Tuscaloosa, Ala., former tire salesman and current Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton of the United Klans of America paints a different image.

"We are not after the emotional type people," he says. "Because this is the calibre of people that are immediately seeking action to let out inner emotions. We are not an organization that is advocating bringing about a breakdown in law and order."

But in the next breath, Shelton predicts the assassination of Rev. Martin Luther King—by Communists because he isn't violent enough—and at the same time pledges for his members that ". . . whatever methods it will take to counteract this (civil rights) movement will be taken."

His rival counterpart, Imperial Wizard James Venable of the National Ku Klux Klan Association, spoke of the Penn slaying.

"We don't advocate taking law into our own hands," said the middle-aged Atlanta lawyer. "This killing hurts all of us and makes us look like outlaws."

But at a cross-burning rally the day after two Klansmen were acquitted of the murder in a Danielsville courtroom, he shouted:

"You'll never be able to convict a white man what kills a nigger that encroaches on the white race of the South. They tried it in Philadelphia (Miss.) and over in Danielsville. You see a jury there last night turn 'em Scot free. Now Mr. Hoover and Mr. Johnson, what do you say about that?"

His listeners cheered. Minutes later, many brandished guns when a false and possibly planted report that Negroes were trying to crash the meeting swept their ranks. In such moments, the Klan mask of a new reasonableness slips. An overwhelming majority of Southern leadership today regards the Klan as a political cipher and social blight. But the Klansman's innate capacity to do violence with guns and bombs still presents a lethal threat to Southern Negroes. And this is a real and growing challenge to Southerners of both races who abhor what the Klan does in the name of the Christian cross and white supremacy.

Burning cross and hooded figures, under Old Glory, symbolize resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan.

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trial basis.

N47

Klan Drops Secretiven[illegible] At Alabama Fair Di[illegible]

Balt. 10/8/64

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Oct. [illegible] (UPI)—The secretive Ku Klux Klan has an exhibition at [illegible] Alabama State [illegible] first time in his[illegible]

It is part of [illegible] rent campaign [illegible] reputation and recruit members to oppose integration and Communism.

The faded white canvas booth that houses the display is lined with small Confederate flags and has a large American flag and a Confederate banner waving on each side. It is strategically situated near the main midway where about 350,000 persons will pas before the fair sons will pass before the fair ends Monday.

The front of the booth proclaims, "United Klans of America—Knights of the Ku Klux Klan." In the background is a huge figure of a hooded rider on a white horse and a five-foot cross covered with aluminum foil and dotted with red light bulbs.

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2 Killed, 2 Injured in Fire

10-27-64 9

Klan Head Stresses Support For Barry of Self, Members

By PAUL VALENTINE

Calvin Craig, Georgia grand dragon of the United Klans of America, reasserted Tuesday his support of Sen. Barry Goldwater's presidential campaign. He said untold numbers of Klan members, ranging from farmers and shop foremen to bank directors and county sheriffs, are working individually for Republican victory.

Calvin Craig

He stressed in an interview that the United Klan is not making an organized effort under its own banner in the election campaign, but individual members are nevertheless united in their political thinking.

Mr. Craig also confidently predicted victory for Sen. Goldwater Nov. 3, both in Georgia and in the nation.

"He'll take the solid South, and I believe he'll take some of the bigger states, too," he said. "I predict he'll win by half a million votes over Johnson in the country."

THE GRAND DRAGON speculated Goldwater will take 90 of Georgia's 159 counties by a 40,000-vote margin over President Johnson.

Klan membership is broadly spread throughout Georgia's economic strata, he said, and those actively working for Goldwater include "doctors, freight rate clerks, shop foremen, big farmers, filling station owners, directors of banks, sheriffs, registered nurses and others."

He said, "The Klan is like a church. It is a cross-section of almost every profession."

THE SEGREGATIONIST leader also predicted there "will be violence in the streets before inauguration" in January, regardless of who wins the presidential race.

He reasoned:

"If LBJ is re-elected, the niggers will be more powerful than ever. In a way, they'll think Martin Luther King is president. They'll try to push the Civil Rights Bill into effect overnight. . . . The niggers are going to start pushing irregardless of which one's elected. But if Johnson goes back in, the white people are going to protect themselves.

"If Goldwater is elected, they (Negroes) will feel they have just a few months to do all the damage they can do with LBJ still in. I think there's going to be violence . . . I don't know exactly what form it will be, but something's going to happen. . . . If there was peace, Martin Luther King and the NAACP would be out of a job. They got to keep in business. I believe things are going to break loose about Christmas."

THE KLAN LEADER added, ed to his own narrowly lost race last September for the 35th Senatorial District seat in Atlanta against incumbent Frank Coggin in the Democratic primary. Sen. Coggin won by a 3,618-2,916 margin.

"Don't forget," the grand dragon said, "that old Coggin is the mayor of Hapeville, he's the incumbent senator and he had the backing of organized labor, the newspapers and the nigger Voters League. And look at me: I'm a newcomer; I'm known as a Klansman and a hatemonger and all that kind of thing. I think the vote in my district reflects a reaction against the general trend."

The United Klans of America is one of the most prominent Klan groups among the seven distinct Klans established in Georgia. The United Klans' national leader is Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton of Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

Union Arms Itself and Defies Klan

11-19-64-C

LAUREL, Miss.— (UPI)—Officials of a union whose assistant business manager was beaten by masked men vowed Wednesday night to arm themselves against possible attacks from the Ku Klux Klan.

The officials sent a warning to the klan after one of them, assistant business manager Otis Matthews, was kidnaped Tuesday night by masked men and beaten with leather straps.

The officials blamed the incident on the Klan and said it apparently was prompted by the fact that some Negroes had been given supervisory jobs through seniority at the Masonite Corp. plant here.

At a meeting of Local 5-443, International Woodworkers of America, AFL-CIO, the officials issued this grim warning:

"To those of you who disregard our advice and counsel, welcome to death and the penitentiary.

"We declare individually and collectively, that any more efforts to impede our progress on public thoroughfares will be met by death, as we have been advised to arm ourselves and be prepared."

The statement was signed by all 18 members of the local, including Matthews.

"Presumably, Matthews was kidnaped and attacked because the federal government had ordered the Masonite Corp. to treat the members of the Negro race exactly as the members of the white race," the leaders said. They said there was a unanimous decision by company and union to comply.

FBI Opposes Rights, Says NAACP Aide

11-19-64-C

HOUSTON, Tex., (AP) — A Mississippi NAACP leader said Wednesday Federal Bureau of Investigation agents in Southern states are generally not in sympathy with civil rights.

"I'll go further than that. J. Edgar Hoover himself is not in tune with civil rights," said Aaron Henry, a Clarksville druggist.

Henry, here to address the Houston Pharmaceutical Association convention, made the remarks in an interview with newsmen.

He said the feeling among Negroes and civil rights sympathizers is that FBI men would be reluctant to take legal action against "their friends" in local police departments.

"This accounts for their inept activity," he said. "Now, they can find a pumpkin containing microfilm on a 40-acre farm of Whitaker Chambers that convicted Alger Hiss, but they can't find the murderers of three boys in Philadelphia."

Henry was referring to the disappearance and deaths of three civil rights workers in Mississippi and the failure so far to apprehend any suspects in the case.

11-19-64

6 Klansmen Due Hearing In Rights Case

By PAUL VALENTINE

Six Athens Ku Klux Klansmen indicted last month by a federal grand jury on charges of conspiring to deprive Negroes of their civil rights are scheduled for arraignment Monday in Athens, U.S. Dist. Atty. Floyd Buford said Wednesday.

Actual trial of the men, however, may not come until sometime in January, he said, because attorneys for the Klansmen want to argue a number of pretrial motions which will have to be heard and adjudicated first by presiding federal Judge W. A. Bootle.

Three of the six Klansmen were indicted last summer on the state charge of murder in the July 11 shotgun slaying of Negro educator Lemuel Penn as he was driving with two other Negroes through a remote section of Madison County in northeast Georgia.

Two of the state defendants—Cecil Myers and Joseph Howard Sims — were acquitted after a week-long trial in Danielsville, seat of Madison County. The third Klansman charged with murder, James S. Lackey, has not yet been tried on the state charge and is currently being held in Atlanta Federal Penitentiary.

THE THREE MEN, plus Denver Willis Phillips, George Hampton Turner and Herbert Guest, were subsequently indicted on the federal charge of conspiracy. Mr. Guest was additionally charged with possession of an unregistered sawed-off shotgun measuring less than 26 inches in length in violation of a federal firearms statute.

All the defendants, except Mr. Lackey, are free on bond. The FBI has described the six as "active participants" in the activities of the United Klans of America in Clarke County Klavern No. 224.

The conspiracy charge alleges the six men engaged in systematic intimidation and harassment of Negroes, thus limiting rights guaranteed them under federal law and the U.S. Constitution. The indictment specifies the white men conspired to shoot, beat, and kill Negroes, damage and destroy their property, pursue them in cars and threaten them with guns.

A TOTAL of four motions involving the six men have been filed in federal court in Macon, seat of the U.S. Middle District of Georgia. One moves to strike certain portions of the indictment as irrelevant and prejudicial in the case; one asks for a bill of particulars to provide more details of the allegation against the men; another motion, this one filed in Mr. Lackey's behalf, asks for a speedy trial; and the fourth motion asks that the entire conspiracy indicement be dismissed on the claim that none of the acts at-indictment be dismissed on the charges is a violation of any federal law.

11-26-64 JC

6 Athens Klansmen to Be Arraigned Monday

ATHENS, Ga. (AP)—Six white men the FBI identified as active in Ku Klux Klan affairs face arraignment Monday on charges of conspiring to deprive Negroes of civil rights.

They were indicted by a federal grand jury Oct. 16 on the charges arising from alleged acts of intimidation and violence against Negroes in Georgia.

The men were indicted by a grand jury investigating the night rider slaying of Lemuel Penn, a Washington, D.C., Negro educator.

Two of the state defendants—Cecil Myers and Joseph Howard Sims—were acquitted after a week-long trial at Danielsville. The third man, James S. Lackey, has yet to face trial. Besides the murder charge, Lackey faces federal conspiracy charges. He currently is being held at the federal penitentiary in Atlanta.

The three men, plus Denver Willis Phillips, George Hampton Turner and Herbert Guest, subsequently were indicted on the federal charge of conspiracy.

Killers of 3 Known, FBI Says

11-26-64 JC

By JACK C. VANDENBERG

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The Federal Bureau of Investigation said Wednesday for the first time that it knows who killed the three young civil rights workers in Philadelphia, Miss., last June.

"Intensive investigation is continuing to develop the case for prosecution as quickly as possible," the FBI said.

The statement was in reply to charges by the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and other Negro leaders that the FBI was providing inadequate protection for Negroes in the South.

VICTIMS IDENTIFIED

Acting Atty. Gen. Nicholas Deb. Katzenbach has said previously that Mississippians refusing to come forward and testify have prevented arrests in the slayings.

The victims were Andrew Goodman, 20, of New York; Michael Schwerner, 24, of Brooklyn, N.Y., and a Negro, James Chaney, 21, of Meridian, Miss.

Their bodies were found in a deep grave near Philadelphia about two months after they were last seen alive. They had been shot.

DEVELOPS CLUES

Wednesday's statement said:

"The FBI launched a massive investigation following the disappearance of the three civil rights workers in the vicinity of Philadelphia, Miss., on June 21, 1964. The FBI located their bodies in an earthen dam and has developed information identifying those responsible."

The FBI also said it has identified a small group of Ku Klux Klansmen believed to be responsible for the bombing of a Birmingham, Ala., church on Sept. 15, 1963, in which four Negro children were killed.

November 27,1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs,

I am writing as a Bethel College senior presently engaged in doing research for a social science seminar paper. My paper is concerned with the Ku Klux Klan, its revival, and its operation and influence in todays society. It has been drawn to my attention that you could possibly assist me in this research by having at your disposal related material, or information where such material could be obtained. I would sincerely appreciate any and all help that you might give me in this endeavor.

Your prompt attention to this matter would be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Max G. Voran

Max. G. Voran

Box 238
North Newton, Kansas 67117

Rights Death Area Tells of Klan Plot

11-29-64 J-C

By HOMER BIGART

(c) 1964 New York Times News Service

PHILADELPHIA, Miss., Nov. 28—The belief is growing among moderate leaders here that a Ku Klux Klan mob of at least 50 persons plotted the murder of Michael H. Schwerner at least six weeks before he and two other civil rights leaders were slain last summer.

Why would Schwerner be the particular target of the Klan? Why not one of the other victims: Andrew Goodman, who like Schwerner, was a white man from New York? Why not the lone Negro of the trio, James E. Chaney?

"Schwerner wore a beard and looked very Jewish," one Philadelphian explained. "He had become a known figure to the Klan. He had been in the area several months."

Schwerner, a 24-year-old former settlement house worker on the lower east side of Manhattan, came to Mississippi last January. He and his wife, Rita, had joined the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and had opened a community center at Meridian where Negroes were trained for civil service examinations, motor registration and in other phases of the civil rights program.

Goodman was among 175 student volunteers who completed a one-week orientation course for the Mississippi civil rights project in Oxford, Ohio, only a week before he vanished.

THE THREE disappeared June 21. Their bodies were found in an earthen dam near on Aug. 4.

As for the motivation for murder, it is explained by some that the Klan mob was worked up to an embittered conviction that the state was facing an invasion by Yankee beatniks, Jews and other "scum" and decided to make Schwerner an example for the other invaders.

On June 21 Schwerner, Goodman and Chaney, a 21-year-old plasterer from Meridian, came to Neshoba County to investigate the burning of a Negro church.

They were stopped late in the afternoon by Deputy Sheriff Cecil Price, who took them to jail and held them for several hours on a speeding charge. It was late at night when they were released. Two days later, the burned hulk of their station wagon was found in a swamp a few miles from town.

SINCE THEN, this town of 5,000 in the red clay hills of east-central Mississippi has been under close scrutiny by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

A few Philadelphians are now beginning to break silence and comment openly on the undercurrents of fear and guilt.

Rev. Clay Lee, pastor of the First Methodist Church, said:

"I've been a minister 15 years in Mississippi and I've never seen so much tension. What bothers me most is the unwillingness of so many people to face the fact that this was planned, premeditated murder. I honestly don't know one member of the Klan. But beyond the shadow of a doubt they are here and they were mixed up in this."

Lee said many Philadelphians were confused by the clamorous insistence of racists for a united front against outside investigators.

He said the fear of many Philadelphians was not so much of cross burnings, bombings and other violence by the Klan but "a fear of what we might hear."

Klansmen Plead Innocent In Rights Violation Case

11-30-64 9

By PAUL VALENTINE
Atlanta Journal Staff Writer

ATHENS, Ga., Nov. 30—Five Ku Klux Klansmen formally pleaded innocent Monday in federal court here to charges they have conspired to deprive Negroes of their civil rights.

U.S. District Judge W. A. Bootle tentatively set their trial for Jan. 11.

The five Clarke County men strode solemnly into the courtroom [illegible] dressed in a dark [illegible]

[illegible] FBI as "active participants" in the United Klans of America, the men are Cecil Williams Myers, Joseph Howard Sims, Herbert Guest, Denver Phillips and George Hampton Turner.

Myers and Sims were acquitted last September in a state court of the charge of murdering the Negro officer, Lemuel Penn.

IN ADDITION TO the five Klansmen arraigned here Monday, lawyers said a sixth—James Lackey—could not appear because he is currently undergoing psychiatric examination at Atlanta Federal Penitentiary on motion of the government. They said, however, he would also plead innocent to the charge.

Lackey was additionally indicted last summer for murder along with Myers and Sims but has not yet been tried on the state charge.

All six men are now charged under a federal conspiracy statute. Indictments alleged that over an extended period of time, they have conspired to systematically deny common civil rights to Negroes by beating, shooting and killing them, destroying their property and harrassing and threatening them on the highways.

PENN WAS SLAIN early July 11 in a burst of shotgun fire from a passing car as he and two other fellow Negro educators from Washington, D.C., were driving through a remote section of Madison County in northeast Georgia.

After a five-day trial in Danielsville, an all-white jury acquitted Myers and Sims of the murder charge.

During the hotly contested trial, however, state prosecutors introduced a confession by Lackey purporting to admit he, Myers and Sims were in the car from which the fatal shots were fired.

Guest, an illiterate, also signed statements for the FBI implicating the other three men.

IN ADDITION TO the conspiracy charge, Guest is charged with possessing an unregistered sawed-off shotgun measuring less than 26 inches long in violation of federal firearms statutes. He pleaded innocent to that charge also on Monday.

Because of the confession and statements brought into evidence during the state murder trial, attorneys for the Klansmen Monday asked Judge Bootle to sever Guest and Lackey from the other defendants and have them tried separately.

(After the Lackey confession came to light in the murder trial last summer, attorneys for Myers and Sims put up a psychiatrist who testified that Lackey showed signs of mental instability. The current government motion for psychiatric examination is an apparent follow-up to last summer's testimony.

Attorneys have also filed a written motion to dismiss the conspiracy charge on grounds it does not show intention to violate specific federal law.

Lackey has entered a motion for speedy trial, and all have moved to strike portions of the indictment as irrelevant or prejudicial.

Judge Bootle set a Dec. 28 hearing date in Macon for oral arguments on all the motions.

"IF THE CASE survives the motion to dismiss," he said, the trials will begin Jan. 11 in Athens.

U.S. District Attorney Floyd Buford will lead prosecution of the case.

All the Klansmen, except Lackey, are represented by James Hudson of Athens and Harold Boggs of Danielsville. Boggs is a former member of the Georgia House of Representatives. Hudson ran unsuccessfully Nov. 3 as a Republican candidate against state Rep. Randell Bedgood.

Representing Lackey are court-appointed attorneys Nick Chilivis of Athens and Robert B. Thompson of Gainesville, a former U.S. assistant district attorney.

Enclosed:
Klan leaflet "What will you tell your children?"
Nat'l Observer, "The White Militants, Too, Worry Mississippi" 4-25-64
Journal - 4-20-64, "TV Newsman Beaten During Klan Talking"
" 4-10-64, " Klan Using Mails for Call to Arms"
11-29-64, "Reports Death Area Sells of Klan Plot"
9-6-64 "Rally Hears Klan Controls 9 States"

December 4, 1964

Mr. Max G. Voran
Box 238
North Newton, Kansas
67117

Dear Mr. Voran:

We can indeed give you some information on the Klan, and also refer you to other sources. You know, of course, that membership is a closely guarded secret, and so any membership figures you note will be estimates only. The Klan has a habit of exaggerating membership; attendance at meetings is a pretty good indication of the strength in any given area. But keep in mind also that part of the crowd is people who are curious (the kind that go to fires and accidents and watch people jump off buildings), part is "observers" from civil rights groups who want to know what is said and who is there, and part is the press. And usually there are plain clothes law enforcement officers too.

Because of its violence, the Klan has lost a good deal of its appeal. The more respectable citizens belong to organizations such as the Citizens Councils and the John Birch Society. It isn't very large or very strong most places nowadays, but is a hard core of extremists inclined toward violence. The bombings and the murders in the South are their work.

Enclosed are copies of a few representative news clips. Attached are references to other publications and sources. Included is one example of the literature passed out at meetings. If you want more of this, please write to the addressed given on the copy.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

References to further information on Ku Klux Klan

If you want to contrast the present with the past, you may wish to look up the following: Saturday Evening Post, 10-22-49, "The Truth About the Klan Today" and American Jewish Committee's For Your Information, "Review of the Ku Klux Klan Activities," June, 1959.

Newsweek, 8-28-63, "Button Down Bed Sheets"

New York Times Magazine, 8-11-63, "Once More--the K.K.K."
New York Times, 1-20-64, "Burning Crosses Flood Louisiana"; 4-26-64, "Crosses Set Aflame Across Mississippi"; 3-23-64, "Klan to Organize Its Own Towns As Havens From Desegregation"; 9-6-64, "Big Gains Scored by Carolina Klan"
New York Times Magazine, 7-5-64, "The Imperial Wizard Explains the Klan"
NYT - 6-7-64, "Klan Is An Issue in St. Augustine" John Herbers
Washington Post, 7-5-64, "Revived KKK Isn't Funny Any More"; 9-6-64, "Penn Verdict Stirs Tired Hate of Tired Klansmen"; 10-3-64, "Most Southerners Regard Reborn Klan With Contempt"

Facts, January 1961, published by the Anti-Defamation League, stated that "Klan membership is no more than 50,000 and may be about 35,000 or less." It has been estimated that Klan membership in Mississippi may be as high as 90,000 now, though this claim of the Klan is not corroborated by impartial observers.

In Louisiana, on Jan. 19, 1964, more than 150 crosses were burned in five parishes, and were said to signal a revival of the Klan there. The crosses were burned near Negro homes, churches and schools, mostly in East Baton Rouge Parish.

Many Klansmen have been arrested in the past few months for participation in bombings--in Alabama, Georgia, Florida, and Mississippi.

RALPH ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Tuesday, Dec. 8, 1964

McGILL

Gen. Forrest Said It First

A growing belief that a Klan plot, involving perhaps as many as 50 men, was responsible for the murder of three young men in Philadelphia, Mississippi, is reported from that area. In other localities the word "Klan" or the phrase "Ku Klux Klan" appears in the news of court trials and arrests.

Nothing has changed the conclusion of Nathan Bedford Forrest, the Confederate cavalry leader who served as grand wizard of the "invisible empire" in the period of its greatest activity in 1868-1870.

"The Klan, secret, robed and masked," General Forrest said, "has become the refuge of scoundrels."

The distinguished Southern historian, E. Merton Coulter, wrote in "The South During Reconstruction": "Grand Wizard Forrest attempted to disband the Klan, and the responsible element of Southerners who had widely joined the order now withdrew, but a whirlwind had been started . . . the Klan organization continued in the hands of cutthroats and riffraff for private gain and vengeance."

Same Result

The Klan revival in the 1920s ultimately produced the same result: It became the refuge for scoundrels and worse.

In Indiana, for example, the grand dragon was sent to prison following the rape and death of his young secretary. Violence, corruption of local politicians and defiance of the processes of law were widespread.

Since the Supreme Court school decision in 1954 there have been a number of efforts to revive the Klan. The Civil Rights Act, preceded by the long filibuster against its passage, stirred organizers to greater activity. (The Klan can be very lucrative to its directors.)

The field for revival in 1954-1964 was, however, restricted. The majority of the Southern people accepted the decision—some with anger and some with great reluctance, but they were not willing to commit violence to defy it. The revival, then, has depended chiefly on a fringe group—but by no means exclusively—in Mississippi and Alabama. This group includes, as the record shows, those willing to commit and condone violence and opposition to law.

The Klan's main target is, of course, the Negro. The Klan also equated Jews with Communists. Klan groups are brainwashed by speakers and pamphlets about a wholly imaginary "Jewish-Communist conspiracy which is using the colored race of the United States and the world as pawns to mongrelize the white race everywhere." Other Klan targets are Roman Catholics and the foreign born.

Based on Bigotry

Despite the sanctimonious Klan's patriotism, piety, and purity of Southern womanhood, it is, as before, based on bigotry and discrimination. It still profanes the Christian cross by burning it in demonstrations of prejudice and violence.

The Klan, in general, would like to subjugate all but native born white Protestants, but here again, there are shadings. It is against even those "liberal" Protestants who do not share its traditional antagonism toward Negroes, Jews, Catholics and foreign born. Reporters investigating the vicious murders of three young men in Mississippi report Klan sympathizers there as saying, for example, that they "don't see why so much fuss is being made over two Jews and a nigger."

The Klan revival is not large, despite the grandiose claims of its organizers who make a tidy sum out of fees, dues, sale of robes, emblems, and so on. Because of the jealousy of organizers and the profits to be made, there are a number of "Klans" that still provide, as before, refuge for the more violent persons, and they are most effective in communities where local sentiment favors their objectives.

(This is the first of two articles on the Klan.)

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION DECEMBER 9, 1964

RALPH

McGILL

12-9-64

The Klans Are Profitable

How big is the 1954-1964 Klan revival? Not very. In 1944 the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which had been revived 23 years earlier by William Joseph Simmons, suspended operations and surrendered their charter largely because of delinquent tax claims totaling nearly a million dollars. The over-all record of those 23 years was a national rebuke and disgrace.

At its peak in the 1920s the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan had perhaps 4,000,000 members. Many millionaires were made and millions were corruptly acquired and spent.

In 1944 at the time of surrender the Knights were but a bedraggled remnant. Today there are an estimated 17 "Klans" in existence.

Their total dues-paid membership is probably less than 15,000, although claims of huge totals are common. The largest of the 17 has about 5,000 paid up members in seven states.

Income Sources

Klan sources of income are many. One is the initiation fee called "kletoken." For men the charge is $15. (In the 1920s it was $10.) Women may buy into the "auxiliary" for $10. Sixty-five per cent of each kletoken goes to headquarters. Another source is dues. One Klan sends 25 cents per member each month to its grand dragon. In other Klan groups the ruling dragons reportedly draw from $1,900 to $2,500 per month as dues from the klavern. Smaller dragons, of course, receive less. Nonetheless, the dragons in general live in luxury unknown to their membership. Just how many wives and children are deprived of clothing and shoes to keep those dragons in such luxury is a question. Sale of robes is profitable. The going price is $10.

One of the larger Klan splinters is also in the insurance business. Each member buys a policy and is urged to become an agent. Passing the hat is another favorite money raiser. At all rallies there are fervent appeals for money to carry on the great work of saving the white race.

The Klan mentality contains aberrations which frequently come to public notice in ways other than violence and the inflammatory anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, anti-foreign, anti-Negro content of their literature. When the Kennedy half dollars first went into circulation, for example, members of some klaverns were urged to drill a hole through Kennedy's head and then put the coin back in circulation. The purpose was, of course, to cause withdrawal of the Kennedy half dollars.

Low Level

Studies of Klan memberships across the years from the 1920s, and, indeed, from the 1868 period, by sociologists and other agencies report that while a few intelligent men are attracted—usually to the money making or promotional end — Klan members are, for the most part, below the average level in backgrounds and education.

Margaret Mead, the noted anthropologist, suggests that such lack of social status may well account for a sense of insecurity and efforts to maintain supremacy by terror or violence. The make - believe, mumbo - jumbo klavern meetings with words, robes, and the absurd titles—wizards, dragons, nighthawks, and so on—provide an excitement and a sense of belonging.

Many Klans have "action groups" that are unknown to general members. They are selected for their willingness to commit violence. In recent arrests of Klansmen in Mississippi and other Southern states, arms and explosives have been found in great quantity. Training in the use of weapons and explosives has been a part of instructions at some klaverns.

The "revival" is not large. As American people, especially those in states and areas now heavily inflicted with Klan groups, turn more and more to the processes of law, the Klans will fade out again.

(Second of two articles on the Klan.)

December 10, 1964

Mr. Boris John Zajac
Haverford College
Haverford, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Zajac:

We have not published anything on the Klan and the White Citizens Councils in some years. The Anti-Defamation League keeps up with these organizations rather thoroughly, because of their anti-Jewish propoganda, and we try not to duplicate work that other organizations are doing. I can, however, refer you to a number of magazine and new articles that you can look up in your local library.

Because of its violence, the Klan has lost a good deal of its appeal. The more respectable citizens belong to organizations such as the Citizens Councils and the John Birch Society. The Klan is not very large or very strong most places nowadays. There has been activity in Mississippi, Alabama, parts of Louisiana, and North Carolina this past year. In general, the Klan is a hard core of extremists inclined toward violence.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

References for Klan:

New York Times Magazine, 8-11-63, "Once More--the K.K.K." ; 7-6-64, NYT-- "Klan Is An Issue in St. Augustine" by John Herbers; 7-5-64, NYT-Mag:"The Imperial Wizard Explains the Klan." by Margaret Long
New York Times, 1-20-64, "Burning Crosses Flood Louisiana"; 4-26-64, "Crosses Set Aflame Across Mississippi"; 3-23-64, "Klan to Organize Its Own Towns as Havens From Desegregation"; 9-6-64, "Big Gains Scored by Carolina Klan."

Washington Post, 7-5-64, "Revived KKK Isn't Funny Any More"; 9-6-64, "Penn Verdict Stirs Tired Hate of Tired Klansmen"; 10-3-64, "Most Southerners Regard Reborn Klan With Contempt."

National Observer, 4-20-64, "TV Newsman Beaten During Klan Filming"

References for WCC:

The South Strikes Back (history of Citizens Councils), Hodding Carter 1959. Book

The Segregationists, James Graham Cook, Appleton, Century, Crofts, 1964 Chapeers on Klan and Citizens Councils

The Southern Temper, James Peters. Chapter on Councils.

Journal of Politics, February 1964, article by Professor Samuel Cook.

Haverford College
HAVERFORD, PENNSYLVANIA

Dec. 6, 1964

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am a student at Haverford College. I have a term paper due in Sociology, and I was hoping to do it on the Ku Klux Klan or the White Citizens' Councils or both. I understand that you carry some literature on one or both organizations. It would be most helpful if you could send me some of your pamphlets.

Dr. Reid of our Sociology Department recommended you to me. I would be extremely grateful if you could reply soon.

Gratefully yours,
Boris John Zajac

December 10, 1964

Mr. Boris John Zajac
Haverford College
Haverford, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Zajac:

We have not published anything on the Klan and the White Citizens Councils in some years. The Anti-Defamation League keeps up with these organizations rather thoroughly, because of their anti-Jewish propoganda, and we try not to duplicate work that other organizations are doing. I can, however, refer you to a number of magazine and new articles that you can look up in your local library.

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The Southern Temper, James Peters. Chapter on Councils.

Journal of Politics, February 1964, article by Professor Samuel Cook.

Weltner Seeking Probe of Klan Rise

2-1-65 Journal

By MARGARET SHANNON
Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Feb. 1—The only Deep South congressman who voted for the civil rights bill, Rep. Charles L. Weltner of Atlanta, Monday called for an investigation of the Ku Klux Klan by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Rep. Weltner is a new member of the committee, which is headed by Rep. Edwin E. Willis, D-La. Five of the committee's nine members come from states of the old Confederacy.

Charles Weltner

The Georgia congressman said in a House speech that the Un - American Activities Committee can kill the Klan for good by exposing it publicly. "It will plague us tomorrow unless we quash it today," he warned.

Rep. Weltner contended that the KKK comes within the committee's scope despite some dif-

Turn to Page 6, Column 6

KLAN PROBE SOUGHT

Continued from Page 1

ferences of opinion over the meaning of "Un-American."

"Surely all agree that activities which by force and violence seek to deprive others of rights guaranteed them by the Constitution are un-American," Rep. Weltner declared.

He said Klan operations have increased in the South at a critical time when the region is "struggling for orderly progress."

"I believe I speak for a vast majority of Southerners in calling for action," Rep. Weltner said.

THE 5TH DISTRICT congressman thinks there is a good chance the committee will undertake the investigation. He told a reporter that in his opinion a majority of the committee will go along with him.

Rep. Weltner received some applause from the small number of House members present when he spoke—about 40. Most of his fellow Georgians were absent.

Rep. George Grider, a Democratic freshman from Memphis, endorsed the Weltner proposal. He said the Klan is "a proper subject" for the committee to investigate.

He said Memphis has been free of major racial violence because of a Memphis newspaper's prize-winning expose of the Klan 40 years ago.

Rep. Weltner has been boning up on the law for some time. He was studying up on its history even before being named to the un-American activities Committee. Since his appointment, he has been to the Justice Department for conferences.

In his House speech Monday, Rep. Weltner pointed out that 1965 is the 100th anniversary of the Ku Klux Klan's formation in Pulaski, Tenn. It was revived in Atlanta in 1915.

He said that in 1921 the House Rules Committee considered several resolutions calling for an investigation, but nothing happened. In 1924, he related, it had 4,000,000 members and "its influence touched courthouses and state houses, national conventions of both major parties and Congress itself."

REP. WELTNER said that since the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court school desegration decision and "most significantly during the past two years, Klan manifestations have increased throughout the South" and there are signs of a spread westward.

"All this comes at a critical time for the South," the congressman said. "We are rising to our full potential. We are struggling for orderly progress. We are turning to real problems and solid opportunities."

Rep. Weltner continued:

"Yet, once again, its madness is in our midst. It impugns a lawful and generous people. It impairs compliance with the law. It impedes administration of justice.

"Now, what shall be done? Shall we in the Congress ignore the veil of fear descending upon whole communities? Shall we permit faceless men, under cover of robes and darkness, to imperil the liberty of our people?

"I believe I speak for a vast majority of Southerners in calling for action. For in doing nothing, we will inaugurate a second century for the Ku Klux Klan.

"The weapons of the Klan are secrecy, rumor and fear. Plain facts and simple truth, amply imparted to the public, are adequate remedies. This committee can provide these remedies by thorough and detailed investigation.

"Let us turn upon this invisible empire the light of public scrutiny. Let us examine in full its extent, character and objects. Let us reveal for all to see the men behind the masks."

The New York Times Magazine

February 7, 1965 SECTION 6

'THE BIRTH OF A NATION'
Fifty Years After
[See Page 19]

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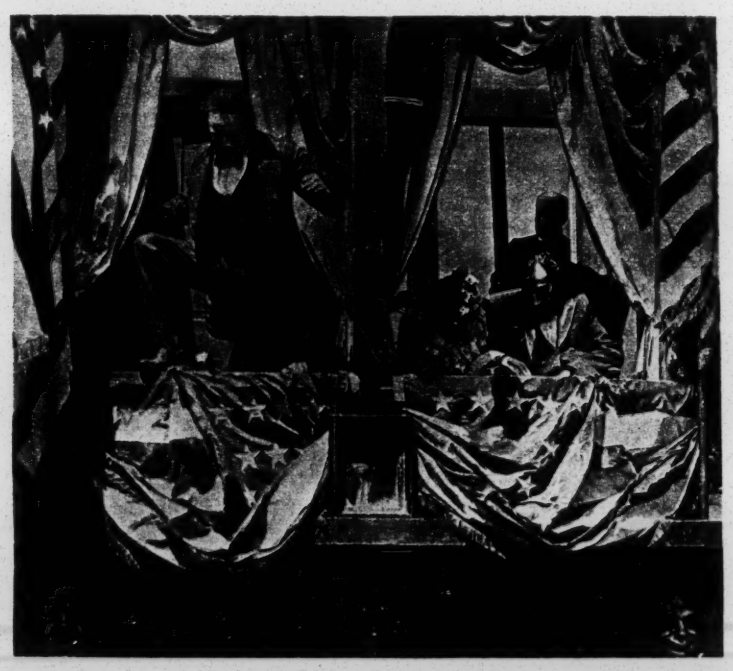
MASTER MOVIE-MAKER—D. W. Griffith, in coolie hat and suede-top shoes, on the set.

The Birth Of 'The Birth Of a Nation'

By BOSLEY CROWTHER



HOLLYWOOD EPIC NO. 1—In addition to the famous battle scenes (top, left) in "The Birth of a Nation," there were moments of pathos and of straight history. Audiences were touched during a scene in which a sentry looks wistfully at Lillian Gish as she leaves a hospital (top, right) and were fascinated by the re-creation of the assassination of Lincoln (bottom, left). The South's social structure (bottom right, a military ball) was shown as an admirable establishment threatened by the North.

FIFTY years ago tomorrow there occurred in Los Angeles an event that may well be regarded as the most outstanding in the history of American films—the premiere performance of a "photo-drama" that was to demonstrate to the world the vast potential of motion pictures and, at the same time, inflame the people of this country with emotions that recollection can rekindle even now. The film was David Wark Griffith's "The Birth of a Nation," one of the greatest ever made and, beyond any question, the most explosive ever released in the United States.

Today, the story of the making and showing of this extraordinary film is more legend than history. There are varying accounts of how much money it cost to make it and how much money it has earned. One guess, as good as any other, sets the latter figure at $50 million, which, if true, would make it the biggest earner of all time, even bigger than its remarkable kinsman, "Gone With the Wind."

Certainly it was the largest and the longest film made up to its time. It ran for 12 reels, or almost three hours, which was three times as long as the standard length of a film in 1915. And it was the first American film to be exhibited on a two-a-day basis, in theaters and auditoriums, at an unheard-of $2 top admission price.

More amazing was the revelation it gave of the tremendous potency of the then rather primitive motion picture when used with imagination, audacity and skill. And most amazing, perhaps, were the disruptive and disturbing effects it had upon race relations in this country over a period of many years.

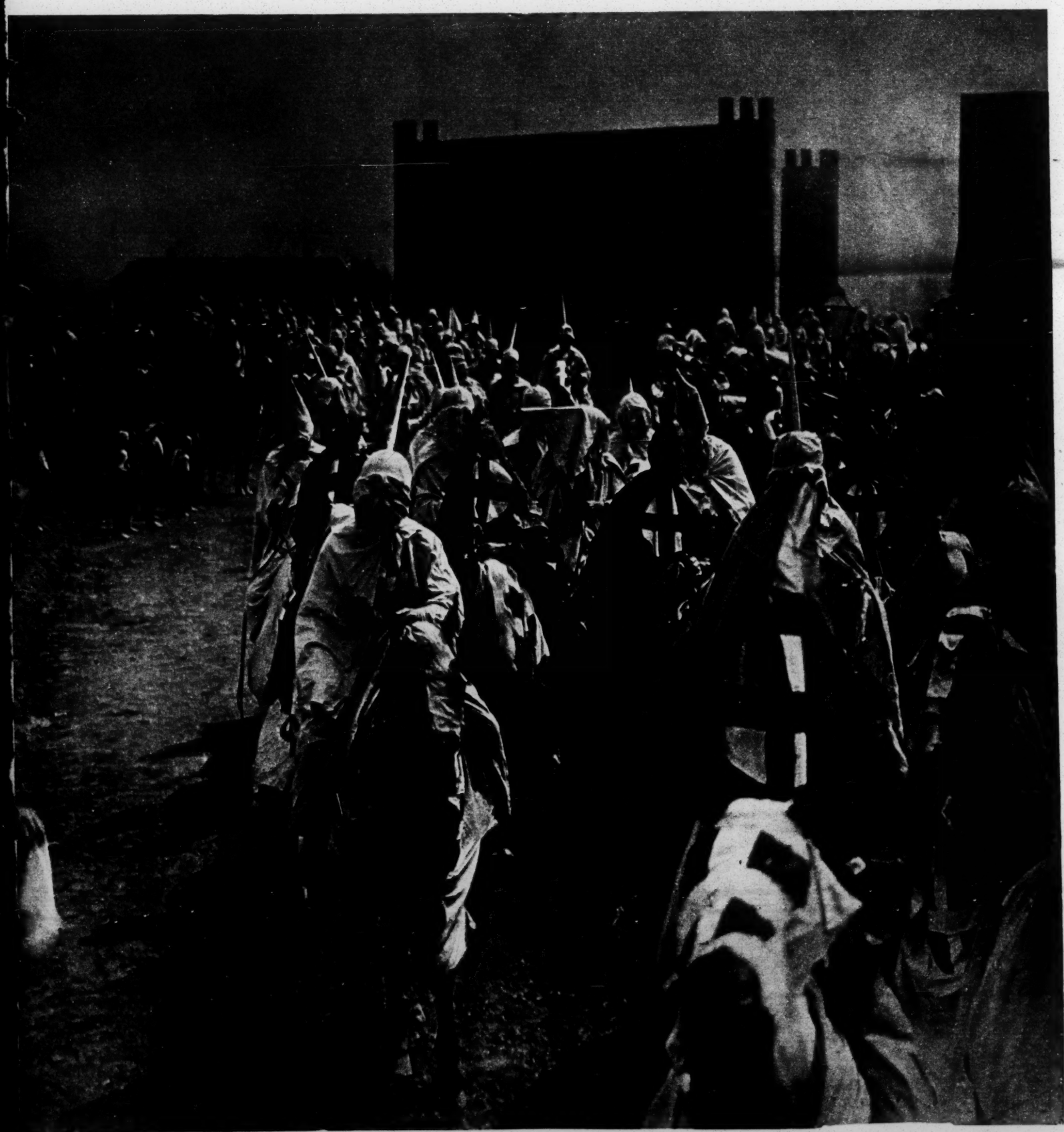
"The Birth of a Nation" was a highly pro-South drama of the American Civil War and the period of Reconstruction, and it glorified the role of the Ku Klux Klan. The effect of this was to generate a divisive, anti-Negro sentiment that outraged liberals and the pro-Negro organizations that were then gaining strength—notably the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which was six years old. Violent demonstrations generally marked showings of the film.

Indeed, its effects upon public sentiment might be compared to those of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" when it was published in 1852. In the North, it excited indignation; in the South, it "waved the bloody shirt." It undoubtedly gave much stimulation to the rise and growth of the modern Ku Klux Klan.

The irony of this famous picture is that it should have been such a superior achievement in the medium and yet such a disturbing social document. But it was probably the very fact of its effectiveness as a device for arousing sentiment in a nation still sensitive to the memory of the antagonisms and agonies of civil strife that attracted great attention to it and made for its great commercial success. And it was certainly the immensity of its impact that opened eyes to the social importance of films.

No one had any real notion until "The Birth of a Nation" that the infant movies could do anything more than amuse. Dustin Farnum playing "The Squaw Man" was just about the speed of that day — he and a splay-footed clown *(Continued on Page 83)*

BOSLEY CROWTHER, movie critic of The Times, is preparing a book on great films produced through the years in which the one he describes here will, of course, get special attention.



D. W. Griffith's "The Birth of a Nation," made 50 years ago, was beyond question the most explosive film ever produced in this country. It was a highly pro-South drama of the Civil War and Reconstruction and it glorified the role of the Ku Klux Klan (at left, hooded riders swarm through a Southern town). Screenings were accompanied by demonstrations. But it was also an eye-opening achievement in an art form that had not until then begun to realize its potential.

The Birth of 'The Birth of a Nation'

(Continued from Page 25)
called Charlie Chaplin who was just coming into popularity in the Mack Sennett slapstick comedies. Art had been only vaguely hinted at with the appearance of Sarah Bernhardt in a 40-minute film called "Queen Elizabeth," though a faint intimation of what was coming was contained in an Italian spectacle, "Quo Vadis?," which ran for the unconscionable length of two hours and was offered on Broadway for $1.

Schooled in this environment was Griffith, a former playwright who had been acting in, and directing, "flickers" for the pioneer Biograph company in New York since 1908. In turning out dozens of one- and two-reelers, he had discovered and developed many of the now familiar and commonplace ways of making moving pictures more flexible and articulate.

With his cameraman, G. W. (Billy) Bitzer, he had learned to move the camera around and shoot a scene from more than one angle. He had worked out the use of the close-up. Most important, he had developed unusual ways of assembling shots and scenes to build up a narrative continuity with cumulative force. In 1913, his "Judith of Bethulia," a Biblical drama which was the first American film to run four reels, clearly foretold his epic bent.

As the Kentucky-born son of a Confederate colonel, Griffith passionately felt that the South had been wronged severely after the Civil War. He believed that the white population had been abused and exploited by Northern carpetbaggers and Southern scalawags who had incited the emancipated Negroes, and he wanted to make a film on this theme.

In 1914, when he went to California to make movies for the Mutual company, he resolved to fulfill this ambition with a full-scale masterwork. He took for his story a novel entitled "The Clansman," by the Rev. Thomas Dixon Jr., a former Baptist minister from North Carolina, upon which a highly fustian and unsuccessful stage melodrama had been based in 1906, and set to work writing a scenario.

The film was supposed to cost $40,000 — a shockingly high figure in those days—but expenses mounted and passed this figure during filming in the late summer and fall of 1914. Griffith sought more funds. Meantime, scuttlebutt spread in the young community of Hollywood that the film was to be of unexampled magnitude. In its large cast were several actors who had previously worked for Griffith—Henry B. Walthall, George Siegmann, Mae Marsh, Robert Harron, Sam de Grasse and Lillian Gish. The elaborateness of the project made its financing difficult. A special company, significantly called Epoch, was formed by Griffith, novelist Dixon and Mutual president Harry Aitken when directors of the Mutual company would not take on the great cost.

In a book to be published this spring, called "The Birth of a Nation Story," Roy Aitken, a brother of Harry and onetime secretary of Epoch, pins down the disputed cost of the film at $110,000—$59,000 raised by the Aitkens and the remainder by Griffith himself (through assorted sales of stock in a separate company of his own). The complexity and confusion of this financing is interesting today simply because it demonstrates the total lack of experience with and skill for anything of this sort in the comparatively modest movie industry of the time.

"DOCUMENTARY"—President Lincoln signs a pardon for a woman's son, a Union soldier, caught sleeping on his post.

Even before the opening in Los Angeles, word got around that Griffith had an unprecedented film. The shooting of battle scenes with hundreds of extras and the knowledge that the drama dealt with the postwar rise of the Ku Klux Klan had alerted expectations. The film was rumored by some to be a sensation, by others it

(Continued on Following Page)

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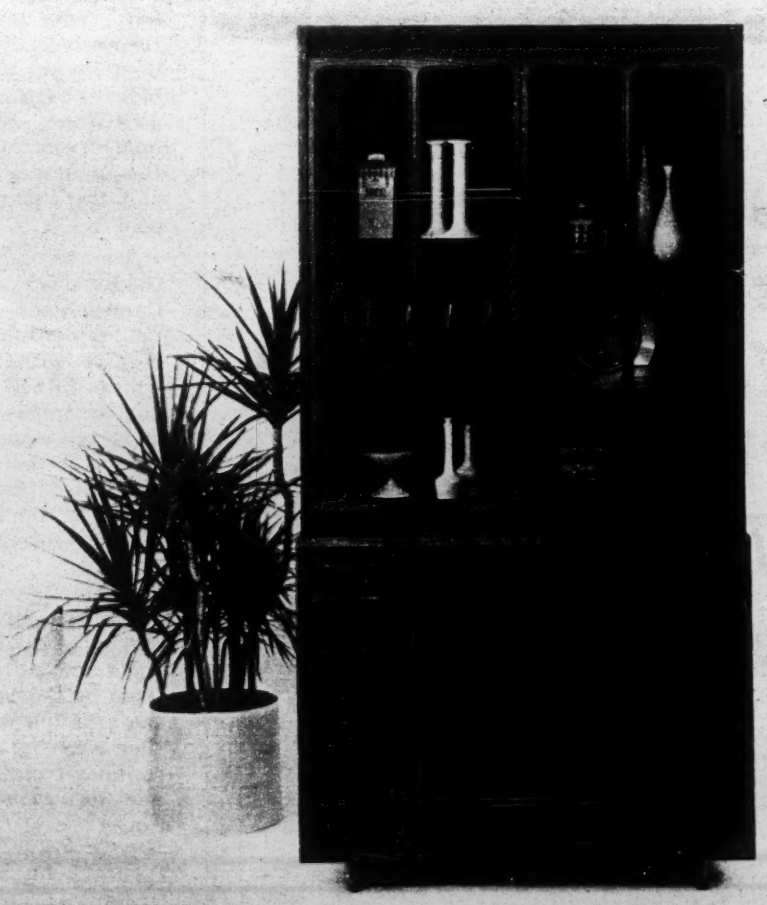
Aladdin



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(Continued from Preceding Page)

was described as "a dirty nigger picture." At that point, it was still known as "The Clansman."

ON the night it opened—Feb. 8, 1915—Clune's Auditorium, a 2,600-seat showplace in Los Angeles (later the home of the Los Angeles Philharmonic), was packed. There was a heavy police detachment outside and inside to guard against a threatened demonstration. It was by far the most elaborate and exciting opening a motion picture had ever had—another "first" for this precedent-shattering picture and, indeed, the launching of the later, familiar "Hollywood premiere."

The audience's reaction was terrific. People were held spellbound and came away shocked and excited, exhilarated and dazed. It was notable that the drama not only encompassed an extraordinary sweep of time and events, but was made in a style that gave an unusual sense of immediacy and momentum to the inflammatory material it contained.

Beginning with the outbreak of the Civil War, it told, in highly melodramatic fashion, of the defeat, and then the recovery, of the South in terms of the relations of two families, the Camerons of South Carolina and the Stonemans of Pennsylvania. The first half (taken from another Dixon novel called "The Leopard's Spots") described the outbreak of the war; the departure of the Cameron and Stoneman boys (who are friends) to join, respectively, the armies of the Confederacy and the Union; the bloody battles that followed; difficulties on the Southern home front; the slow defeat; the surrender at Appomattox; and the assassination of Lincoln.

The second half concerned the Reconstruction. The eldest Cameron son—the Little Colonel, a hero in the war—was in love with Elsie Stoneman, whose father was a Senator and an impassioned champion of Negro equality. (The character was clearly modeled after Thaddeus Stevens.) Here the course of the drama ran from a lurid presentation of the arrogance of the freed slaves, urged on by carpetbaggers and scalawags, and the humiliation and violation of the whites, to the founding of the Ku Klux Klan by the Little Colonel and the triumph of that organization in saving members of both families from Negro terrorists and bringing order to the South.

High points were an attempted rape of the Cameron daughter by a renegade Negro and scenes of the rising and riding of the Klan.

Audiences were bowled over by the film's pictorial sweep, by its arrangements of personal involvements, by what was much later designated its "documentary quality." Even today, on seeing it, one is struck by the vividness with which Griffith made the viewer sense the eruption of a Civil War battle, the reek of carnage on a smoking battlefield, the dismal aspects of postwar desolation, the bold appearance of the charging Ku Klux Klan.

A decade after it was made, the great Soviet film director, Sergei Eisenstein, studied this film as an incomparable model of cinema technique while preparing for his classic "Potemkin." He found in Griffith's style the origins of the basic method of cinema cutting or editing to which he gave the name "montage." And he later wrote that, for him and for other of the young Soviet directors of the nineteen-twenties, Griffith's film was "a revelation."

After the Los Angeles opening, the picture was brought East. Dixon took it to the White House to show to his old college companion, President Woodrow Wilson. Wilson, who was Southern-born, was profoundly stirred. "It is like writing history with lightning," he is reported to have said — perhaps the strongest endorsement any film has ever had. It was also shown to members of the Supreme Court and Congress.

At a preview showing in New York, Dixon is alleged to have been so stimulated that he leaped to his feet and shouted to Griffith at the climax, "'The Clansman' is too tame! Let's call it 'The Birth of a Nation'!" That is the legend about how it got its name.

When the film opened at the Liberty Theater in New York on March 3, its reputation had preceded it. The N.A.A.C.P., supported by such vocal citizens as Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Lillian D. Wald and Oswald Garrison Villard, protested to Mayor John Purroy Mitchel that the film was an insult to the Negro race and that it would do untold damage. They besought the Mayor either to ban the picture or to order cuts. The Mayor did not stop the showing, but he had some scenes trimmed.

Openings at the Illinois Theater in Chicago and the Tremont in Boston followed within a few days after the New York opening. In each of these cities there were protests by the N.A.A.C.P. and by distinguished citizens. In Boston, there were angry demonstrations on the lawn of the State House and a violent disturbance in the lobby of the theater on opening night.

There was little journalistic criticism of motion pictures at that time. (The notice of the opening of the film in The Times was little more than a four-paragraph news report.) But a scathing denunciation of the movie was carried in the March 20 issue of The New Republic. It was written by Francis Hackett, the drama critic of that publication, and it crystallized the attitude of liberals throughout the country.

OLD FRIENDS—A partial listing of the cast of the Griffith epic. Several—Gish, Marsh and Walthall, among them—had worked for D. W. before.

Bitterly attacking Dixon as a "yellow clergyman" because he "recklessly distorts Negro crimes to influence the ignorant and the credulous," Hackett quoted subtitles from the movie to illustrate his points:

"Dixon shows the revolting process by which 'the white South is crushed under the heel of the black South.' 'Sowing the wind,' he calls it. On the one hand, we have 'the poor bruised heart' of the white South, on the other 'the new citizens inflamed by the growing sense of power.'

"We see Negroes shoving white men off the sidewalks, Negroes quitting work to dance, Negroes beating a crippled old white patriarch, Negroes slinging up 'faithful colored servants' and flogging them till they drop. . . . And we see continually in the background the white Southerner 'in agony of soul over the degradation and ruin of his people.' To hoochy-koochy music [there was a special musical score composed by Joseph Carl Breil], we see the long pursuit of the innocent white girl by the lust-maddened Negro and we see her fling herself to death from the precipice,

carrying her honor through 'the opal gates of death.'

"Having painted this insanely apprehensive picture of an unbridled, bestial, horrible race, relieved only by a few touches of low comedy, 'the grim reaping begins.' We see the operations of the Ku Klux Klan, 'the organization that saved the South from the anarchy of black rule.' We see Federals and Confederates uniting in a holy war 'in defense of their Aryan birthright'. . . . The drama ends with a suggestion of 'Lincoln's solution' — back to Liberia — and then, if you please, with a representation of Jesus Christ in 'the halls of brotherly love'!"

As a consequence of Hackett's criticism and the intensive opposition of the N.A.A.C.P., which issued a special edition of its publication, The Crisis, containing denunciations from many distinguished humanitarians, including Jane Addams and Dr. Charles W. Eliot, the film was banned in many cities —Newark, Atlantic City and St. Louis, among others. Gov. James M. Cox of Ohio ordered that it not be shown in that state during the First World War. It was also banned, at various times, in Kansas and West Virginia.

Throughout the South it was shown and viewed with enthusiasm. The sort of public response it met there was described by John Hammond Moore, in a document published recently in the Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association:

"Beginning in October, 1915, when Spartanburg was the first community in this state to see the motion picture . . . thousands of South Carolinians thrilled to [its] stirring scenes. Men who once wore gray uniforms, white sheets and red shirts wept, yelled, whooped, cheered and on one occasion even shot up the screen in a valiant effort to save Flora Cameron from her black pursuer. A carnival atmosphere reigned whenever this movie came to town."

A favorite and effective stunt to whip up excitement was to have a troop of horsemen dressed in the white sheets of the Ku Klux Klan ride through towns on their hooded horses in advance of showings of the film.

THERE can't be much doubt that the excitement generated by this film had a great deal to do with the inauguration of the modern Klan. The original Klan, which had come into being in 1866, was officially ordered disbanded by its Grand Wizard, Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest, the Confederate cavalry leader, in 1869, and was filed away as an incident in postwar history after a series of searching Congressional investigations in 1870-1872.

But in 1915 a man named William J. Simmons, an ex-minister and former staff employe of the fraternal society, the Woodmen of the World, eager to have an organization of his own, took his cue from the enthusiasm in the South for "The Birth of a Nation." He assembled a group of followers and, on Thanksgiving night in 1915, presided at the first meeting of the new organization on top of Stone Mountain outside Atlanta. A fiery cross was burned. Simmons had wanted to call his organization the Clansmen, but he found there was another organization registered under that name. So he picked up the original name, embroidered on it and called his organization the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

In his book on the K.K.K., John Moffatt Mecklin says:

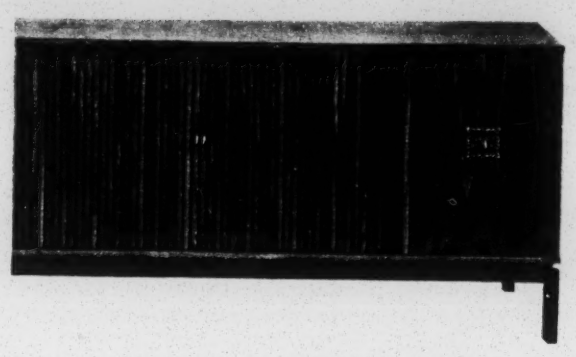
"It will doubtless always be a matter of debate whether the influence of 'The Birth of a Nation' was predominantly good or bad. It did undoubtedly make many aware for the first time of the wickedness and injustice of the Reconstruction period. The weakness of this picture does not lie so much in its exaggeration of the evils of Negro domination in the South . . . as in the fact that it shows the Klan only in its best aspects and before it had been made use of by evil men for the perpetuation of outrages even worse than those it was designed to eliminate."

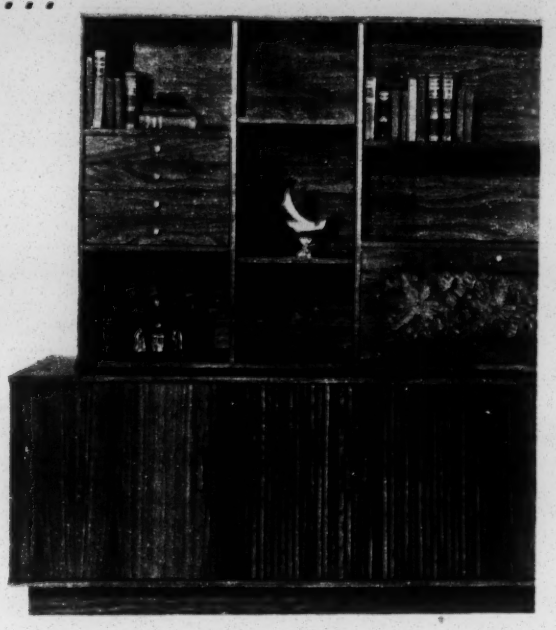
THE movie continued as a huge success all through the First World War, not only in this country but around the world. It earned Griffith a fortune—though he lost much of it on his next film, an even larger and more expensive project entitled "Intolerance." This was his answer to those who had challenged "The Birth of a Nation" as an example of precisely that quality which the new film condemned. Griffith always felt that "The Birth of a Nation" told the truth about the South.

In recent years, prints of the film have been distributed —mainly for college and film society showings — but the N.A.A.C.P. still maintains an official objection to it. Even so, there will be anniversary showings this year—tomorrow, in Los Angeles, and this spring at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, plus several abroad.

While Griffith made many other pictures, and was the undisputed dean of American film directors in the nineteen-twenties, after that decade his fortunes waned. When he died in 1948, he was an impoverished and all but forgotten man. So, too, was Thomas Dixon, when he died in 1946. And Harry Aitken, who also made a fortune from the picture, lost it in later deals, faded from the scene as a film industrialist and died poor nine years ago.

There's a SALE on...





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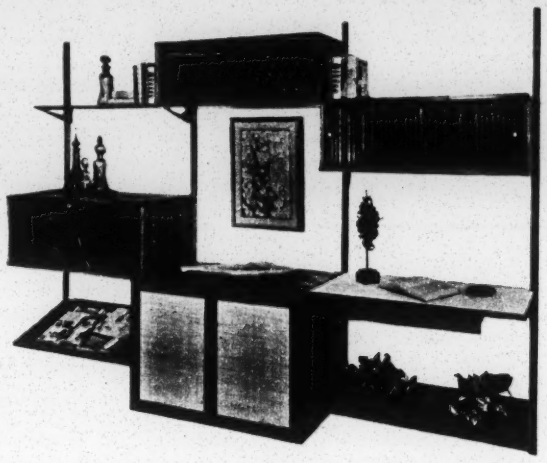

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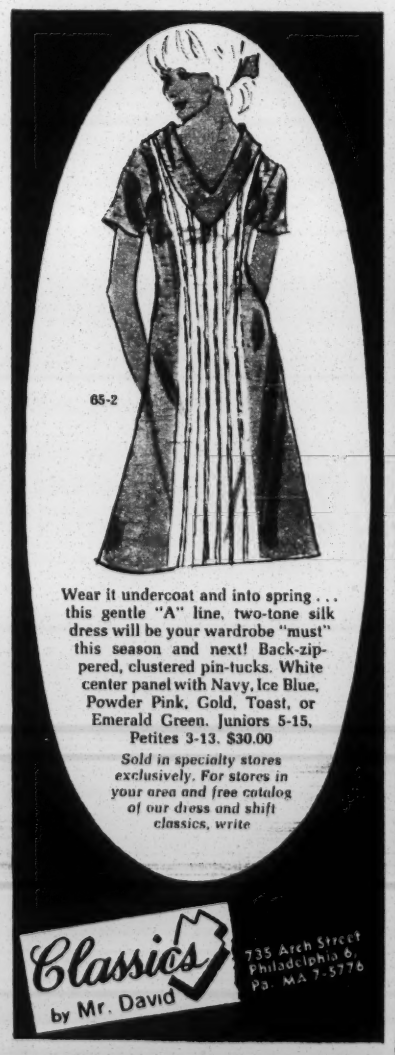

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Atl. Constitution 5-6-65

Death Gun Linked to Klansman

By ARTHUR EVERETT

HAYNEVILLE, Ala. (AP) — A young Alabama Ku Klux Klansman on trial in the night-rider slaying of Viola Liuzzo was linked in FBI testimony

the head of Mrs. Liuzzo was fired from this pistol?"

"Yes," the FBI ballistics expert said.

With his testimony, the trial recessed overnight.

Under cross-examination by defense attorney Matt H. Murphy, the FBI informer said Wilkins and Eaton both emptied their revolvers as their car sped past Mrs. Liuzzo's auto in the darkness on U.S. 80 near here.

Later, there was this exchange:

Q. How many shots did you fire, Mr. Rowe?

A. Not any.

Rowe was arrested when the other three men were taken into custody the day after the slaying and he was for a time represented by Murphy until charges were dropped.

Murphy tried to depict the informer as a man who was a troublemaker, trying to involve his fellow Klansmen so he could report them to the FBI, violating his Klan secrecy oath.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Thursday, May 6, 1965

Some of the Ill Will Got Out of Hand

Before 1,700 of the nation's editors accept Gov. George Wallace's invitation to come to Alabama next month to see for themselves whether "fear stalks the streets" or whether "ill will abounds," they might get a briefing from reporters and photographers who have visited there in the line of duty without benefit of the governor's invitation.

Veteran Alabama newsman Ray Jenkins only recently was reminiscing about battle injuries suffered by reporters and photographers in Alabama. If the press has felt unwelcome in Alabama, Jenkins' casualty list suggests that the impression is not without foundation. Without even going to the files, said Jenkins, he could recall these incidents:

● In 1961, a photographer was jabbed with a night stick and forced to give up his film when he attempted to photograph a posse of specially deputized horsemen who came into Montgomery from nearby counties.

● In 1962, during the Freedom Rides, a photographer was clubbed to the ground with lead pipes at the city bus terminal in Birmingham.

● In Montgomery the next day, a mob mauled a reporter and a photographer from Life and an ABC cameraman—and a newspaper office boy who just happened to be around the bus station.

● Two days later, a car driven by a writer for Esquire was overturned and burned in the presence of city, state and federal law enforcement officers.

● During an early period of racial tension in Selma, a reporter was manhandled but escaped serious injury when a policeman recognized him as a native of Selma.

● At Notasulga last year, a free-lance photographer was hurled off a bus and his camera was smashed.

● Last February at Marion, several cameramen were roughed up and their equipment was destroyed. An NBC-TV reporter was hospitalized with a head wound that required six stitches.

Jenkins points out that lawmen witnessed some of these attacks and were identified as participants in several others. Punishment of attackers is rare.

After the Marion incident, Wallace got complaints from professional news organizations. The governor made a brief investigation and then counterpunched with the charge that the president of the Alabama Press Association had "besmirched the good name of Alabama."

But as anyone who has covered racial conflict knows, the simple fact is that mobs don't like their activities reported and photographed. So it is common—indeed, standard—for them to direct their hostility at newsmen.

Since the editors will be visiting at Wallace's invitation, it shouldn't be necessary for them to use an old race-beat trick of shedding coats and ties in order to blend with the crowd. However, it might not be a bad idea to bring along a "Claude M. Sitton Memorial" notebook, just in case. That, explains Jenkins, is a sawed-off notebook which can be concealed, when the going gets rough, in the palm of the hand.

* * * * * *

2 Mississippi Patrolmen Fired For KKK Ties

New Orleans (AP) — Two Mississippi highway patrolmen in southern areas have been fired for being members of the Ku Klux Klan, it was reported Saturday.

The Times-Picayune, in a dispatch from its Jackson, Miss., bureau, said the dismissals were part of a state patrol crackdown on klan infiltration.

The dispatch said Gov. Paul Johnson had warned patrolmen that any officer taking part in Klan activities wil be fired immediately.

Patrol Chief A. D. Morgan said "There are no Klansmen in the highway patrol now."

Morgan confirmed that a directive had been issued to patrolmen pointing out that the KKK is on the subversive list of the House Un-American Activities Committee and the attorney general's office.

Membership in a subversive organization in Mississippi violates the oath of office required by any public official.

Wednesday to the murder weapon.

The defendant, Collie Leroy Wilkins Jr., 21, had been described by an FBI informer as using a .38-caliber revolver to shoot Mrs. Liuzzo, a white civil rights demonstrator from Detroit and the mother of five children.

After the March 25 slaying the FBI recovered the gun described by FBI informer Gary Thomas Rowe Jr. and three spent bullets, taken from the victim's car. These were offered in evidence and Marion Williams, a bald, bespectacled expert from Washington, testified that he tested the gun and compared the results with the death bullet.

Williams then told the rural jury of white men: "In my opinion, the three bullets I have just identified were fired from this same gun." One of the bullets hit Mrs. Liuzzo above the left ear.

Circuit Solicitor Arthur E. Gamble Jr., the prosecutor, asked Williams: "Is it your opinion that the bullet found in

Earlier, the FBI-planted Klansman, Rowe, 34, denied from the witness stand that he had been bribed to try to frame Wilkins.

"How much money were you offered to come here and testify?" he was asked.

"Absolutely nothing," replied Rowe, a former bartender who said he joined the Klan five years ago at the behest of the FBI.

A succession of FBI agents took the stand after Rowe ended his testimony as the star prosecution witness. He testified Tuesday that Wilkins fired the fatal shot from a speeding car occupied by the two of them and two other Klansmen, Eugene Thomas, 42, and William O. Eaton, 41, both facing trial on murder charges.

Rowe had said Thomas, driving the car, passed his gun back to Wilkins at the defendant's request. This was the gun Wilkins fired, Rowe said. FBI agents testified they recovered the gun, which tests showed fired the death shot, from Thomas' home.

Rowe said he also had a gun.

Q. Where was the gun you had?

A. In my hand.

Q. It was loaded?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you didn't do anything to prevent the firing of a shot, did you?

A. No, sir. I didn't know there was going to be a shot fired until it was fired.

Ku Kluxers Not Funny Any More

KLAN, From Page E1

who broke the color line at an all-white school.

"AT ONE Klan meeting," Lardner reports, "a St. Johns County deputy sheriff stepped up with a portable microphone so the audience could hear the speaker vent his hatred better. Sheriff L. O. Davis, a solid segregationist who couldn't lose an election if he tried, has denied that he is a Klansman but has made little effort to hide his sympathies."

Federal Judge Bryan Simpson blasted the sheriff for his treatment of civil rights demonstrators at the county jail and also criticized Davis's special deputies, who included Halsted R. ("Hoss") Manucy and members of Manucy's Ancient City Hunting Club.

Lardner reports: "A convicted moonshiner sentenced to three years in prison in 1959, Manucy has denied that his club is 'tied to the Klan,' though he thinks it's a 'wonderful organization.' The FBI, however, refers to him as the local 'Cyclops,' or Klavern head."

WHILE KLAN members claim 3000 members in northeastern Florida alone, a top FBI agent gave a "rough estimate" of 500 dues-paying ($10 each) Klansmen in all northern Florida.

From Baton Rouge, newsman Wagner reports that the reactivation of the Klan in Louisiana dates from a well-publicized cross-burning ceremony at Black Lake in Red River Parish (county) Feb. 15.

"There have been periods of seeming inactivity," Wagner reports, "but for the most part the Klan has spread like wildfire. In recent months, Klan rallies have been held throughout most of the northern part of the state. Much of the southern part of the state has a large Catholic population and, in these areas the Klan has little influence.

"IT'S CONVENIENT to discuss the Ku Klux Klan as if it were a single, monolithic organization," says Wagner. "In reality, in Louisiana there are many Ku Klux Klans, most of them competing with one another.

"There is the 'Texas Klan,' the 'Razorback Klan' from Arkansas, 'Oklahoma Klan,' 'Mississippi Klan,' 'Alabama Klan' and the home-grown 'Louisiana Klan,' a highly secretive and belligerent organization.

"For public rallies, the Klansmen wear their robes and hoods, burn one or two big crosses and listen to a 'preacher' read a few words from the Bible. Essentially, a rally is a publicity gimmick.

"THE SERIOUS business of the Klan is normally conducted in an isolated hideaway, typically an old barn or an abandoned house. On these occasions, the robes and hoods are frequently dispensed with.

"A characteristic of the Louisiana movement is the emphasis upon arms and ammunition. Many Klan units are heavily armed every time they hold a meeting."

"A basic part of the Klan strategy is to infiltrate the sheriff's department and the police force. In some places, the strategy apparently has been successful. The reactivation of the Klan has been accompanied by bombings, beatings, intimidation and occasionally rumors about the mysterious murder of a Negro."

Wagner, a newsman for WDSU-TV in New Orleans, has spent months investigating the Klan. In April, he was caught by Klan guards, flogged with a gun belt as he looked into the barrel of an automatic and released with a warning that he would be killed if he reported what had happened to him.

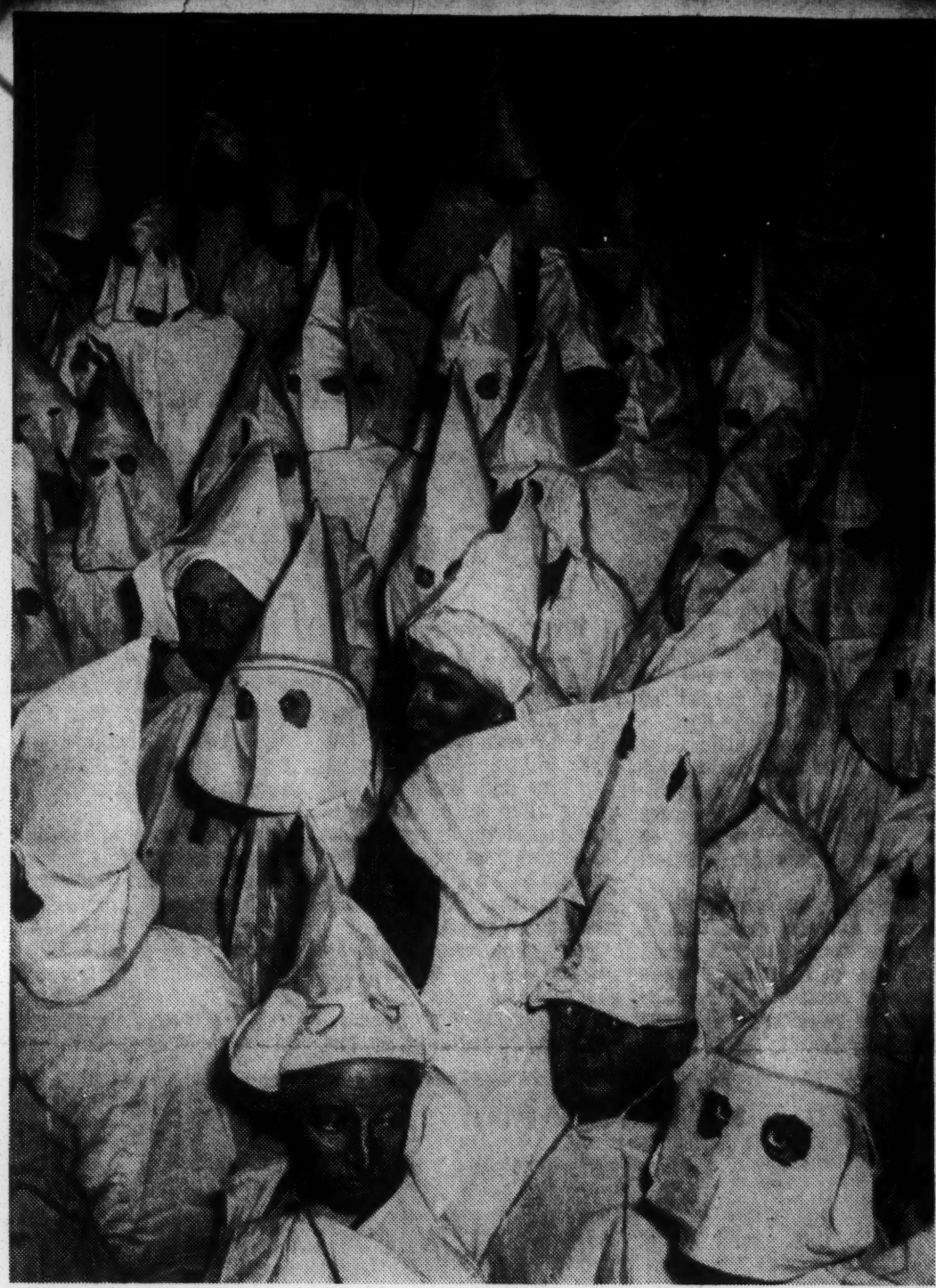

Photo copyright by W. Eugene Smith

"Their hooded . . . appearances at ritualistic rallies were almost comic."

LAST WEEK in Philadelphia, Miss., where the three civil rights workers vanished, the town was flooded with Klan recruiting posters boasting that "the KKK has twice saved this Nation from destruction, as history clearly records."

History clearly records that the original Klan was started at Pulaski, Tenn., in 1865 as a social club and that the hoods and ritual were a sort of joke. But it branched out quickly into a terrorist organization against Reconstruction government and helped return the South to white political control by intimidation and worse.

It lapsed into dormancy when whites, through legal expedients that have begun to crumble only in the recent years of this century, closed the polls and political office to Negroes. In the 1920s, it was revived with a broad range of prejudices that included Negroes, Jews, Catholics and aliens.

It was strongest in Colorado, Indiana, Ohio, Oregon, Texas, West Virginia and Alabama and, at its zenith, controlled many public offices. But again it seemed to die out.

Following World War II, the Klan had a small revival after the Supreme Court outlawed white primaries and segregation in interstate travel. Sen Theodore Bilbo (D-Miss.) called on "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon man "to keep Negroes from the polls by any means."

Today, sources that have infiltrated the Klan discount the flamboyant estimates of membership made by Klansmen. These sources estimate the membership at about 75,000 at most.

But the Klan is recruiting intensely, not only in the South but in West Virginia, Indiana, Minnesota, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and California. Klan material is flooding some areas of Indiana, Wisconsin and Maryland where segregationist Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama ran in recent primaries.

SIX YEARS ago, the Klan was humiliated in North Carolina when a rally at Maxton was raided by irate, whooping Lumbee Indians and the Klansmen fled with robes flying. But today, the Klan has been revived in the state and Grand Dragon Robert Jones has 36 Klaverns with an estimated 7000 members.

Mississippi, too, was Klanless until recently. The White Citizens Councils had boasted that the Klan was unnecessary because they would prevent any desegregation. But now Mississippians are hearing such appeals as this leaflet distributed in Jackson last week:

"If we don't win in the next eight months, we're all destined for Communist slavery and your wives and daughters will be chattels in Mongolian and African brothels . . .

"Absolutely refuse to register or give up your arms . . . Stock up on rifles, shotguns and pistols, all of standard make, and lots of ammunition . . .

"Form an organization with next door neighbors but wear distinguishing marks, such as caps of the same color, so you won't be firing at your own people."

WEDNESDAY

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APR. 1964

Klan history

The Tulane Hullabaloo

11-16-62

Reis - KKK 1962

SERS

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WEDNESDAY

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MAY 1965

KKK

Hooded Americanism: the First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865-1965.

David M. Chalmers

Doubleday & Co

1965

The KK Klan

Wm. Peirce Randel

Chilton Books

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WEDNESDAY

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APR. 1964

Arnold S. Rice

The Ku Klux Klan in Am Politics

Peck Appeals Press

mostly historical - 1962

2 chapters on 1954 to 60

92 - WEDNESDAY, APR. 1 - 274

here for unique and probably valid fears. But to them the only, and to many the sufficient, reply is contained in the slogan which is, in truth, much more than a slogan: "the time is now." Beyond this is the belief of many in the civil rights movement that neither the region nor the nation at large is entitled to tranquility while racial injustice lingers over the land.

Moreover, the country must not lose sight of the unassailable legal and moral right of the students to be where they are and to work for the aims they seek. Nor should it overlook the orderly, careful, and responsible manner in which they have made their plans and are carrying them out, and their deliberate efforts to avoid provocation of local whites.

Mississippi is not only beset by the invasion of the students. The purpose of its new laws for tighter law enforcement would not be understood if notice were not taken of the fact that the monolithic control excercised over the white society of the state by the Citizens Council has been broken. The Ku Klux Klan has not until recent months been important in Mississippi. It is now, with numbers estimated as high as 90,000, though this claim of the Klan is not corroborated by observers. Sharing the extremity with it is a spreading organization, the Americans for the Preservation of the White Race. Whether the men and groups who have controlled and in some measure disciplined the state prior to this year have still the

authority to do so is a question on whose answer the lives and safety of a good many people may depend.

Not, of course, have the Citizens Council and the state and local authorities in the past been careful of Negroes' lives. But the case has been that whenever the civil rights movement in Mississippi has focussed on a large campaign, the authorities have enforced a disciplined response which has kept the lynchers and the bombers in the background. This was the experience during the Freedom Ride in 1961, the Greenwood voter registration drive of 1963, and the tensions in Jackson after the assassination of Medgar Evers. Only at the University of Mississippi in 1962, and then for calculated reasons of state, was the mob unleashed. It may no longer be on leash.

No Southerner can speak of Mississippi except as a part of himself, and he as part of it. Yet Mississippi, taken as a whole, and allowing for its many local variations (but even they are less significant than in other states), is not like any place else. For here every datum of economics and every fact and twist of history have conspired to keep its white people deeply and ofttimes harshly resistant to change and its Negro people ill-equipped for it.

file H.E.W.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
REGIONAL OFFICE
Region IV
Room 404, 50 Seventh Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

OFFICE OF
THE REGIONAL DIRECTOR

September 15, 1967

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

The U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare takes pride in being known as "the Department of the people." Its work is to assist in providing opportunities wherein each citizen can find the full expression of his skills.

Toward this goal, the Regional Office of the Department, in Atlanta, serves a six-state region through numerous programs. In so doing, a number of staff members address various organizations, informing them of different areas of activity and responding to inquiries so that citizens may have a clear understanding of how "the Department of the people" is engaged.

The Department's work embraces seven general divisions--the Administration on Aging, the Food and Drug Administration, the Office of Education, the Public Health Service, the Social Security Administration, the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, and the Welfare Administration.

It occurred to me that your program chairman may wish to have well-equipped resource personnel here address your group on subjects of your interest.

If so, I shall be happy to assist you in making such plans. As a matter of convenience, I would suggest that you write me, specifying the subjects your group is interested in, and giving me alternative dates for such presentations. Many staff members travel frequently, and I would suggest that you contact me well in advance.

Sincerely,

Norman Shavin

Norman Shavin
Director of Public Information

BY-LAWS OF H.O.P.E., INC.
Help Our Public Education
Adopted October 9, 1959, by the Board of Directors

Section 1. Name

The name of the organization is H.O.P.E., Inc. (Help Our Public Education)

Section 2. Principles and Objectives

"HOPE, Help Our Public Education, Inc." was incorporated in December 1958 in Fulton County on the petition of 17 citizens of the State of Georgia. These men and women felt the need for an organization whose specific purpose would be to give direction, guidance, information, and program to all citizens of Georgia who desire to continue the operation of and improve the public schools of this State.

Section 3. Supporters

All persons residing in Georgia who indicate their agreement to the objectives of HOPE, Inc., as stated in Section 2.

Section 3-A Board of Directors

Section 4. Officers, their election and term of office

A. The officers shall be the ones listed in the charter. These officers are (1) Chairman of the Board of Directors, (2) Vice-chairman, (3) Secretary, (4) Treasurer.
   These four officers shall be elected to terms of one year by a majority of the Board of Directors.
   The vice-chairman may serve as a committee chairman, but in this case shall be limited to one vote on the Executive Committee.
B. The Board of Directors may remove an officer by majority vote.
C. In the event an officer resigns, or for any reason is unable to serve, the chairman shall fill the vacancy by appointment until the next Board meeting.

Section 5. Duties of Officers

A. Chairman
   The chairman shall preside over all meetings of the Board of Directors, Executive Committee, and open meetings of HOPE, Inc. sponsored by either, or both groups; coordinate the activities of the various standing and temporary committees of the Board and Executive Committee; and such other duties as the Board of Directors may direct.
B. Vice-chairman
   The vice-chairman shall assist the chairman, and shall take his place in his absence.
C. Secretary
   The secretary shall keep a record of all meetings of the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee, and shall perform other duties as may be delegated
D. Treasurer
   The treasurer shall be responsible for receiving all monies of the Corporation, and for their accurate receipt and disbursements.

Section 6. Meetings

A. The Board of Directors shall meet quarterly: on the second Thursday of January, April, July and October. Special meetings may be called by the chairman, or by five members of the Board.

B. The frequency and time of the Executive Committee meetings shall be left to its discretion, provided that the interval between meetings shall not exceed two months.

C. Committee and sub-committee meetings shall be held as needed, at the discretion of the responsible persons involved.

Section 7. Executive Committee

A. The Executive Committee shall consist of the four officers of the Board, plus the heads of the standing committees.
The heads of such committees shall be appointed by and serve at the pleasure of the chairman of the Board of Directors, from the membership of said Board.

B. The duties of the Executive Committee shall be to transact business between the quarterly meetings of the Board; to approve plans of standing committee chairmen; to fill vacancies; and to fulfil such other duties as directed by the Board.

C. A quorum of the Executive Committee shall be five.

Section 8. Standing Committees

The standing committees shall be the ones listed below:
1) Operations, 2) Legal, 3) Public Information, 4) Special Projects, 5) State Organization.

Section 9. Parlimentary Procedure

Roberts Rules of Order, revised, shall govern all meetings, when the rules are not inconsistent with these By-laws.

Section 10. Amendments

These By-laws may be amended at any meeting of the Board of Directors upon a two-thirds vote of those in attendance, provided five days written notice has been given on the proposed amendments.

Section 11.

(Duties of standing committees shall be determined by committee chairmen, subject to the approval of the Board of Directors. To allow for flexibility the duties, when approved, shall then be attached as an addendum to the By-laws.)

Section 12. Board Members from Chapters

Each chapter shall select a director and alternates, who shall be approved by majority vote of the Board.

Section 13. Advisory Board

The Advisory Board shall be appointed upon the recommendations of the Board of Directors, or Executive Committee, or chapter.

NOTES FROM PUBLIC AFFAIRS SEMINAR IN WASHINGTON, D. C., YWCA
MAY, 1953

Mrs. Alfred Mudge, Chairman, National Public Affairs Committee, and
Mrs. Harbison, Chairman, Leadership Services Committee

Problems discussed concerned legislative programs and how to work effectively on these issues in local communities, role of citizen in making public opinion felt. Issues around civil liberties. In this connection, Mr. William Welch, Legislative assistant to Senator Lehman, spoke specifically in reference to coming Supreme Court decision on the cases involving segregation in the elementary and secondary schools. He suggested some preparatory work and steps that might be taken.

Those who are in communities where groups are not already thinking about what to do when the decision comes down might start planning in order to rally community spirit behind the decision:

1. Rally as many community forces as you can behind you. For instance, try to use Korean veterans who may be willing to speak of satisfactory experiences they have had in integrated army units--living with soldiers of all nations, races, and creeds.

2. Be prepared to issue a positive statement as to what this decision means in your community. Don't let the opposition get the jump on you about this.

3. Make a detailed study of what a dual educational system means in your community. It makes a difference of $7 to $8 million in the District of Columbia to run a dual system. Find out what integration would mean in terms of tax savings.

4. Have some group prepare material to give to teachers and school administrators on intergroup relations--either specially prepared booklets or those that are already prepared.

5. Sponsor volunteer workshops of students or teachers where they can come together and discuss some of the problems that would be involved. Discuss the method of moving from one sort of setup to another. The group could prepare and submit to the Board of Education plans for how to move from a segregated to a non-segregated system; as to how pupils may be integrated; and how teachers and pupils may be prepared to meet the change.

6. Be ready to back up a public official immediately when he makes a courageous stand.

7. Work to start the process of integration where something can be done immediately, such as in the daily vacation Bible school, or in integrated playgrounds, or inter-school athletics, where advancement can be made more rapidly. A gain in one field supports and hastens gain in another. A loss in one field slows down gain in another. All these things are tied together.

8. Where schools are not segregated, work to create a climate of opinion which in time can sweep the country.

(Note to planners: It need hardly be said that when the evaluation sheets came in, Mr. Welch was felt by an overwhelming majority to have made some of the greatest contributions to the Seminar. There must be people in your community, the NAACP, a representative of the Mayor's committee on intergroup relations who could be equally helpful. Both presentations and the following discussion emphasized the need to create a climate of good will, which, Congressman Brooks Hays emphasized the night before, must bind nations to nations and individuals to one another.)

MEMORANDUM

July 13, 1953

TO: Myles Horton, Director, Highlander Folk School

FROM: Helen E. Amerman, Committee on Education, Training and Research in Race Relations, University of Chicago

RE: Problems in the Orderly Transition from a Segregated to an Unsegregated Form of Public Education in the South.

I. The Crux of the Problem. It is important in planning the transition to unsegregated schools to remember that simple desegregation will not necessarily lead to integration. (In the non-segregated schools of the North, there are many cases of minority children's being socially isolated almost as effectively as though formal segregation prevailed.) Since your workshops are based on the assumption that desegregation will soon be accomplished by court decision, I would suggest that you address yourselves chiefly to the problems of preparing for and eventually operating a racially integrated school system.

By "integrated" I refer to a situation in which the races are not in a dominant-subordinate relation, but rather both enter on a basis of equality. Under such an arrangement each person should be able to achieve a place for himself on the basis of merit without regard to race. (Of course, under present conditions merit is often not the deciding factor even within a racial group; so we should not be too disillusioned if we do not immediately achieve the supremacy of merit--at least we can guard against the irrational use of race as a criterion.)

I offer you the balance of this letter in greatest humility as one with only the most limited first-hand experience with the problems of the South. However, my theoretical training in the social sciences and my experiences with intergroup relations in the North lead me to believe that a discussion of the following problems might prove fruitful for your group.

II. The Preparatory Phase

A. How can we best prepare public opinion in the community for acceptance of the change?

I would be inclined to counsel against a concerted campaign for acceptance using the media of mass communication (which, being relatively unfocused, seems more likely to crystalize opposition), in favor of a well-organized machinery for (1) spotting and meeting opposition, (2) allaying rumors, (3) identifying problems of change-over and working for their solution, and (4) interpreting the solution to those who play an important role in forming public opinion.

There might be a nucleus of community leaders who concerned themselves with such problems as the following:

1. a. How well organized is the opposition (if any) to integration in the schools?
   b. Who is opposing integration?
   c. What are their basic motivations?
   d. What issues and arguments have they brought forth?
   e. Where do these people fit into the power structure of the community?
   f. To whom are they appealing?
   g. In the light of answers to the above, what is the best way to meet this opposition?

2. a. What rumors about integration in the schools are current?
   b. Among what groups is each rumor current?
   c. What is the truth of the question?
   d. What channels of communication exist (or need to be established) to provide correct information as a substitute for the rumor?
   e. Does this rumor suggest any problem which needs solution?

3. a. What problems are created by the change-over?
   b. In whose province does the solution of each problem fall?
   c. Are the parties responsible for solving the problem aware of its existence and doing something about it? If not, how can they be activated?
   d. What can the leadership group do to facilitate matters?

The composition of your group is itself suggestive of the community figures who should be included in such a nucleus group. In each case the choice would have to be made in terms of local specifics. Perhaps you would want to discuss the more likely categories of leadership, criteria for selection, mode of operation, etc.

B. What preparations should the school personnel (including the board of education, state and county educational officials, etc.) be making?

This is a professional question which must be answered by the educators themselves, but community leaders may certainly urge diplomatically that the realities of change be anticipated and prepared for. Such administrative questions as the following will be involved:

1. How are school boundaries to be redrawn?

2. On what basis are faculties to be consolidated? (What about tenure, seniority, professional qualifications?)

3. What, if any, preparation and interpretation is to be given children and their parents before the separate systems merge?

4. What provisions will be made for personnel displaced by the change?

5. What remedial measures can be developed to compensate for previous differentials in Negro and white educational standards which will be highlighted by day-to-day scholastic competition in the unsegregated classroom?

6. Where shall responsibility for orderly change be placed? This seems to create a dilemma: whether a special administrative post shall be created for the purpose or whether to risk the danger of "everybody's business becoming nobody's business." The first choice, while making for an efficient concern with all aspects of the problem, opens the door to scape-goating and lack of responsible cooperation from all involved; the coordinator of integration can easily be ground between the millstones of opposing factions and the program failure be blamed on him. The second alternative might be met by the superintendent's requiring that each of his subordinates give explicit attention to integration as it affects his particular sphere of authority, and by the use of advisory committees made up of a representative cross-section of the school personnel.

7. How can school personnel and community leaders function together most efficiently in the effort to make the change-over harmonious?

8. What phases of integration can be started prior to the court decision (e.g., joint meetings or mergers of segregated unions, professional societies; system-wide faculty meetings and committees; etc.), either formally or informally?

Your group can undoubtedly add to this list of questions.

C. What kinds of problems are likely to accompany the change, how can they be minimized, how should they be handled?

I would suggest the following; your group will undoubtedly think of others and have further ideas about these:

1. There is likely to be great self-consciousness at first on the part of everyone concerned, and the actions of others will be subject to unusually careful scrutiny and analysis. This state of mind is fertile soil for misunderstanding and tension. On the other hand, as the novelty wears off, new patterns of behavior will become more or less automatic and tension should ease. Some attention should be given to keeping misunderstanding and tension at a minimum and to the new patterns of behavior which are to be adopted.

2. It seems probable that some members of both races will enter into the change-over with a sense of hostility--because they suffer a change for the worse in the educational situation (e.g., transfer to a less attractive school, larger classes, etc.), or because of bitterness that their rights have been so long denied.

3. Many problems normal to school life will be interpreted as signs of interracial tension, whereas race is merely an incidental factor (e.g., misunderstandings, discipline problems, differences of persuasion, etc.).

4. Where the difference in standards between the white and Negro schools of a system has been great, the Negro pupils will probably show at a disadvantage continually, leading to feelings of inferiority, frustration, etc., and also to difficulties in teaching pupils with such a wide range of preparation.

5. There will be many situations in which the pattern of acceptable behavior must be redefined. For example,

   a. How are pupils to be seated?
   b. How much "fraternization" will be permissible?
   c. What about such school activities as
      (1) athletics, including swimming
      (2) use of shower rooms
      (3) dancing
      (4) dramatics
      (5) use of school lunch rooms
      (6) social activities in connection with the school program
      (7) field trips
      (8) student government and school clubs
   d. How will PTA activities be affected?
   e. How will unions and professional groups of educators be affected?

6. In some schools located in segregated Negro residential areas there will be few perceptible changes. If the community has been looking forward to important improvements as a result of the court decision, there may be disillusionment and bitterness.

7. Probably many school personnel will be reluctant to accept assignments in situations where they will be working with colleagues and/or pupils who are predominantly of the other race. How can they be encouraged to try the new experiences?

8. It would seem likely that subversive organizations would be on the alert to capitalize on the uncertainties, insecurities, misunderstandings, rumors, and tensions of such an adjustment period to undermine confidence in the schools and stir up dissention in the community. How can they be forestalled?

III. The Change-Over. I think most of us visualize as our goal not only racial integration within the schools, but the most effective educational program possible--in America that being necessarily a democratically oriented one. Undoubtedly, the more successful a school system has been in implementing democracy and sound pedagogy prior to desegregation, the more effectively it can weather the strains of the change-over and accomplish genuine integration. For example, the teacher who is already accustomed to safeguarding the human dignity of each pupil and is sensitive to his psychological needs will be most likely to preside over the successful integration of pupils of both races in her new class. In a PTA where members of one race have not been able to work together effectively, there is little hope that members of another race will be incorporated harmoniously.

This suggests that in the interim period--at all levels and in every aspect--the educational program must be strengthened and morale brought to its highest point in order to accomplish the harmonious change-over.

In this connection, I heartily recommend the following references:

1. Hilda Taba, Elizabeth Hall Brady, and John T. Robinson, Intergroup Education in Public Schools. Washington: American Council on Education, 1952.

2. Helen Hall Jennings, Sociometry in Group Relations. Washington: American Council on Education, 1948

3. Hilda Taba, Elizabeth Hall Brady, John T. Robinson, and William E. Vickery, Diagnosing Human Relations Needs. Washington: American Council on Education, 1951.

4. Staff, Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools, Curriculum in Intergroup Relations: Secondary School (1949), Elementary Curriculum in Intergroup Relations (1950), Reading Ladders for Human Relations (Rev. ed., 1949). All published by the American Council on Education, Washington, D. C.

5. Margaret Heaton, Feelings are Facts. Intergroup Education Pamphlet. New York: National Conference of Christians and Jews.

6. Ernest Melby, American Education Under Fire. Freedom Pamphlet. New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

7. New South, April, 1951. Atlanta: Southern Regional Council. (Guide for rural community self-surveys includes section on schools.)

8. Hilda Taba and Deborah Elkins, With Focus on Human Relations. Washington: American Council on Education, 1950.

9. Publications of National Citizens' Committee for the Public Schools, New York. (Sorry I'm not sure this title is correct and don't have the address at hand.)

IV. What Can Be Done in the Event That the Court's Decision is Negative?

V. Caution. There is a great temptation to delay planning while a search is made for other instances of successful integration.

A. Few of these have been written up in a style to be of value to other schools.

B. These can be only suggestive since local circumstances vary.

C. These cases are either schools in Northern communities or on army posts in the South. In the former, the fact that the change did not take place against a background of a social structure permeated by legal and customary segregation for generations back makes desegregation a much simpler problem. In the latter, it seems probable that the social psychology of an army post, with its ever-

changing population and the dominant tradition of army discipline would differ considerably from that of the average Southern community.

D. With the implementation of the hoped-for court decision, we shall be entering a new era of relations between the races. Those of us who are working to make the change both harmonious and effective must shift our point of view somewhat, from fighting for a right to consolidating the peace. Without forsaking our insistence upon equitable treatment, we must enable the former resisters to cooperate gracefully in compliance with the court decision. In the period of uncertainty and groping for new patterns we must maintain a rational, calming influence. Achieving harmonious integration, like "winning the peace," will be infinitely more difficult than winning a favorable court decision.

SUMMARY OF WORKSHOP SESSIONS - July 20-25, 1953

Dr. Theodore Brameld from New York University, Chairman.

We agreed to list all the suggestions which had been made on how to proceed in local communities. The purpose was to list in priority the most feasible steps. As a guide we used Irene Osborne's outline, "Working Toward Integrated Public Schools in Your Own Community". (See attached)

I. Organization - "Find Your Friends"

A. The first step would be to find one or two people in your community who have a personal interest in this and talk it over with them. You must locate a special sponsoring agency or well-known people in the community. Your first carefully planned meeting of half a dozen people would prepare for a larger meeting. Look at your local organizations such as Church, Union, League of Women Voters, NAACP, YWCA, Urban League, Anti-Defamation League, Jewish Committee Councils, Student Council, or other student activities, etc. to find people who would be interested in the issue. In some communities the first step might be to bring together a group of Negro and white teachers; in others, you might approach an editor and get his help on where to start.

B. The first meeting when you come together, because of interest in improving the public schools and making them more democratic, is of course an interracial gathering, and out of this meeting you will find the solid core. You gather together people who are ready to discuss and think about the problem of voluntary cooperation, people who through their own experience and actions will learn and be ready to go further.

Possible first steps for the group's action:

Let's get the facts in our community and look at them.

Let's consider various alternatives in our community to the Supreme Court decision.

Let's discover and use our opportunities as citizens to meet with and present proposals to the School Board.

Let's be on the look out for opportunities to bring our objective before a larger audience - "letters to the editor" - use of unforeseen developments in the local scene to provoke discussion upon this objective.

Majority votes unimportant - Find one point of agreement and disregard disagreement.

Formal organization not desirable - but provision for the mechanics of continued group action essential - a convener - a coordinator - a secretary - someone who will see that effort does not become static. (There are organizations and/or agencies which can contribute various necessary services.)

It is essential for the initial group to begin early and continue to involve more people.

Means effect the end - so every activity must be measured by the extent to which it moves towards the goal of integration. (Bringing people together on an interracial basis is not the point - this has too frequently been done without resulting in integration of the groups involved.)

C. Sharing the Program. Your objective is not to set up an organization, but a temporary committee. You are not going to take away power and prestige of any organization. We must keep aware of the danger of becoming rigid and formal in our work. The key person or persons in each group must try to anticipate the next steps and so keep things moving. It is useful to talk over with one or two people some possible next steps. At the same time, we must not become inflexible and spell out next steps ahead of time. We must keep alert to any community developments that will give us an opportunity to further our objectives. We must start involving other people in various parts of the effort as rapidly as possible.

D. There has to be an administrator or organizer in each group who feels the responsibility of being the spark plug.

Further notes on objective and how to work: Bringing people together is not the problem. In the South people have always "been together", but on an unequal basis. This has to be done away with. In working together

there must be no remnants of a "superior-inferior" relationship.

To summarize; our first step is to find men and women in positions to provide community leadership for an orderly transition from a segregated to an unsegregated public school system. He or she will not be commiting his organization by joining the group, but will naturally use his influence in his group to help widen the circle of people interested. Effective individuals are likely to have organizational relationships, but there may also be a few persons who are in a position of individual leadership in their community or who have special skills that can be used.

All this implies a knowledge of your community. Avoid going to groups or organizations that you know are going to oppose you. Most of the group felt that it was important to include youth, in high schools, colleges, or perhaps even grammer schools. Some felt that they would lack the experience to realize what they were getting into. The point was made that the same criteria must be applied to all invited to join the group. We want related, informed, and responsible people.

II Develop a Way of Working

One of the basic principles is to set up your goal, which will serve as a guide to all action. Integrated schools is our goal within the framework of achieving greater overall democracy and integration in all walks of life. Work on a basis of agreement on each specific step to be taken, while not requiring agreement on all points. On each point of agreement you move ahead; those who may not wish to go along on one step may join you in the next. One point to keep in mind is that we must work on a principle of equality - not on a basis of the superior-inferior relationships that has sometimes existed in interracial efforts. We cannot build anything on a personal relationship that is dishonest or false. The thing that is wrong in these groups is that coming together is an end in itself; in our

work we must always keep the goal in mind. From the beginning we start with a goal of integration, then every experience we have on the way is related to this goal. The end affects the means. The step is not an end in itself, but a step toward the goal.

MEMORANDUM

From: Joseph Stocker, Phoenix Arizona

Re: De-Segregation in Arizona Schools

I don't have any reports or records on the progress of school desegregation in Arizona to send you for your workshop. All I can do is set down here, as briefly as possible, what has transpired:

School segregation has prevailed in Arizona, pretty generally, since about the time of World War I - the handiwork, to a great extent, of large numbers of people who migrated into Arizona from Texas and the deep South. Our struggle to desegregate the schools has been going on for a number of years, and intensively so since World War II. We've had a good deal of success.

Bear in mind that the pattern of school segregation has been somewhat checkered. For many years, the state law made segregation in the elementary schools compulsory and in the high schools optional. Hence most of the elementary schools have been segregated, although a few communities - notably in the northern part of the state- simply disregarded the law, because segregation was uneconomic and because southern pressures weren't too strong. As for the high schools, Tucson never segregated and Phoenix did - although here, too, the pattern has been checkered. Phoenix College, a two-year school which is an adjunct of the high school system, has always been integrated, as has Phoenix Technical School, likewise an adjunct of the high school system. But the high schools themselves were segregated. As things developed, Phoenix became the last city in the state in which high schools were still segregated.

First shot in our campaign was fired about three years ago. We submitted a desegregation initiative measure to the people and were licked by almost two to one. However, there were mitigating circumstances: The ballot was cluttered with 13 confusing measures and the newspapers, fearful of other measures which might have hurt them and business in general,

waged a Vote-No-on-Everything campaign.

With more optimism than good sense, we went into the legislature just two months later and submitted another desegregation bill. Fortunately, for the first time in history, there were a couple of Negroes in the lower house. And we were able to sell the economic powers-that-be on the proposition that segregation was wasteful, tax-wise. We came out of the session with a law that made segregation in the elementary schools optional along with the high schools. It was a compromise, of course. And the new law was so laxly worded that we moved in right afterward with a lawsuit attacking constitutionality of the whole segregation structure. NAACP, with the help of our group (Arizona Council for Civic Unity) and others, raised $5,000 to finance the suit.

Meanwhile, immediately after passage of the new permissive segregation law, Tucson abolished segregation in its elementary schools. The credit there goes to a courageous and wonderful superintendent, Robert Morrow. Needless to say, the desegregation was accomplished without incident, and Tucson now has no segregation whatsoever.

Our suit was in the U. S. District Court, which decided that the issue more properly should be decided by the state courts. So we re-filed in the state courts. We won a clear decision a few months ago in the lower - or superior - court, which simply held segregation unconstitutional. The local high school board - defendants in our action - appealed to the state supreme court. We expected a decision there this past spring and early summer, but the court put it off to mid-fall. (We suspect the Arizona Court wants the U. S. Supreme Court to take it off the hook.)

Meanwhile, we kept the pressure on the local school boards. And finally, just a few days ago, the high school board voted to abolish segregation - in advance of any ruling by the supreme court and effective this fall. The segregated Negro high school in Phoenix is being kept in operation,

at least temporarily, but as an "open" school to which anyone may come. This, apparently, for the purpose of keeping the Negro faculty at work and not having to integrate it into the overall system immediately, This may present a problem soon, for we understand that a good deal of effort is being put forth by Negro leaders to persuade parents in their community not to send their youngsters back to Carver (the Negro high school).

The elementary schools in Phoenix are still segregated, but we're hoping that they, too, will see the light.

There have been other spotty cases of desegregation. Several smaller towns, for instance, knocked out segregation soon after the new permissive law was passed, and when one of them also fired its Negro teachers, the Arizona Education Association challenged the firing with a lawsuit and won its case.

Down in the central part of the state, two small neighboring cotton towns were segregating their Negro high school kids in a makeshift high school operated jointly at a midway point -- in what had been an old dance hall. Our group (this was before I became active in it) spent several months persuading the local people to do away with the high school and integrate the Negro kids in their respective high schools. And in rural and suburban school districts around Phoenix, there have been various instances of voluntary desegregation. In my own district, for example, there were three Negro children attending school -- segregated under a special teacher hired for that purpose. We got that corrected swiftly. Our group called on the superintendent, and an American Legion post in a nearby community passed a desegregation resolution, and, whammy, out went segregation.

We think we have Jim Crow, school-style, on the run in Arizona. We're hoping fervently that the state supreme court - if not the U. S. Supreme Court - will finish the job this fall.

All of this probably sounds like a well-organized, concerted campaign, ticking off one objective after another. Actually, of course, it's been anything but that. It's been a long, hard struggle, highlighted not alone by resistance met all along the line, but also by dissention amongst those working to desegregate the schools. But I'm sure you and the other people at your workshop are familiar with that sort of pattern.

The story is moving faster than I can keep up with it. Yesterday afternoon, just as I was finishing this, the Phoenix elementary school board voted to put into effect gradual integration of the elementary schools, the process to start this fall and be completed within one year. We seem to be on our way to total victory.

MEMORANDUM

To: Myles Horton, Monteagle, Tenn.

From: Frances H. Williams, Washington, D. C.

I have read the Report of your Special council meeting of April, 1953, with great interest. I am amazed and excited over the analysis you make of the South and the plan you now have for a month's training program on de-segregating the schools.

1. Nothing intrigues me more than the problem of educating people in the race field. This education could be organized in so many differing ways. For myself, one way of organizing it would be around three basic concepts. One, the role of politeness in changing the Southern scene. For example, the use of courtesy titles. I tried this when I first came to government. It was the custom to call all the Negro messengers by their first names, so I began calling them "Mr." I never discussed the matter with anyone, I just did it myself, and it was amazing to see how people picked this up. Another item of politeness we worked on was a simple ruling that people would be served in turn at our ration boards. The custom in many parts of the South of serving the white customers first is a basic impoliteness that I think could be dispensed with rather easily, if worked at constantly. Another thing is just to start people speaking to one another. We tried this also at OPA. Two of us just began saying, "Good morning." This simple gesture began communication--created an atmosphere of including everybody.

2. A second basic concept which I think could well be considered is that everybody enjoys extending his world. This point is made in the May 11, 1953, issue of TIME in an article on Negroes in 1953--a kind of progress report. They say, "Negroes, in the phrase of the sociologists, have 'high social visibility.' But their lives are in effect invisible to most Americans, who rarely bother to look behind the Color Curtain at the Negroes'

homes, their places of work and worship, or their spirit."

Now it takes a great deal of time to really get acquainted. One should go about this very slowly and with great reserve. It will be hard for prejudiced white people to understand and realize that they have not really been communicating with the Negroes they know. Words have been passing between them and others but not communication, and to get acquainted they have to not only observe but communicate. Once they got into this, it would be very exciting. They wouldn't become friendly with Negroes, but if they worked at it, they would begin to see Negroes as they are, not as they thought they were.

I remember when I first began looking at poor white people in the South. It was years before I began speaking to them, but the observation of their homes, their casual talk with one another, etc, led me to give up my prejudices against them as I saw how hard their lives were. I extended my life by becoming acquainted with theirs. It was so exciting to me that I never felt the urge to go to Paris or any far away place, there was so much to see at home.

3. The third basic concept I would like your students to get acquainted with is that when an individual contemplates action in the race field, he should ask himself,"Is this reasonable action?" It should never be heroic. He should be able to take his complete self into the new action. Then his action will seem to others reasonable, fair, acceptable.

If you think back on the Chattanooga conference, you will get my third point. We did something at that time that had not been done before, but it seemed reasonable to people that students should want to learn about the World Court, and so they accepted the fact of their learning.

And now to change over to another line of thought which a friend of mine was engaging in this noon at lunch. He was saying that the basic situation in the U. S. that makes it possible for us to be tolerant to one another is the over-lapping memberships we have in many groups. That is, for example, no Senator is just a Senator; he is a banker, a Baptist, etc.--and it is his membership in all these groups that makes him to be tolerant of many things which he would not be tolerant of if his whole life were spent within the confines of thought and experience of one group. One thing in the South that breeds intolerance between the races is that they have not many over-lapping memberships.

According to this line of thought, one way to prepare for the de-segregation of the schools is to encourage participation in every kind of group possible.

OUTLINE OF RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SCHOOL INTEGRATION

I. The Mechanics of integration

A. Pupil Integration

*1. Pupils should be assigned to schools on the basis of residence, regardless of race.

2. Re-districting should be made on the basis of a complete school census.

3. Boundaries should be determined on the basis of clear policy. One suggestion is the criteria used in Chicago in recent re-districting: (1) every child should attend the nearest school, (2) no child should cross a major arterial highway, (3) facilities should be utilized to the fullest extent possible, with every effort made to equalize pupil-teacher ratios. These sound principles made it possible for an administrator to give a clear and honest answer to the parent who complained about school assignment.

4. Voluntary transfer should not be permitted. Requests for transfer in hardship cases should be granted only by an authority specially designated for this purpose.

5. The two teachers colleges should be merged into a single institution.

6. Deaf children: The Commissioners should make a contract with Columbia Institution for the Deaf which forbids racial segregation.

7. Consideration should be given to expansion of the program through the improved use of facilities, such as development of a five-year technical institute or an improved arts and sciences program.

B. Teacher and administrative integration

*1. All personnel should be hired, placed, and promoted on the basis of merit, regardless of race.

2. Teacher integration

a. Teachers should be assigned without reference to the race of the teacher or the pupils. Schools which, for residential reasons, have pupils of only one race may participate in the integration process through integrated faculties. Many cities throughout the country have successfully used interracial faculties in all white schools. This is an excellent device

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* These are main points which should be stressed by everyone.

for giving the pupils a constructive experience. While there should be no requirement that every school must have a mixed faculty, no school should be considered ineligible for an interracial teacher group.

b. Transition to integration will require major shifts in assignment of presently employed teachers.

c. The tenures of all teachers should be fully protected.

3. Integration of Administrators

a. There should be a complete job analysis of all administrative positions to determine the actual needs under an integrated system.

b. When the job analysis shows that two present positions are in fact duplicate, one of the incumbents should be assigned to a new administrative job. This may make it possible to utilize present personnel to enrich the school program.

II. Necessary educational preparation

A. Teachers: The most important single factor in the success of integration will be the attitude of the teachers. Teachers should be given every opportunity now to gain confidence in integration and to see their important role. This should be accomplished by (1) in-service training, (2) cooperation with private agencies in conferences and workshops for teachers, and (3) full use of integrated teacher committees for all committee work at present.

B. Pupils: The administration and Board should encourage and arrange interracial activities among pupils, such as joint participation in extra-curricular projects, integration of student councils, and inter-school visitation. Earlier regulations which prevented interracial activity should be rescinded.

C. The system should undertake an intensive program of intergroup education. This can be done by implementalism of "The Handbook of Intergroup Education," already developed within the school system. This includes some of the above suggestions and many other valuable ideas.

D. Parents of both races should be helped to work together on projects of common interest, most particularly in projects which in themselves have nothing to do with race.

III. The entire program should be carried out with a firm policy of complete integration. All personnel should have full confidence in the rightness and practicality of what they are doing. This will communicate confidence and encouragement, rather than anxiety, to the children and the parents. Administrators and teachers can gain this confidence by use of professional consultants and school administrators from other cities who can attest to the success of integration.

DIRECTORY OF SOCIAL SERVICES

HEALTH

WELFARE

RECREATION

RICHMOND AREA COMMUNITY COUNCIL
2501 MONUMENT AVENUE RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

DIRECTORY OF SOCIAL SERVICES

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PREPARED BY

RICHMOND AREA COMMUNITY COUNCIL

PUBLISHED MARCH, 1962

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DIRECTORY

ALCOHOL STUDIES AND REHABILITATION DIVISION
(State Department of Health)
Second Floor, West Wing, Memorial Hall
Medical College of Virginia **Tel. MI 4-9851, Ext. 316**

The Division studies the problem of alcoholism and provides treatment and rehabilitation service for alcoholics and problem drinkers.

There is out-patient clinic service and in-patient hospital service for those amenable to the Division's treatment program. Medical staff of the Division determines eligibility for this service.

ALCOHOLICS ANONYMOUS
210 North Madison Street (Box 1056) **Tel. MI 4-2095**

A fellowship of recovered alcoholics who lend moral support to each other and to those addicted to alcohol who have a sincere desire to recover. Open meetings are held each Friday night at 8:30 P.M.

AMERICAN CANCER SOCIETY
Richmond Area Unit
100 East Franklin Street **Tel. MI 4-1411**

The American Cancer Society is a voluntary health agency. It conducts many activities in an effort to conquer the disease, cancer. The Society sponsors a National Research Program on the causes and cure of cancer. This Program functions through money grants to scientists and institutions. Through medical fellowships, the Society helps young doctors learn about cancer. Locally, the Society carries on a program of public education to tell people about cancer. This includes the use of films, exhibits, pamphlets and mass media. Also, a Professional Education Program is conducted for area doctors, dentists and nurses seeking to stimulate and increase the knowledge of the medical profession in newer methods of cancer detection, diagnosis and treatment. It also has a Service Program which provides sterile dressings and certain sick room items for cancer patients. The Unit sponsors a "Lost Chord Club" which assists with the rehabilitation of persons who have had their larynx removed.

To support all of these activities, the Society conducts an annual fund-raising and educational campaign each April.

AMERICAN LEGION, CHILD WELFARE SERVICES

(Application forms may be secured from any Post or the Office of War Veterans Claims)

Provides a program of services for children of war veterans including emergency financial assistance while claims for public assistance are pending. Provides information regarding scholarships.

AMERICAN RED CROSS
Chesterfield County Chapter
401 New Centralia Road, Chester, Va. **Tel. SH 8-2263**

Henrico County Chapter
5710 Lakeside Avenue **Tel. EL 8-1583**

Richmond Chapter
2 North Fifth Street **Tel. MI 3-7451**

DISASTER SERVICE provides food, clothing, shelter and other emergency relief as well as rehabilitation to individuals and families who are victims of natural disasters at no charge to the recipient.

HOME SERVICE assists servicemen, veterans and their families. Assistance includes counseling in individual and family problems, communication facilities, help in applying for government benefits, information on community resources, military and Veterans Administration regulations. Servicemen and their families are eligible for emergency financial help; families of veterans with service-connected disabilities, widows and children of deceased servicemen and veterans also may be assisted until eligibility for government benefits can be established.

SAFETY SERVICES provide, without cost, courses of instruction in first aid, swimming, life saving, and small craft.

NURSING SERVICES provide nursing care for disasters and epidemics and furnish volunteers for local hospitals and health agencies when requested. Courses of instruction are offered in "Care of the Sick and Injured," "Mother and Baby Care," and "Fitness for the Future."

JUNIOR RED CROSS, organized within the school system, encourages the development of service and leadership through local, national and international projects.

OPEN-HEART SURGERY BLOOD PROGRAM recruits blood donors for patients requiring open-heart surgery at M.C.V. All donations of blood are voluntary and no charge is made to the patient for the blood given.

The OFFICE OF VOLUNTEERS recruits, trains and places volunteers in the following categories to serve in the chapter and community; Canteen, Gray Lady and Gray Man, Motor Service, Nurse's Aide, Production, Staff Aide and Social Welfare Aide.

BAPTIST HALL
1103 West Franklin Street **Tel. EL 5-9902**

A boarding home for 30 students and employed girls under religious auspices.

BAPTIST HOME FOR AGED WOMEN
1400 Grove Avenue **Tel. EL 3-8621**

This is a home for aged Baptist women who have been members of some Richmond Baptist church for two years or more. The home is supported by the Baptist churches of Richmond.

BELLE BRYAN DAY NURSERY
610 N. 9th Street **Tel. MI 3-5761**

Belle Bryan gives day-time nursery care to pre-school children of working mothers. A child is accepted on basis of mother's need for work and child's need for care. Services include health inspection, arts, crafts, story-telling, music with singing, nursery rhymes, rest periods, hot lunch, morning and afternoon snacks, playground acitivities and occasional supervised trips to places of interest and amusement.

BETH SHOLOM HOME OF VIRGINIA, INC.
Libbie and Fitzhugh Avenues **Tel. AT 2-5471**

A home for aged Jewish residents of Virginia.

BETHLEHEM CENTER
1016 State Street **Tel. MI 3-9362**

The Center provides re-creative activities for all age groups of both sexes. These activities include kindergarten, Club groups,

athletics, arts and crafts, Vacation Bible School, sewing, woodworking, Boy Scouts, Brownies, Girl Scouts, supervised play in the Game Room and on the playground, and a camping program which will start in the summer of 1962. The Center is supported by the Woman's Division of Christian Service, the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church and by contributions from local groups and individuals.

BIG BROTHERS OF RICHMOND
2501 Monument Avenue **Tel. 353-3380**

The agency offers a casework service, utilizing volunteer Big Brothers, to white boys between the ages of 8 and 17. While the service is designed primarily for fatherless boys, cases may be accepted where the relationship between the boy and the father is such that a volunteer Big Brother can be effectively utilized.

Full-time professional agency staff processes referrals, makes intake studies, matches Big and Little Brothers, and supervises Big Brother-Little Brother relationships. Referrals are accepted from agencies, parents, relatives and responsible community sources.

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA, ROBERT E. LEE COUNCIL, INC.
600 West Franklin Street **Tel. MI 9-0367**

The scouts provide a popular program of informal education in citizenship for boys 8 to 18 years, resulting in good character, self-reliance, leadership, and other attributes. It sponsors year-round camping facilities, as well as special outings and projects.

BOYS' CLUB OF RICHMOND, VA., INC.
408 North Robinson Street **Tel. EL 3-3246**
EL 8-0447

The Boys' Club is a boy guidance organization whose purpose is the social, educational, vocational, and character development of boys through a building-centered program of boy interests under the guidance of trained adult leaders.

BROOKFIELD HOME FOR GIRLS
6500 West Broad Street **Tel. AT 2-0221**

This home accepts white unmarried mothers two months before delivery during their first pregnancy. Babies are delivered at the home. Mothers are kept for one month after delivery or until arrangements are made for care of the baby.

BUREAU OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES
811 Floyd Avenue **Tel. MI 8-5879**

Persons of the Catholic faith in trouble can turn to this agency for help with many kinds of problems. The Bureau arranges for the adoption of children, or for temporary child care in foster homes and institutions. It also provides short-term financial assistance when this is a part of total social rehabilitation and counseling by trained caseworkers.

CAMP MERRIEWOOD HARRISON
Box 38, Highland Springs, Virginia **Tel. RE 7-0611**

(During camping season, call Information for camp number)
Camp Merriewood Harrison is a resident camp for white boys and

girls between 7 and 10 years of age. It serves only children from low-income families and charges no fees. The Camp is located at Stop 21½ Petersburg Pike and is in operation for three three-week camping periods during the summer.

CARY STREET BAPTIST CENTER

610 West Cary Street **Tel. MI 8-1353**

A community agency with a full program of activities embracing club work, handicraft, personal guidance and family rehabilitation with a religious emphasis under-girding each phase of the program.

CATHOLIC RESETTLEMENT COMMITTEE

811 Floyd Avenue **Tel. MI 4-5876**

Assistance and counseling in all immigration and refugee matters. Transportation and resettlement of refugees and escapees. Assistance in citizenship matters. Translation of documents, letters, etc. Interpretation in courts. Assisting refugees with their many needs in a new country.

CHESTERFIELD-COLONIAL HEIGHTS TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION

P. O. Box 8

Chesterfield, Virginia

The association operates a program that finds cases of tuberculosis, provides services to patients in the sanatorium and at home, and supports medical research projects. It has a health education program in Chesterfield County and Colonial Heights which deals with total health development including: distributing literature to school children, offering nursing and teachers' scholarships, and providing motion pictures, film strips, literature, and speakers to various groups.

CHESTERFIELD-COLONIAL HEIGHTS WELFARE DEPARTMENT

Chesterfield, Virginia **Tel. MI 9-0781**

The department provides casework services, including financial assistance, for families and individuals in Chesterfield County who have personal or family problems.

CHESTERFIELD COUNTY HEALTH DEPARTMENT

Chesterfield, Virginia **Tel. SH 8-2211**

The department conducts a general health program covering vital statistics, acute communicable disease control, venereal disease control, tuberculosis control, maternity service including supervision of mid-wives, infant and pre-school services, school health services, orthopedic service, special clinics and correctional activities, sanitation of homes, schools, food establishments, summer camps and roadside establishments.

CHESTERFIELD COUNTY JUVENILE AND DOMESTIC RELATIONS COURT

Chesterfield, Virginia **Tel. SH 8-2211, ext. 203-204**

This court, through its probation and detention departments, tries to see that children under 18 years of age coming to its attention receive a chance to develop in a normal, wholesome manner. The court has authority to deal with adults who neglect or contribute to delinquency of a child. It has general jurisdiction in domestic relations cases. Besides offering probation and detention services, the court uses community resources to handle problems that have medical and psychiatric implications. Detention service is offered children who are arrested by police, who are beyond control of their parents, or who would be a menace to themselves or others. Complaints should be filed with the intake officer of the court.

CHILDREN'S HOME SOCIETY OF VIRGINIA

322 South Third Street **Tel. MI 8-6585**

This State-wide adoption agency receives white babies up to six months of age. After a period in boarding homes, these babies—if adoptable—are placed in selected homes. The society's workers supervise them for a year before legal adoption proceedings are begun. Homes are selected according to the child's needs. The child's parents (mostly unmarried mothers) and the couple seeking to adopt the child are given casework service. The aim is to arrange adoptions so that they will be most satisfactory to all the persons involved in them.

CONSULTATION AND EVALUATION CLINIC

1228 East Broad Street **Tel. MI 4-9851, Ext. 8011 & 8047**

The clinic provides diagnosis and evaluation and some counseling services for mentally retarded children with priority being given those in the pre-school age group. The age limit is 8 years, before the ninth birthday. There is a coordination of the services of a pediatrician, psychiatric social worker, clinical psychologist, and public health nurse. Special examinations as needed are made by other medical specialties and laboratory studies—blood, urine, EEG, X-ray, etc.—are utilized. Counseling and/or consultation services are provided. Referrals are from physicians, schools, public health departments, social workers, parents, ministers, and friends.

The clinic, under the Virginia State Health Department, Bureau of Maternal and Child Health, is one of the national demonstration projects on mental retardation. It is the Richmond unit of the four such clinics in Virginia. It is sponsored by the Virginia State Department of Health, the Richmond City Health Department, the Medical College of Virginia, and the Board of the Consultation and Evaluation Clinic, Inc.

CRIPPLED CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL

2924 Brook Road **Tel. EL 3-1650 or EL 8-7534**

Requirements for admission:

(a) Orthopedic or plastic patient

(b) Parents unable to pay for prolonged hospitalization

(c) Cleared by local doctors and Crippled Children's Bureau

(d) Resident of Virginia under 17 years of age.

DAIRY COUNCIL OF RICHMOND

514 Lyric Building **Tel. MI 8-3582**

A non-profit health education organization devoted to the promotion of optimum health through good nutrition. Services offered include talks by trained nutritionists before club groups; movie films with or without speaker; literature for distribution; exhibits; in-service training in nutrition for professional workers; mailings of the latest scientific findings regarding nutrition.

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS
EPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF VIRGINIA

110 West Franklin Street **Tel. MI 3-8451**

This society plans and coordinates programs in the field of social welfare. It further provides limited assistance in those situations not covered by any of the social agencies, or supplements the funds of these agencies in emergency cases or for special needs.

EASTERN STAR HOME OF VIRGINIA
3000 Chamberlayne Avenue **Tel. EL 3-5061**

A home for mothers, wives, sisters or daughters of master masons. To be admitted, they must be residents of Virginia and must have been members of the Order of Eastern Star for 10 consecutive years.

EDUCATIONAL THERAPY CENTER
201 North 9th Street **Tel. MI 3-3581**

This child guidance clinic is particularly equipped to assist those children who do not relate or communicate readily and tend to manifest their problems by anti-social behavior. A Day-Care program gives opportunity for spontaneous expression of emotional needs and for assistance and guidance of children in the main areas of growth, such as academics according to readiness; manual work (trades and crafts); recreation; motion and play. This program is closely integrated with the individual and group psychotherapy provided.

EVANGELINE BOOTH HOME AND HOSPITAL
THE SALVATION ARMY
2705 Fifth Avenue **Tel. MI 4-7295**

This combined home and hospital offers medical care and temporary security to the unwed mother. Services include shelter, antepartum, intrapartum, postpartum and nursery care, casework service, spiritual guidance, education and recreation facilities. Priority to girls with no previous marriage or pregnancy. Adoptions by licensed child-placing agencies. Licensed capacity 26.

FAMILY SERVICE SOCIETY
221 Governor Street **Tel. MI 3-3541**

The basic service of this agency is Family Casework which offers counseling in relation to marriage problems, preparation for marriage, parent-child relationships, financial troubles and other aspects of family and individual adjustment. This service is rendered by trained caseworkers through personal interviews. Persons who are financially able to do so make payments toward the cost of this service. A schedule of fees is related to income and responsibilities of the family or individual.

Financial assistance is given in some instances for short periods to meet emergencies, when such help is not available through the Department of Public Welfare. The agency also administers a special trust fund which provides milk for "needy children of the City of Richmond," known as the Children's Milk Fund.

The Legal Aid Bureau of Family Service Society, operated in cooperation with the Richmond Bar Association, gives help in civil matters to persons unable to pay a fee to a private lawyer.

The Visiting Housekeeper Service of this agency provides a limited number of workers trained for domestic work and the everyday care of households and children to families faced with emergency need for such help but unable to secure it through the usual resources. This service is provided at full cost, at partial cost or at no cost according to individual circumstances.

FEDERATION OF PARENT-TEACHERS ASSOCIATIONS
(Contact any unit through the school office)

The PTA is an educational organization whose primary concern is the welfare of children. It promotes physical, mental, and spiritual

development of youth and encourages the improvement of home and community standards through study courses and lectures. It cooperates with the school health department in encouraging pre-school registration and correction of physical defects. When possible, it encourages and sponsors immunizations programs for the community. Through the local units, it cooperates with the City Recreation Department in providing recreation services. Through health and safety programs, it communicates to the community the services available in the health agencies and the Safety Council. In cooperation with the schools and the State Employment Service, the association sponsors a youth employment center at 809 East Marshall Street, Room 201, to aid youth in finding summer jobs.

FLYNN CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP HOUSES OF VIRGINIA, INC.

Women—1100 Grove Avenue **Tel. EL 8-9237**

Men—1032 W. Grace Street **Tel. EL 9-1269**

Provides residences for alcoholics who wish to give up drinking. No payment is necessary upon admission but residents are expected to find work within a reasonable time and then to contribute $15.00 weekly for room and board.

FRIENDS ASSOCIATION FOR CHILDREN

1001 St. Paul Street

Tels. Office: MI 4-8659; Nursery: MI 4-5588

The association offers temporary care to children from infancy to 18 years of age in foster boarding homes or adoptive homes. It also gives counseling service to parents of children in their own homes. Day nursery care is provided for children between 2 and 5 years of age. The nursery is located at 112 West Charity Street.

FULTON BAPTIST CENTER

500 Denny Street **Tel. MI 3-8972**

A community agency with a full program of activities embracing club work, handicrafts, personal guidance and family rehabilitation with religious emphasis under-girding each phase of the program.

GIRL SCOUTS OF RICHMOND

2022 Monument Avenue **Tel. EL 8-6779**

The motivating force of this organization is a spiritual one based on high ethics of duty to God and country and service to others.

The program is provided for all girls who desire to belong from seven through seventeen years of age. Girls explore and practice skills with the guidance of trained leaders in eleven program fields. They have fun and experience working and sharing together while developing as individuals. Outdoor activities in troop camp, day, and established camp program are some of the popular fields of interest.

THE HEARING AND SPEECH CENTER

Box 846, MCV **Tel. MI 4-9851, Ext. 8126, 701**

The Speech Center is a clinic where professional advice and training are available to children and adults with speech disorders. Those with lisping, stammering, cerebral palsied speech, voice problems, cleft palate speech, aphasia, and the laryngectomized are seen on an "in or out-patient" basis by appointment made through the number above. Services are not denied because of inability to pay, but fees are charged to others according to family income.

The Hearing Center provides diagnostic testing of hearing function above and beyond the realm of routine school screening, etc. It provides hearing aid evaluations, hearing aid orientation, auditory training, lip reading instruction and related services for those who need this type of therapy due to a hearing problem. A Pre-School Class for profoundly deaf children is also a part of the total program of this center. No one is denied services due to inability to pay. Appointments are made by following the same procedure as listed by the Speech Center.

HENRICO COUNTY HEALTH DEPARTMENT

Main at 21st Street

P. O. Box 3-V **Tel. MI 4-9461, Ext. 250**

The department maintains a standard public health program. The goal is to bring health education to every child in the schools as well as to every adult in the county.

This is attempted through Well Baby, Immunization, Maternity and School Diagnostic Clinics at the Health Center for eligible medically indigent children and adults living in the County, plus participation in many State Department of Health programs such as those for crippled children and adults, tuberculosis and other communicable disease control, vital statistics, and others. In addition, restaurant and environmental sanitation generally, and close cooperation with the school system in providing and maintaining healthful school conditions and in furnishing professional medical, nursing, dental and sanitation consultation on request, all contribute to steady progress toward better individual and corporate health.

HENRICO COUNTY JUVENILE & DOMESTIC RELATIONS COURT, PROBATION DEPARTMENT

22nd and Main Streets, P. O. Box 3-V **Tel. MI 9-1461, Ext. 226**

The Probation Department of the Henrico County Juvenile & Domestic Relations Court has the responsibility of making sure that children under 18, who come to its attention, are provided with the type of environment which is conducive to normal stable development. It is also responsible for dealing with parents who neglect children, fail to provide support or who contribute to the delinquency of children and for the usual type of domestic relations case. Community resources are utilized in addition to probation and after-care service. Children are detained when detention is needed to protect the child or the community. All complaints should be made by calling the intake worker.

HENRICO COUNTY WELFARE DEPARTMENT

Route 3, Box 87

Dabbs House **Tel. MI 9-1461, Ext. 244**

The department furnishes financial help to persons in need, provides medical care and hospitalization for those unable to pay for it, gives casework service to families and individuals with personal problems, and provides complete child welfare services, including foster home placement, adoptive home placement, and casework service.

HERMITAGE METHODIST HOMES OF VA., INC.

1600 Westwood Avenue **Tel. EL 5-5721**

A residence for aged men and women in the Virginia Methodist conference who need a home. It is not restricted to those of Methodist faith.

HILLSIDE BAPTIST CENTER

1708 Harwood Street **Tel. BE 3-5661**

A community agency with a full program of activities embracing club work, handicraft, personal guidance and family rehabilitation with a religious emphasis under-girding each phase of the program.

HOME FOR CONFEDERATE WOMEN
301 North Sheppard Street **Tel. EL 8-6435**

A home for needy widows, sisters and daughters of confederate soldiers who saw active service. They must be residents of Virginia.

HOUSE OF HAPPINESS
RICHMOND BAPTIST ASSOCIATION
2230 Venable Street **Tel. MI 4-9339**

A community agency for Negroes, with a full program of activities, embracing club work, handicraft, personal guidance and family rehabilitation with a religious emphasis under-girding each phase of the program.

INSTRUCTIVE VISITING NURSE ASSOCIATION—
CITY NURSING SERVICE

Administration Office:

223 South Cherry Street	**Tel. MI 8-5808**

Neighborhood Centers:

221 South Cherry Street	**Tel. MI 3-2809**
316 North 25th Street	**Tel. MI 4-2970**
2403 West Main Street	**Tel. EL 5-7453**
2916 North Avenue	**Tel. MI 4-1921**
1312 Bainbridge Street	**Tel. BE 2-5658**
Saturday, Sunday, and Holidays	**Tel. MI 8-8353**

In cooperation with the nursing service of the City of Richmond, Department of Public Health, this agency provides a comprehensive program of nursing care of the sick and health teaching. The I.V.N.A. portion of the service provides home care on a part-time basis in any type of illness, both acute and chronic. Nursing service and physical therapy is available during the week from 8:30 to 5:00 p.m. Only very ill patients, and those needing essential treatments are seen on weekends and holidays. Patients able to pay are expected to meet part or all of the cost per visit. The service is available to any resident in Richmond, Henrico County and the northern part of Chesterfield County. Maternal and well-child clinics are held by the Health Department in each center. Appointments may be made by calling the nearest station.

INTERDENOMINATIONAL RELIGIOUS WORK FOUNDATION, INC.
1619 Monument Avenue **Tel. MI 8-1740**

Sponsored by the Churches of Virginia since 1920 this Foundation provides Chaplains and Religious Workers for Virginia State Institutions. The Executive Secretary is the Director of Religious Work in State Institutions.

JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER
5401 Monument Avenue **Tel. AT 8-6091**

The center strives for the enrichment of the individual through family and group activities. Its program is designed to create friendship and mutual understanding by means of activities in which all Richmonders may take part. The center is active the whole year round. It has programs for people of all ages, from pre-school youngsters to elderly persons. Typical examples of these activities are the nursery school, day camp, Grand Group, Health Club, art film series, clubs, classes and intergroup councils.

JEWISH FAMILY SERVICES, INC.
21-A S. Sheppard Street **Tel. EL 8-2359**

Family and children's agency offering social casework and counseling to all Jewish families and individuals in the Richmond area. This includes pre-marital and marital counseling, work with parent-child conflicts, child behavior disorders, help to adolescents, rehabilitation of the physically, emotionally and mentally handicapped, services to the aging and their families, housing, vocational guidance and vocational employment, and adoptions. Occasional temporary emergency financial assistance is provided to enable the individual to become self-supporting. Fees for counseling are established with those persons able to pay in accordance with ability to pay.

The Jewish Family Services also plans education programs for family living and participates in the community for the advancement of social conditions affecting family life.

LITTLE SISTERS OF THE POOR
16 North Harvie Street

This agency cares for men and women who do not have sufficient means to enter a paying institution. Requirements are that they be sixty years of age or over and of sound mind and good character. No distinction is made as to nationality or creed.

MASONIC HOME OF VIRGINIA
Nine Mile Road **Tel. MI 4-7894**

Children's Division

This is a home for children of deceased Master Masons of Virginia Lodges. Children between the ages of five and thirteen years who are without support, whether or not the mother is living, are eligible for admission to the home, subject to regulations.

Adult Division

This is a home for Masons, their wives and widows with Masonic affiliations within the Commonwealth of Virginia. Minimum age, 65 years.

MEDICAL COLLEGE OF VIRGINIA
1200 East Broad Street **Tel. MI 4-9851**

Hospital Division:

Four hospitals and the A. D. Williams Memorial Clinic (Outpatient Department) provide patient care. M.C.V. Hospital, Memorial Hospital, St. Philip Hospital and the Ennion G. Williams Hospital (a joint project with the State Department of Health) provide a total bed capacity of over 1,300. These serve all counties and cities of the State with the majority of patients coming from Richmond and nearby counties. The institution earns a great part of its budget needs from student fees and patient payments. It has, in addition, grants and income from endowment investments. As a state teaching institution, it receives an appropriation for the College Division and for the Hospital Division but does not receive funds for patient care on a non-paying basis. State and local hospitalization funds approved by localities are appropriated for individual patients, and certain agencies such as the Bureau of Crippled Children, Vocational Rehabilitation, and others sponsor individual patients. Care is both staff and private. Financial arrangements for admission are made by the Admitting Departments of the hospitals.

Outpatient Department:

A. D. Williams Memorial Clinic provides medical care for the medically indigent of all races. Service is given at a nominal

charge. The only patients admitted on a free basis are the recipients of public assistance of the City of Richmond. Eligibility for clinic attendance and fee to be paid is determined by the Clinic Admitting Department. Patients may register between the hours of 8:00 and 9:30 in the morning and between 12:00 noon and 1:30 in the afternoon, Monday through Friday.

Social Service Department:

The hospital maintains a Social Service Department and upon referral, social service is available to patients, staff and private, hospital and clinic. The focus is on the psychosocial factors in illness and the social adjustments necessary in medical care. Service to the patient may be handled entirely by the Social Service Department or may be in cooperation with other agencies. Requests for service may be made by physicians, nurses and other hospital personnel, public and private agencies or by the patient, himself.

MEMORIAL FOUNDATION RESIDENCE AND DAY CARE CENTER

1617 Front Street **Tel. MI 8-3040**

The Foundation operates a resident treatment center for girls and boys ages 6 to 11½ who are better able to work out their social and emotional problems while living away from home. It accepts those who show promise and whose problems are such that they can respond to treatment in a small, informal group. It does not accept children with organic psychiatric conditions, those requiring hospitalization or children who need to be placed in a protective institution. These children and their parents receive treatment at Memorial Guidance Clinic. The program and staff of the two agencies are combined but each has its separate board of directors.

The Memorial Foundation Day Care Center provides a program for children who are emotionally disturbed and while they do not require hospitalization and can continue to live in their home, cannot use the usual school facilities and require a more intensive treatment than is available on outpatient basis. The program consists of remedial education, class and group psychotherapy, arts and crafts, and other activities, and psychotherapy for their parents.

MEMORIAL GUIDANCE CLINIC

3001 Fifth Avenue **Tel. MI 3-7318**

The Clinic provides the coordinated services of psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers and pediatricians in the study and treatment of personality and behavior problems of children and their parents. Referrals are from physicians, parents, courts, schools, and agencies in the community. Individual and group psychotherapy, and workshop activities are available, as well as a remedial education program for selected cases. A training program for psychiatrists, psychologists, psychiatric social workers, and nurses is in operation.

MENTAL HEALTH ASSOCIATION OF THE RICHMOND AREA

305 North Vine Street **Tel. EL 8-3642**

The association, in cooperation with the Virginia Association and the National Association for Mental Health, is developing a coordinated citizens movement working toward the improved care and treatment of the mentally ill and the handicapped; improved methods and services in research, prevention, diagnosis and treatment of mental illness and handicaps; and the promotion of mental health.

MOBILE PSYCHIATRIC CLINIC

601 Spring Street **Tel. MI 4-4111, Ext. 5266**

The Clinic operates under the State Department of Mental Hygiene and Hospitals. Its chief function is to conduct thorough examinations of children committed by the State Courts to the State Department of Welfare and Institutions. Referrals are accepted only from the Child Care Bureau and the State's Industrial Training Schools, both of the Division of Youth Services. Coordinated services of a psychiatrist-director, psychologists and psychiatric social worker are utilized in the study and treatment of personality and behavior problems of the children. Consultation and in-training services are also offered to the social workers of the Child Care Bureau and of the training schools. In select cases the social worker of the Clinic confers with families of committed children.

MUSCULAR DYSTROPHY ASSOCIATIONS OF AMERICA, INC.

RICHMOND AREA CHAPTER

6113 Ellis Avenue **Tel. 266-7940**

The Richmond Area Chapter, Muscular Dystrophy Associations of America, Inc., is a non-sectarian, non-profit organization dedicated to foster research, treatment, education and rehabilitation. Through its clinic at Medical College of Virginia and patient service program, all known Muscular Dystrophy victims in the Richmond area are aided and supplied with necessary appliances and services.

NATIONAL FOUNDATION

Richmond-Henrico Chesterfield

Metropolitan Richmond Chapter

211 West Grace Street **Tel. MI 4-0430**

The chapter tries to assure the best treatment available to all infantile paralysis patients. It does this by paying all or part cost of treatments when the family is unable to pay this cost, by providing funds for doctors and nurses to do post-graduate study on polio, and by furnishing iron lungs, hot pack machines, nurses and physical therapists to hospitals for polio care. Nationally, the work consists of research, epidemic aid and training of personnel. The chapter accepts applications for medical and para-medical scholarships.

The FOUNDATION provides funds for research in Rheumatoid Arthritis and certain specific Birth Defects. The local chapter has to date not provided any patient aid in either of these fields. All funds have been used for polio patient aid on the local level, but if funds are available patient aid in birth defects will be considered on its merit. The Patient Aid program in birth defects and arthritis is similar in nature to that used in polio.

THE NATIONAL KIDNEY DISEASE FOUNDATION

VIRGINIA CHAPTER

1023 Horsepen Road **Tel. AT 8-3250**

The Chapter supports an annual research grant and service clinic at the Medical College of Virginia. It maintains a drug bank of free drugs for indigent patients. Drugs for other patients may be purchased through the Chapter at cost. Nationally the work consists of research, drug aid and an annual medical symposium of kidney disease.

NATIONAL MULTIPLE SCLEROSIS SOCIETY

RICHMOND AREA CHAPTER

2309 W. Main Street **Tel. 358-4493**

The primary purpose of the Society and its Richmond Chapter is support of medical research into the cause, treatment, cure and

diagnosis of multiple sclerosis, a crippling disease of the central nervous system affecting young adults. However, while very little is known of MS other than symptoms and the progressively crippling results, the Richmond Chapter has a patient service program for MS families which includes visitation, morale therapy and the lending of mechanical aids. The Chapter also conducts a regular program of education and public information through films, speakers and feature news stories in all media.

PAROLE DISTRICT 1—PROBATION AND PAROLE OFFICE
219 Governor Street, Third Floor **Tel. MI 3-6033**

The office is responsible for the supervision of parolees and probationers in Richmond and Henrico County, and also prepares pre-sentence reports for the three circuit courts in this district. The office is also responsible for all related Parole Board work such as pre-parole reports, home and employment plan, and out-of-state investigations.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH HOME
206 North Thompson Street **Tel. EL 5-7745**

Requirements: Confirmed member of the Episcopal Church; age, 65 years; sex, female; residents of the Diocese of Virginia. Capacity 38.

RECOVERY, INC. (Richmond Branch)
YMCA—2 West Franklin Street
Write c/o Central YMCA, Richmond, Va. **Tel. MI 4-2655**

An association of nervous and former mental patients who use a scientific system of will training originated by Dr. Abraham Low, Psychiatrist, to regain and maintain mental health. Open panel meetings held every Monday night at the Y.M.C.A., 2 West Franklin Street.

RETREAT FOR THE SICK
2621 Grove Avenue **Tel. EL 5-2828**

The Retreat is a non-profit general hospital that provides hospitalization for all classes of people, regardless of creed or color; for those who are financially able to meet all obligations incident to their illness, for those who can pay only part of the cost, and for those who are unable to assume any part of their hospital expenses.

RICHMOND AREA ASSOCIATION FOR RETARDED CHILDREN, INC.
4500 Kensington Avenue, P. O. Box 8586 **Tel. EL 8-1920**

The Richmond Area Association for Retarded Children, Inc. is an organization of parents, professionals and others interested in meeting the needs of the mentally retarded. Its purpose is to encourage the development of diagnostic, educational, vocational, social, recreational and counseling services for the retarded, and to help their families deal successfully with the problems resulting from having a retarded member. A program of public education on the extent and nature of mental retardation is considered basic to achieving these goals.

The RAARC operates the Pre-school Center for retarded children between the ages of three and eight years, and a day and overnight camping program for retarded children of all ages at Camp Baker in Chesterfield County. It also gives regular teenage dances to provide recreation for this age group.

The RAARC serves the Sheltered Workshop for adult retardates at the Richmond Goodwill Industries in an advisory capacity. It also gives financial support to the Consultation & Evaluation Clinic.

The RAARC is a member unit of both the Virginia and the National Associations for Retarded Children and supports research in the field of mental retardation through these organizations.

RICHMOND AREA COMMUNITY COUNCIL
2501 Monument Avenue **Tel. EL 3-9481**

The Council is the central planning body for health, welfare and recreation services in the Richmond area. It is made up of more than 100 health and welfare agencies, civic clubs and other organizations in Richmond, Henrico and Chesterfield. Volunteer and professional representatives of these agencies work together with other citizens to develop and coordinate the health, recreational and welfare programs to meet the needs of the community. The Council tries continuously to raise the level of social work and to help the public undersiand and use the various services. It conducts studies for the United Givers Fund and member agencies of the Council, including departments of government.

Volunteer Service Bureau

Recruits volunteers to fill agency requirements. Coordinates volunteer programs and offers counseling to agencies around the best use of volunteers. Maintains a file of volunteer spot workers for clerical and driving positions. Counsels with individuals and groups seeking volunteer projects. Promotes a community-wide spirit of volunteer service.

Christmas Clearing House

Operates during November and December, maintaining a file of individuals receiving help from agencies in order to reduce duplication. Counsels with individuals and groups seeking Christmas projects.

RICHMOND AREA HEART ASSOCIATION, INC.
109 West Grace Street **Tel. MI 9-0974**

The Richmond Area Heart Association is a chapter of the Virginia Heart Association and the American Heart Association. It sponsors programs of education, research, and community service in cardiovascular disease in Richmond City, Henrico and Chesterfield Counties. Services offered include educational programs and materials on heart disease and rheumatic fever, in-service training for professional groups, and information regarding the latest scientific findings in relation to cardiovascular disease. A Cardiac Work Evaluation Unit is sponsored at the Medical College of Virginia where the work capacity of indigent and medically indigent patients is evaluated when the patient is referred by a physician.

RICHMOND AREA SAFETY COUNCIL
2501 Monument Avenue **Tel. EL 3-8266**

The Council seeks to conserve the human and material resources of the city and to eliminate the distress, sorrow and poverty which frequently follow accidents. It carries on educational work in the schools. It conducts contests among industrial plants and fleets of commercial vehicles in Richmond. Safety certificates are awarded to those who complete a year without an accident—or with the lowest frequency of accidents—in the group to which they are assigned. The Council tries to reduce accidents on the streets, and highways, in industries, in homes and in the schools.

THE RICHMOND AREA TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION
The Mosque—Room 204 **Tel. 648-4493**

The association provides a program to assist in the discovery, cure and rehabilitation of persons with tuberculosis. Its program is carried on through health education, case finding, and patient services in cooperation with the City Health Department in X-ray surveys and medical research at the Medical College of Virginia with supplementation of research on the national level. It provides scholarships for teachers and public health nurses, and gives financial assistance to the rehabilitation program for tuberculous patients.

This agency serves the counties of Henrico, Charles City and New Kent and the City of Richmond.

RICHMOND BUREAU OF POLICE—JUVENILE DIVISION
Mosque Building, Laurel and Main Streets
Tel. MI 3-8381, Ext. 20 or 21

This division handles all persons under the age of 18 that get into difficulty with the law. All complaints against juveniles are received and investigated by its officers. This division investigates all missing persons and complaints of adults molesting children or committing crimes with or against them. The division also registers bicycles, investigates bicycle thefts, shoe shine license and keeps records on all juveniles coming to the attention of the police. Members of the Juvenile Division work very closely with the Juvenile Court in their dealings with youngsters under 18 years of age.

RICHMOND CEREBRAL PALSY CENTER
1308 Sherwood Avenue **Tel. 355-6558**

The local chapter of United Cerebral Palsy operates the Richmond Cerebral Palsy Center where more than 70 children between the ages of 2 and 20 are under active daily care and treatment, and also finances a screening clinic for these and 50 other cerebral palsied of the Richmond area. This clinic is under the direction of an orthopedic surgeon and pediatrician and they, in consultation with trained therapists, diagnose and prescribe the daily treatment plan for each individual. Nationally the work consists of research, education and training.

THE RICHMOND CHAPTER OF THE VIRGINIA LEAGUE FOR PLANNED PARENTHOOD, INC.
110 East Franklin Street **Tel. MI 4-5960**

Organized in 1954 to help educate the community and assist with the clinic and referral services for those persons interested in family planning. Other functions of the Chapter include educating the public on the family aspects of marriage and the effects of population changes. The local chapter works closely with the Public Health Department, private physicians, ministers and local organizations. It also furnishes speakers to interested groups and distributes free literature. Further information about this program and its services may be secured from the office.

RICHMOND CHILD CARE CENTERS, INC.
c/o Mrs. John H. Cecil, Jr.
1208 Rothesay Road **Tel. EL 9-1517**

The purpose of the Richmond Child Care Centers, Inc. is to establish, maintain and operate on a non-profit basis self-supporting day care centers for children of school age in the city of Richmond. At present, there are three centers, located at Baker, Lee and Maury

Schools. The children are supervised from 7:00 A.M. until 5:30 P.M., Monday through Friday. The Lee and Maury Centers are open throughout the summer.

RICHMOND CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY
1820 Monument Avenue **Tel. EL 5-6511**

The society seeks to meet physical, emotional and social needs of white children from birth to twenty-one years of age on a non-sectarian basis in a program especially geared to the hard-to-reach, hard-to-place child, of the geographical area covered in general by the local United Givers Fund. It offers casework services through individual and/or group counselling for children and parents in behalf of children in their own homes; referral services in long-term planning; casework counselling services for the unmarried mother of an infant pending her decision for or against adoption, and this may include temporary foster care for her baby; group programs for pre-delinquent and delinquent in their own communities; temporary foster care in an agency-supervised foster home for the child for whom temporary separation from his home is, with casework help, a therapeutic process to both the child and the parents in working out difficulties in their relationship with one another and for the child during a family crisis; long-term care in an agency-supervised foster home for the child who is not adoptable because of the child's age or handicap or because of the parent's continuing importance in the child's life, though the parent is handicapped in giving daily care by some physical or emotional disability; participation in community planning; field work placement for social work students; research.

RICHMOND COMMUNITY HOSPITAL
1219 Overbrook Road **Tel. EL 5-5767**

This is a general hospital offering medical, surgical and obstetrical services. It does not accept patients with contagious diseases.

THE RICHMOND COUNCIL ON ALCOHOLISM, INC.
205 Eskimo Building
530 E. Main Street **Tel. MI 8-3451**

A non-profit voluntary community health agency concerned with the prevention of alcoholism and the rehabilitation of the problem drinker. It is neither "Wet nor Dry." Provides free and confidential counseling for friends, family, employer, as well as the problem drinker. Also provides speakers for concerned groups. Consultation by appointment only.

RICHMOND DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH
11th and Broad Streets **Tel. MI 4-7611**

The department seeks to protect and promote community health and to reduce sickness and death. This is accomplished through disease control programs, public health nursing service, analysis of vital statistics, health education, clinic service, laboratory services, and medical care of indigent sick persons, including hospitalization, home medical care and out-patient clinic services. Service programs include acute communicable disease control, tuberculosis and venereal disease control, maternal and child health, and sanitation activities (food, meat, milk, housing, general community sanitation and plumbing inspection). The public health nursing service is available to all families. These nurses give direct service to families either in the home or clinic.

Bureau of Medical Aid **Tel. MI 4-7611**

This is the administrative organization through which the Department of Public Health furnishes medical aid to indigent and medi-

cally indigent residents of the city. The medical aid program includes: (a) hospitalization, (b) home medical care, (c) outpatient medical clinic services, and (d) public health social work.

Home Medical Care Program
City of Richmond Department of Public Health and
Medical College of Virginia **Tel. MI 4-9851, Ext. 377 and 255**

The Home Care Program provides medical, nursing and social work services to indigent and medically indigent residents whose illness or condition can be safely and effectively treated in their own homes. Through the Home Care Program arrangements are made for ancillary services such as visiting housekeeper, prescriptions, loan of sick-room equipment, and outpatient clinic services.

Dental Clinic **Tel. MI 4-7611, Ext. 571**

This clinic provides emergency and routine dental care to welfare clients and medically indigent residents who have been certified by the Bureau of Medical Aid.

Clinic—Outpatient Medical Clinic **Tel. MI 4-7611, Ext. 571**

An outpatient medical clinic for adults and children is operated during the evening hours at the A. D. Williams Clinic Building of the Medical College of Virginia. Attendance is limited to welfare clients and medically indigent residents of the city. A registration fee is charged for each visit according to the patient's ability to pay.

Hospitalization **Tel. MI 4-7611, Ext. 571**

The Department authorizes payment for hospitalization of eligible residents of the city. This service is provided through contract arrangements with the Medical College of Virginia.

Immunization Clinic
108 West Cary Street

Registration Hours: 1:00-4:00—Tuesday and Thursday
For indigent residents of the City 3 years of age or above. Other residents may attend the clinic on referral of a private physician. The clinic provides immunization against diptheria, whooping cough, tetanus, polio, smallpox, typhoid fever, cholera, and yellow fever.

Chest Clinic
108 West Cary Street

Registration Hours: 9:00-11:30—Monday Through Thursday
Friday—9:00-12:00 and 1:00-4:00.

The clinic sessions on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday are for patients who are under the supervision of the chest clinic, contacts of known tuberculosis patients, and people whose doctors have referred them to the clinic for a 14" x 17" chest x-ray. Pre-employment x-rays, x-rays for food establishment employees, and screening x-rays are offered on Friday.

Screening films are free, but a charge of $3 for the 14" x 17" x-ray is made to those who are able to pay.

Work Permit Clinic **Tel. MI 4-7681, Ext. 53 or 57**
809 E. Marshall Street
Wythe Building

Registration Hours: 1:00—on Wednesday

This clinic gives a general physical examination to children under 18 years of age who desire to work in the city. Examinations include checking vision, teeth, and the general health.

Maternity Clinics

City of Richmond Department of Public Health and I.V.N.A.

North—2916 North Avenue

Attendance by appointment. Call MI 4-1921

South—1312 Bainbridge Street

Attendance by appointment. Call BE 2-5658

East—316 North 25th Street

Attendance by appointment. Call MI 4-2979

West—2403 West Main Street

Attendance by appointment. Call EL 5-7453

Central—221 South Cherry Street

Attendance by appointment. Call MI 3-2809

These clinics serve indigent and medically indigent residents of the city who live in the clinic area. Patients receive a complete examination, including blood test, urinalysis, RH factor and hemoglobin test. They receive regular pre-natal supervision, instructions in personal hygiene, diet, general care and infant care. Iron, calcium and vitamin K is given to patients who are unable to obtain them from other sources. Patients receive an examination after the child is born and follow-up for six months. Advice on contraception is given if desired. No registration fee is charged.

Well-Child Clinics

City of Richmond Department of Public Health and I.V.N.A.

North—2916 North Avenue

Attendance by appointment. Call MI 4-1921

South—1312 Bainbridge Street

Attendance by appointment. Call BE 2-5658

East—316 North 25th Street

Attendance by appointment. Call MI 4-2979

West—2403 West Main Street

Attendance by appointment. Call EL 5-7453

Central—221 South Cherry Street

Attendance by appointment. Call MI 3-2809

These clinics are for indigent and medically indigent Richmond residents under the age of 3 years and for others who are referred by a physician in private practice. The primary objective of the clinics is to "keep well babies well." Sick children are referred to private physicians or to Medical College of Virginia Clinics. In the well-child clinics, children get monthly examinations. Mothers are given instructions in infant hygiene, formula, diet and general care. Children are immunized against diptheria, whooping cough, tetanus, polio, and smallpox. No registration fee is charged.

Public Health Nursing Division

North—2916 North Avenue	**Tel. MI 4-9121**
South—1312 Bainbridge Street	**Tel. BE 2-5658**
East—316 North 25th Street	**Tel. MI 4-2979**
West—2403 West Main Street	**Tel. EL 5-7453**
Central—221 South Cherry Street	**Tel. MI 3-2809**

Public Health nurses of the City of Richmond Department of Public Health provide a health teaching service for all residents of the city. Nurses advise expectant mothers, and new mothers, demonstrate proper methods of caring for a newborn in the home, help families plan for the care of a patient in the home (i.e. rheumatic fever, tuberculosis, physically handicapped, etc.) and refer families

to sources of medical care. Nurses also offer consultation and advise on health matters to foster parents, teachers in private and parochial schools, and nursing home operators. The public Health Nursing Division conducts a generalized nursing program in cooperation with the I.V.N.A. (See I.V.N.A.)

RICHMOND DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

1002 East Broad Street **Tel. MI 4-7611, Ext. 295**

The department is responsible for public assistance for the needy, the operation of the Richmond Nursing Home, and the granting of permits for the solicitation of funds for charitable and religious purposes.

Social Service Bureau

1002 East Broad Street **Tel. MI 4-7611**

The Bureau administers the public assistance program of Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind, Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled, and General Relief. The Bureau also provides hospitalization for patients in the first four categories. As of Jan. 1, 1964, it will operate a limited program of hospitalization for those aged with income above public assistance standards but not sufficient to pay the cost of hospitalization. It also offers foster care of children; supervision of children in their own homes or in the homes of relatives; protective service for children reported to be neglected or abused by their parents; services to resident unmarried mothers; and adoptive placement of babies and older children.

Richmond Nursing Home

210 Hospital Street **Tel. MI 4-7611, Ext. 755**

The department maintains and operates this agency as a licensed nursing home for the medically indigent citizens. It serves as an intermediate institution between the general hospital and the home for the patient who does not require the degree of medical services available in the general hospital but does require technical medical and nursing procedures beyond those which are available in the average home or Nursing Home.

RICHMOND DEPARTMENT OF RECREATION AND PARKS

The Mosque **Tel. MI 4-7611**

The department seeks to furnish facilities and programs to meet recreational needs of the people of Richmond. Among the facilities are 37 playgrounds, 24 community centers, 22 athletic fields, 18 parks, City Stadium, Dogwood Dell Amphitheatre, the Carillon, Thalhimer-Virginia Wildlife Exhibit, 5 park houses, 19 gymnasiums, 2 museums, and 7 picnic areas. Programs at those places include games, folk dances, storytelling, handcraft, social recreation, sports, drama, music, annual celebrations and community events. Other property maintained by the department includes 200,000 street trees, 14 monuments, 9 public squares and 7 cemeteries.

RICHMOND GOODWILL INDUSTRIES

7 South Fourteenth Street **Tel. MI 3-6674, MI 4-8435**

Helps the handicapped to help themselves by providing them with a "Chance, rather than Charity." Goodwill Industries provide work for the handicapped in two major departments.

In one department, salvage is collected from homes and reconditioned, making items usable again by those in the lower income bracket who can buy these reconditioned articles at a moderate price. (Cash wages are paid to the workers from the sales of these articles in Goodwill stores. These workers are

covered with Group Insurance and are also building up Social Security benefits for their future.)

The second department serves retarded people. These handicapped persons work on contracts obtained from industry. Their work includes assembling projects; stuffing envelopes for mailing; making novelties, gluing and pasting operations; and machine sewing, and the like. (These work on a cash piece-work basis and earn as they learn and become skilled.) All Goodwill activities are directed toward making clients skilled in doing worthwhile work that will benefit them and perhaps lead to a niche for them somewhere in the commercial field.

RICHMOND HOME FOR BOYS

8714 West Broad Street **Tel. AT 2-5529**

This agency provides a home for dependent white boys from all over the state of Virginia. Boys are admitted between the ages of 6 and 16. Length of stay in the home depends upon individual circumstances.

RICHMOND HOME FOR LADIES

2620 Stuart Avenue **Tel. EL 5-0452**

A home for elderly women of the Presbyterian and Methodist faith.

RICHMOND JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL

5403 Monument Avenue **Tel. AT 8-6031**

This council budgets and does deficit financing for the Beth Sholom Home of Virginia, the Jewish Community Center and the Jewish Family Services. It conducts an annual campaign for approximately 40 Jewish beneficiary agencies, local, national and overseas. It is responsible for community planning for welfare services, public relations and other secular activities of special interest to the Jewish population.

RICHMOND JUVENILE AND DOMESTIC RELATIONS COURT

1115 East Clay Street **Tel. MI 4-7611, Ext. 555**

This court, through its probation and detention departments, tries to see that children under 18 years of age coming to its attention receive a chance to develop in a normal, wholesome manner. The court has authority to deal with adults who neglect or contribute to delinquency of a child. It has general jurisdiction in domestic relations cases. Besides offering probation and detention services, the court uses community resources to handle problems that have medical and psychiatric implications. Detention service is offered children who are apprehended by police, who are beyond control of their parents, or who would be a menace to themselves or others. Complaints should be filed with the Intake Division of the court.

RICHMOND MEMORIAL HOSPITAL

1300 Westwood Avenue **Tel. EL 9-6961**

The Richmond Memorial operates as a non-profit, general, community hospital built by the community for the community. This Hospital accepted patients in January, 1957, and has an open staff with a complement of 380.

RICHMOND NUTRITION COUNCIL

Co-Chairmen:

Dr. Sidney S. Negus, MCV **Tel. MI 4-9851, Ext. 453**

Miss Margaret Fitzhugh **Tel. MI 4-7681, Ext. 37**

An organization devoted to good nutrition teaching. Coordinates work of other nutrition organizations. Consists of small group of

dietitians and nutritionists available for talks and panels. Gives nutrition information to parents and children at pre-registration in city schools. Conducts special projects as exhibits at Health Fairs. Cooperates with State Nutrition Committee and other allied groups on such problems as weight control, teenage nutrition and food fads.

RICHMOND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Medical Department

809 E. Marshall Street **Tel. MI 4-6781, Ext. 45**

The Medical Department through health education; physical examinations; home visits; and conferences with parents, school personnel, and community agencies attempts to see that every child in the school system is given an opportunity to develop as far as possible physically, mentally, emotionally, and socially, so that he will be equipped to give and get as much happiness and satisfaction out of life as possible.

School Attendance Department (Visiting Teachers)

809 E. Marshall Street **Tel. MI 4-7681, Ext. 27**

The School Attendance Department is responsible for seeing that every child who is educable in the normal school program or in a specialized one is given an opportunity of attending school. The agency is concerned with those school children and their respective families where problems interfere with wholesome development of boys and girls educationally, socially, and emotionally. It is no longer only an agency of referral, but offers a casework service of its own within the school setting for those children who come within its jurisdiction.

Special Education Department

312 North 9th Street **Tel. MI 4-7681**

The Special Education Department is responsible for providing the additional or modified educational services needed by pupils who deviate mentally, physically, or emotionally to the degree that they are unable to attain their maximum educational development under the regular school program.

Services are provided for partially sighted, hard-of-hearing, speech defective, homebound, orthopedically handicapped, brain injured, mentally retarded educable, mentally retarded trainable, emotionally disturbed, educationally retarded, and socially maladjusted pupils. In addition to this, two teachers are provided by the Richmond Public Schools to work with children in the Detention Home.

Department of Guidance and Psychological Services

809 E. Marshall Street **Tel. MI 4-7681, Ext. 31**

Psychological staff provides individual examinations and counseling for children enrolled or seeking enrollment in the Richmond Public Schools. Referrals handled most frequently are for children with problems involving learning difficulties, mental retardation, emotional and social problems, physical defects wherein psychological evaluation is desirable, and vocational guidance. Staff assistance is available for groups promoting preventive mental health and related child study in the school and community. The Department coordinates the work of school counselors and promotes better techniques for studying children in the schools. Informational and counseling services are provided in regard to occupations, colleges, trade schools, special schools, and scholarship programs. Work permits are issued in accordance with the requirements of the Virginia Child Labor Laws, and consultation is offered in regard to employment placement.

RICHMOND REDEVELOPMENT AND HOUSING AUTHORITY

901 Chamberlayne Parkway **Tel. MI 3-3551**

Under powers granted by the General Assembly of Virginia and activated by the Council of the City of Richmond, the Authority

functions as the official slum clearance agency of the City. Its responsibilities include analyzing conditions in slums and blighted areas recommending proposals for their improvement; the planning, development and operation of low-rent housing projects and the securing of financial assistance for carrying out programs of urban redevelopment and renewal. The Authority operates seven housing projects comprising 2,885 dwelling units for low-income families and coordinates relocation activities involving persons displaced by public action in the City. The Authority currently is planning one urban redevelopment project, the Downtown Redevelopment Project, and is carrying out two projects, the Carver and 17th Street Redevelopment Projects. The Authority, with the various departments and agencies of the City of Richmond, is preparing a Community Renewal Program, which will constitute a long-range program of urban renewal action covering the entire city and involving all possible public and private resources.

RICHMOND URBAN LEAGUE
12 West Leigh Street **Tel. MI 3-7343**

The Richmond Urban League is an interracial, planning, coordinating and interpreting agency which seeks to develop welfare programs in those areas where there is need. The budget is met by public contributions solicited during an annual financial campaign.

ROTARY BOYS CLUB
316 S. Linden Street **Tel. MI 4-7726**

The Club operates a playground and gym for boys between 8 and 16 years of age. The emphasis is on athletics, including baseball, football, and basketball. In addition the Club provides field trips and some social events.

ST. GERARD'S MATERNITY HOME
2511 Wise Street **Tel. BE 3-6061**

St. Gerard's Maternity Home offers spiritual, psychological, medical and social services to Negro unwed mothers. Its primary objective is to help the individual establish a new set of values and to form a better adjusted and socially accepted individual. It is required that all clients applying for its services be sponsored by a public or private social agency and that the sponsoring agency plan for the client and her baby. Pre-natal care is given at St. Gerard's and deliveries are arranged at a local hospital.

ST. JOSEPH'S VILLA
Washington Highway
Richmond 27, Virginia **Tel. CO 6-2447**

St. Joseph's Villa cares for dependent and neglected Catholic children of the Diocese of Richmond. Girls are admitted from the age of six through High School; boys are admitted from the age of six to ten.

THE SALVATION ARMY
2 West Grace Street **Tel. MI 8-8341**

The traditional Community Program of The Salvation Army is carried on at two Centers in Richmond—the **Dunstan Citadel, 418 West 12th Street**—Telephone BE 2-9346 and the **Lighthouse Corps, 19 Maiden Lane**—Telephone EL 3-1769. At these two Centers, a weekday and evening program is carried on in group work for youth and adults. Sunday Schools and Religious Services are conducted on Sunday. Street Services are carried on from these Centers. The Staff conducts home visitation for family counseling

and spiritual guidance. Organized recreation and group classes of seasonal interests are carried on throughout the year.

Camping and Institute Programs are conducted during the summer months. Activities range from Music School, Youth Leadership Training, Scouting Camps for girls, "Fresh Air Camps," with a recreational centered program for boys and girls.

The Red Shield Boys' Club, 719 North 25th Street—Telephone MI 4-3654 has membership in the Boys' Clubs of America, operates a year around program for Negro boys, with a gymnasium, playground, group work, arts and crafts, summer outings, under full time leadership.

Welfare Department—The Salvation Army provides meals and overnight care for transient men. Additional care is given to those with a particular need, with casework services provided by professionally qualified Social Workers.

A Community-Wide Christmas Program is operated by the Agency. Families are referred by public and private individuals. Christmas dinners are provided by means of a grocery order, toys are given to the children of the families; Christmas remembrances are given to the shut-ins, as well as parties and gifts for the youth groups.

Disaster Services are provided by The Salvation Army. Lodging and food service is provided for workers and victims; visitation of the injured and bereaved, clothing, bedding and furniture is provided for emergency needs.

Institutional Visitation—Continual year around visitation of public and private institutions is carried on by Salvation Army workers. Included in this service are the City and County jail, Veterans' Hospital, Sheltering Arms Hospital, Home for Confederate Women, Home For Incurables and Nursing Homes.

Men's Social Service Department, 506 East Leigh Street—Telephone MI 4-4086—provides a Rehabilitation program for physically, morally and psychologically handicapped men, through spiritual counseling and work therapy. This Department has Residence accommodations for 75 men; a complete salvage program, with shops for paper shredding and baling; radio and appliance repair work; upholstery shop, furniture and toys are repaired; paint and work shops.

There are 10 trucks operating throughout the Richmond area and 5 Thrift Stores. This work is entirely self-supporting from the Salvage Program.

SETON HOUSE

7700 Washington Highway **Tel. 266-7631**

Seton House is a Maternity Home for white unwed mothers and offers a protective setting and security, pre-natal care, spiritual guidance, casework service, and an educational program.

It is required that applicants be referred by a public or private agency, and that the sponsoring agency assume major casework responsibility and plan for the baby. Patients are delivered at a local hospital and return to Seton House for post-partum care.

SENIOR CENTER

909 West Franklin Street **Tel. EL 3-6256**

A day center for men and women over fifty. Recreational activities include dancing, cards, trips and parties. Classes are offered in arts and crafts. Special interest groups include singing, band, poetry and drama clubs. The Center also offers opportunities in community service for nursing homes and other local agencies. Open Monday through Friday 10:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Lunch is served at a nominal price.

SHELTERING ARMS HOSPITAL

1008 East Clay Street **Tel. MI 3-1853**

Sheltering Arms is an open staff general hospital which offers care to white Virginia residents with curable diseases who are medically indigent. An average of 140 doctors a year give all services to patients free of charge. It is Virginia's only free general hospital.

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

BUREAU OF OLD AGE, SURVIVORS, & DISABILITY INSURANCE
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE

609 East Main Street **Tel. MI 9-1265**

This agency administers, in Richmond and 20 surrounding counties, the old age, survivors, and disability insurance program established by the social security act. When a worker, who has been employed in work covered by social security, attains age 62, becomes disabled, or dies, inquiry should be made at the above office as to possible entitlement to benefits.

SOUTH RICHMOND BAPTIST CENTER

925 Bainbridge Street **Tel. BE 2-3155**

A community agency with a full program of activities, embracing club work, handcraft, personal guidance, and family rehabilitation with a religious emphasis under-girding each phase of the program.

SOUTHSIDE DAY NURSERY

1420 McDonough Street **Tel. BE 2-7142**

The nursery offers day time care to white children of pre-school age (3 to 6). A child is accepted on basis of mother's need for work and child's need for care. Services include health inspection, arts, crafts, story-telling, music with singing, nursery rhymes, rest periods, hot lunch, morning and afternoon snacks, playground activities and occasional supervised trips to places of interest and amusement. Application should be made at the nursery.

TRAVELERS AID SOCIETY

12 North 8th Street **Tel. MI 3-0279**

Trailways Bus Terminal, 9th and Broad Streets

Tel. MI 8-1767

Travelers Aid is a nation-wide organized service for travelers and newcomers who need information, counsel, material aid, protection, or travel service. It is primarily social casework and includes any traveler who presents a social problem or is in any difficulty.

UNITED GIVERS FUND OF RICHMOND,
Henrico and Chesterfield, Inc.

2501 Monument Avenue **Tel. EL 3-9481**

The United Givers Fund is people helping people . . . and doing it the cheapest, most effective and efficient way they know how.

A federation of over 40 private health, welfare and recreation agencies, it is the Richmond area's answer to the nuisance and the extravagance of multiple fund-raising drives.

Through one U.G.F. campaign conducted in the fall for all the agencies, rather than through many separate appeals by them,

costs are cut, the time of volunteers and the agencies' staffs are saved, and funds are allocated more efficiently . . . on the basis of comparative community need rather than service "appeal" alone.

A 120-member Board of Governors is elected at an annual meeting by givers. (Every person who makes a contribution to UGF may attend the annual meeting and is entitled to vote.) This volunteer Board and its committees set policies, study and act on agency budget requests, and conduct the affairs of the organization.

Membership in the Fund is open to well-managed agencies meeting real community needs and willing to cooperate with other agencies to better serve the people of the Richmond area.

Generally, over 75% of all campaign funds raised for operating private local health and welfare agencies are raised through the one United Givers Fund campaign.

U. S. DISTRICT COURT FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA
PROBATION DEPARTMENT
Post Office Building
Tenth and Main Streets **Tel. MI 9-2575**

This unit prepares presentence reports giving life histories of defendants appearing for sentencing. It supervises people on probation, parole and mandatory release who have been convicted of federal offenses and who live in this area. Referrals are made to various social agencies for specialized services.

USO
301 North 8th Street **Tel. MI 3-0155**

The United Service Organization serves as liaison between the nearby military installations and the Richmond community. The USO Club, under the direction of the National Board of the YWCA, furnishes information services regarding the community, hotels and restaurants available, activities and events of interest, facilities for showers, checkroom, games, letter-writing, etc. Special weekend activities planned in the USO Club include dances, hayrides, skating parties, walking tours of historic spots in Richmond, and a wide variety of activities to meet the spiritual, educational, recreational, personal, and social needs of service personnel and their families. Trained USO Junior and Senior Volunteers assist with the planning and activities in the Club, and also serve on-post through attending chaperoned dances three nights a week.

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL
1201 Broad Rock Road **Tel. BE 3-9631**

This is a government hospital for veterans only, operated under Federal laws. Veterans requiring hospitalization with service-connected disabilities are admitted direct. Medical emergencies are similarly admitted. Other veterans requiring hospitalization for non-service-connected disabilities are admitted if a bed is available and if they are not able to afford private hospitalization. Specific services offered are general medical care (surgery, tuberculosis, X-ray, dental); physical medicine rehabilitation; neuropsychiatry; care of paraplegics; social service; vocational help and guidance. Out-patient treatment is furnished through the out-patient clinic only to veterans with service-connected disabilities.

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION OFFICE
400 North 8th Street **Tel. 649-3611, Ext. 2508**

This office furnishes veterans and veterans' dependents with information on all benefits to veterans and dependents under

federal laws. The office also assists in making application for these benefits.

VIRGINIA CHAPTER—ARTHRITIS AND RHEUMATISM FOUNDATION
3rd Floor Dooley Hospital, Medical College of Virginia
Tel. MI 3-3331

Works to increase and improve local treatment facilities, to support research on national and state level, and to extend knowledge of arthritis and rheumatic diseases.

In the Richmond area the Chapter provides:

(1) Free hospital beds for needy patients, to make possible a controlled study of arthritis under prolonged hospitalization. (Limited in number.)

(2) Therapeutic equipment given or loaned disabled patients.

(3) Limited help in defraying cost of expensive medicines in indigent cases.

(4) Transportation furnished through volunteer program.

The Chapter furthers education through public forums by leading authorities on arthritis; professional symposiums for physicians; handbooks on osteoarthritis and rheumatoid arthritis for patients; general handbook on home treatment to supplement physicians instructions; wide distribution of pamphlets to general public; technical bulletin mailed free monthly to any physician on request; professional journals mailed leading hospitals and medical schools.

Training is provided through traineeship for post-graduate medical student in arthritis and rheumatic diseases; some under-graduate training in connection with research program.

Research is fostered through contribution to National Arthritis and Rheumatism Foundation, state projects at Medical College of Virginia.

VIRGINIA COMMISSION FOR THE VISUALLY HANDICAPPED
3003 Parkwood Avenue **Tel. MI 4-4111, Ext. 6356**

Any person having 20/200 vision or less in the better eye after correction is eligible for the following services: Workshop and Rehabilitation Service, Sight-Saving Classes, Prevention of Blindness, Home teaching and Home Work, Administration of Aid to the Blind, Distribution of Talking book machines, operation of braille and talking book library for Virginia-Maryland, placement of the blind in vending stands and snack bars in federal buildings, and such services as the individual case may warrant.

Referrals for service can be made by any agency or individual interested in the blind.

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE
100 East Franklin Street **Tel. MI 9-0323**

The Virginia Council on Health and Medical Care is a private non-profit public service organization. Serving as a clearinghouse on health and medical care programs and problems, its purpose is to strengthen the overall health program of Virginia through the promotion of better coordination, communication and cooperation among those concerned to insure that resources are used as efficiently as possible and that unmet needs are uncovered and overcome.

Current Council programs include: **The Physician Referral Service:** A program which brings communities in need of physicians together with physicians who are looking for locations. **The Dental Referral**

Service: A program which brings communities in need of dentists together with dentists who are looking for locations. **The Health Careers Program:** A program designed to help young people in Virginia schools select a career-emphasizing the opportunities available in the field of health in an effort to meet the medical manpower shortage both current and foreseen. **Nutrition Forums:** A series of programs to improve nutritional habits which are the foundation of good health. **The Nemours Foundation Program:** Financial assistance is given through the Virginia Council to Statewide groups by underwriting the cost of nationally prominent speakers for parts of their conferences which deal with some phase of the handicapped child. This provides inspiration and encouragement, and affords an opportunity for keeping the lines of communication open between all those who work with handicapped children. **Public Opinion Reports:** A series of reports to keep Virginians informed on health needs, encouraging them to act to overcome them.

The Council's work is not limited to the above. Any demonstrated need in the field of health and medical care concerns the Virginia Council.

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON SOCIAL WELFARE

311 South Boulevard **Tel. EL 5-5203**

The council is a state-wide agency, composed of lay and professional people concerned with social planning and interpretation of needs in the fields of health, welfare and recreation. It is organized into 13 districts, with headquarters in Richmond. Through its headquarters, the council endeavors to serve as a clearing house on activities of other state-wide social organizations. It provides speakers and information for civic groups on social welfare subjects and legislation. It also conducts committee studies and publishes timely bulletins and reports.

VIRGINIA CRAFT GUILD

311 South Boulevard **Tel. EL 5-3295**

The Guild seeks to aid the severely disabled in a homebound program of craft production and sales. Sales outlets are maintained at its address and in various shops in Virginia. It is co-sponsored by Virginia Rehabilitation Service, Commission for the Blind, Heart Association, Society for Crippled Children and Adults, and Virginia Tuberculosis Association.

VIRGINIA DIOCESAN HOME

1621 Grove Avenue **Tel. EL 3-3128**

A Home for men, women and couples 65 and over who are members of the Episcopal Church within the Diocese of Virginia. Not limited to Episcopalians, but they are given preference. Residents must be of sound mind and in good physical condition.

VIRGINIA EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION

Administrative Office

Broad-Grace Arcade **Tel. MI 4-4111**

Local Office

620 East Main Street **Tel. MI 9-1231**

The Virginia Employment Commission operates the Virginia State Employment Service and the state's unemployment compensation program. The office serving the Richmond area is located at 620 East Main Street. Unemployed workers may be eligible for from $10 to $32 a week from 8 to 20 weeks, the amount depending on their prior earnings. To qualify, however, the worker must have earned at least $300 during a specified 12-month period while he was employed in a place covered by the law. He must also have been deprived of his job through no fault of his own and he

must be able and available to work. Persons seeking work may use the employment service facilities consisting of employment counseling, testing, and placement without cost. These facilities are also free to employers. The object of the service is to fill job openings with the best qualified applicants available and to obtain and dispense labor market information through the media of newspapers, radio, television, and letters in such a manner that the welfare of the community may be advanced.

VIRGINIA HOME FOR INCURABLES
1101 Hampton Street **Tel. EL 9-4093**

The Home is a charitable institution for chronically ill men and women. An applicant must have been a resident of Virginia for at least one year immediately preceding his application. Interested persons should contact the Director of Admissions at The Home.

In addition to routine medical, dental and nursing care, the Home offers physical and occupational therapy. A comprehensive program of recreational activities and religious services is sponsored by volunteer groups.

In as much as The Home is conducted as a charity, its funds are limited and in order to meet the "cost of care," it must depend on payments by patients to the extent of their ability to pay, as well as on income from other sources. Patients without private means avail themselves of public welfare benefits.

This 100 bed institution is currently listed with the American Hospital Association.

VIRGINIA METHODIST CHILDREN'S HOME
3900 West Broad Street **Tel. EL 3-4461**

A multi-function agency for Methodist children of Virginia offering mothers' aid, foster home care, adoption, and institutional care.

VIRGINIA SOCIETY FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN AND ADULTS
RICHMOND AREA CHAPTER

The Richmond Area Chapter does case finding and helps individuals but much of its work is done through the Medical College of Virginia. There is no local office. The work is done by volunteers. The Society furnishes motion pictures of Camp Easter Seal, its Summer Rehabilitation Center in Craig County, to various groups. The Camp furnishes recreation and rehabilitation to medically indigent children from eight to sixteen years of age.

VIRGINIA STATE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
BUREAU OF CRIPPLED CHILDREN
Blanton Building **Tel. MI 4-4111, Ext. 2381**

The Bureau administers essentially a medical care program, limited to medically indigent patients. They must be under twenty-one years of age, must be living in the State along with the legal guardian, and must be reasonably rehabilitable.

Services are rendered to children with the following handicaps: orthopedic crippling, deformities requiring plastic surgery, rheumatic fever, operable congenital heart deformities, and seizures.

VIRGINIA STATE DEPARTMENT OF
MENTAL HYGIENE AND HOSPITALS
9 North 12th Street, P. O. Box 1797 **Tel. MI 4-4111**

Provides care and treatment of the mentally ill and mentally deficient through clinics and hospitals located in the various parts

of the State. Provides consultation and supervision to clinics in the Richmond area.

VIRGINIA STATE DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE AND INSTITUTIONS
429 South Belvidere Street **Tel. MI 4-4111**

The State-wide public welfare programs, the institutional program for adult offenders, the care of children committed to the Board of Welfare and Institutions by Juvenile Courts, and the probation and parole system for adults are the four major areas of responsibility of the Department of Welfare and Institutions. Each of these functions is administered through a separate division of the Department. Public Assistance and Services, commonly referred to as Welfare Services, are rendered by local departments of public welfare under the direction of and in consultation with the State Department of Welfare and Institutions.

Child Care Bureau of the Division of Youth Services

The Child Care Bureau of the Division of Youth Services has the responsibility for receiving, studying, and placing all children committed to the State Board of Welfare and Institutions. In addition the Bureau operates a State Boarding Home Program for a select number of committed children.

Bureau of Children's Services of the Division of General Welfare

In addition to the general consultation to the local departments of public welfare in their child welfare work, the Bureau of Children's Services prepares reports for the courts in adoption cases; handles correspondence and authorizations regarding the interstate placement of children; and administers the licensing statutes with respect to child welfare agencies—(1) agencies which place children in foster homes, including adoptive homes; (2) institutions and family homes which provide full-time care for children away from their parents; and (3) foster family homes and agencies which provide day care for children away from their parents.

Bureau of Hospitalization and Homes for Adults of the Division of General Welfare

The duties of the Bureau of Hospitalization and Homes for Adults include responsibility for the licensure of homes for the aged. A "home for the aged" is defined as "any place, establishment or institution, public or private, operated or maintained for the maintenance or care of four or more aged, infirm, chronically ill or incapacitated persons, except (1) a facility or portion of a facility licensed by the State Board of Health or the State Hospital Board and (2) the home or residence of an individual who cares for or maintains only persons related to him by blood or marriage."

VIRGINIA TREATMENT CENTER FOR CHILDREN
515 N. 10th Street
(P. O. Box 1797) **Tel. MI 4-4111, Ext. 7101, 7102**

A children's psychiatric hospital, the Center is a function of the Department of Mental Hygiene and Hospitals with coordinated programs with the Medical College of Virginia. Services include a child adolescent study unit (of which the out-patient clinic is a part), an in-patient program for 40 children, and a day-care program. Children in the in-patient program are limited to six to sixteen years of age. Children and adolescents up to 18 and 19 years of age are seen in the out-patient clinic. Children are accepted from any part of the State. Fees are charged on a sliding scale according to the ability of the family to pay. The program is short term, no child being kept beyond a period of three months without the Commissioner's approval. In appropriate instances, hospitalization can be extended up to but not beyond one year.

The staff consists of many disciplines, including child psychiatry, pediatrics, psychiatric nursing, social work, psychology, teaching, occupational therapy and recreation.

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION SERVICE
(State Department of Education)
201 West Grace Street **Tel. MI 4-2338**

This service offers to handicapped persons a diagnostic examination, vocational guidance and training, placement and follow-up on employment, and referral to the Virginia Employment Commission upon completion of vocational preparation. When not available through other sources, services may include physical repair of static disabilities through hospitalization, medical or surgical treatment, prosthetic appliances, transportation and tools and equipment required in an occupation.

THE VOLUNTEERS OF AMERICA
302 West Cary Street **Tel. MI 4-2371**

The Volunteers of America are always willing and ready to bring help and guidance to those in need. Daily meals are served to children from large families with moderate incomes. Shoes and clothing are supplied for any child when the need arises. Emergency food and fuel orders are filled where there is sickness or monthly allotment is over taxed by other needs. Furniture and household items are given to help get families out of furnished rooms and into better surroundings. The Volunteers provide Day Camp during summer months for children who do not have camp opportunities.

The Volunteers of America now have a new home at 20 West Franklin St. for the men. This building is large enough for the dining room, kitchen and recreation rooms. Our slogan on the wall of this building as you enter, "Your Home Away From Home."

WAR VETERANS CLAIMS DIVISION
(State of Virginia)
203 Governor Street **Tel. MI 4-4111, Ext. 2205**

This division represents veterans of all wars and their dependents in claims against the Federal, State or local governmental agencies. It represents them in such matters as compensation, G. I. Bill benefits, insurance, medical care, pensions, lost or destroyed bonds, veterans' bonus, lost or destroyed discharge certificates, education for war orphans, gratuity pay, headstones and grave markers, military decorations, prisoner-of-war claims, reemployment rights, return of war dead, review of military and naval retirement and review of discharge.

WILLIAM BYRD COMMUNITY HOUSE
224 South Cherry Street **Tel. MI 3-2717**

The community house provides supervised activities for children and adults in the field of informal education and recreation in the neighborhood in which it is located.

WILSON INN
2037 Monument Avenue **Tel. EL 5-6164**

A residence hall for girls. It is owned and operated by the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church and is open to girls of all denominations.

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF METROPOLITAN RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
Metropolitan Offices—12 West Franklin Street
Tel. MI 8-7372

The Richmond YMCA founded in 1854 now has expanded into a Metropolitan Association operating through six active Branches.

The Metropolitan Offices provide administrative supervision plus program and camping services for the entire Association. It includes the business offices for centralized accounting and purchasing.

Camp Weyanoke Branch—2 West Franklin Street Tel. MI 4-2655
Route 2, Box 46, Charles City, Virginia (Summer Address)

This "Y" Camp is operated in Charles City County and serves hundreds of boys each summer as well as many weekend groups during the spring and fall months.

Central Branch—2 West Franklin Street Tel. MI 4-2655

A varied, year-round program is conducted in the modern comprehensive building housing Central Branch. Although a predominantly youth serving agency, Central's activities include services to many groups plus programs for each member of the family.

Leigh Street Branch—212 East Leigh Street Tel. MI 9-0545

This Branch offers an extensive program for the Negro population of the community. Youth and Adult activities are conducted in its building-centered program, and in addition it serves a large youth membership through a decentralized program using facilities in the various parts of the community. The Branch operates the Binga Gym, 1008 St. Paul Street.

The Medical College of Virginia Branch—300 North 12th Street
Tel. MI 4-9851, Ext. 8132

This Branch YMCA serving students has been active for many years, meeting the needs of the students of the Medical College.

South Richmond-Chesterfield Branch—4600 Midlothian Pike
Tel. BE 2-1656

This Branch represents the present YMCA trend to decentralize by taking its program to the community where youths live. It serves South Richmond and Chesterfield County. The Branch possesses a new office trailer and a nine acre building site opposite the George Wythe High School. Its two busses help transport boys to the many program activities.

Tuckahoe Branch—401 Ridge Road Tel. AT 2-2117

Serving the Tuckahoe District and the far west end of the City and County, the fast growing Tuckahoe Branch YMCA is the youngest, having been organized March 1959. Another example of how the YMCA program with youth can be taken to the community by using a rented office as headquarters. This Branch already has over 50 youth groups organized.

Y.M.C.A. (RAILROAD)
1552 East Main Street Tel. MI 3-0856

The "Y" provides a home for railroad men when they are away from their homes. Services include lodging, bathing facilities, various recreation facilities and religious services. The "Y" also serves many migrant males for night lodging sent to them by many churches, Gospel Lighthouse, Travelers Aid, Salvation Army and Social Service Department of the City of Richmond. Also many organized groups of boys, such as Boy Scouts and Sunday School Classes, use bathing and swimming facilities.

The "Y" serves all boys who come to them free of all charges, three times a week during the winter and every day except Sunday during the summer. These youngsters receive instructions in swimming with life saving instructor furnished by "Y." They also are given parties.

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION
6 N. Fifth Street **Tel. MI 3-6761**

This international organization strives to serve the personal and social needs of all women and girls through group activity. A varied program of informal education and recreation provides satisfying and new experiences that lead to the physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual development of individuals. A Room Registry file is available for employed girls. The Christian purpose of the YWCA emphasizes the American ideals of tolerance, free discussion, and democratic action.

Y.W.C.A., PHYLLIS WHEATLEY BRANCH
207 East Leigh Street **Tel. MI 3-2803**

The YWCA is an organization of women and girls with a Christian purpose. Through the YWCA, members can continuously seek increased self-understanding and opportunities to share with others the riches of experience and faith. In this process, it seeks to develop community leadership. Services include informal counseling, lodging, room registry, classes, recreation and rooms for community meetings.

New Agencies

RICHMOND AREA PSYCHIATRIC CLINIC

101 South Fifth Street Tel. 643-2827

The Clinic provides psychiatric treatment and diagnostic service preferably to adults in the Richmond, Henrico, and Chesterfield area. Fees are charged on a sliding scale to those in a position to pay. In addition follow-up service is given to discharged and furloughed state hospital patients. Since other facilities in the Richmond area are staffed and equipped expecially for treatment of emotionally disturbed and mentally retarded children, the Clinic's primary function will be service to adult patients.

VIRGINIA SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS
(A Division of the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness)

3401 Hawthorne Avenue Tel. 359-2020

The Society is committed to a total program for preventing blindness through research, service and education.

Publications, posters, films, lectures, charts and advisory service are available upon request. These range from h highly technical works to advice on eyes in connection with sunglasses, television and reading.

The Society is constantly promoting eye safety in industry, school labs and shops, children's play and among the general public.

The Society is now concentrating on Glaucoma and Pre-school screenings: The former to find and refer for treatment the two people in one hundred over 40 who are not aware that they are victims of this disease, which would otherwise be blinding; the latter to detect visual defects which lead to permanent loss of sight if not treated before the age of six. These screenings are in cooperation with local health departments, medical societies, civic organizations and volunteers. The Society trains the volunteers, provides forms and literature, administers and supervises the project, and follows referred cases, records and reports.

The Society is also interested in finding and helping the partially Sighted Child, providing literature and assistance to parents and teachers of all children and scholarships to teachers of the partially sighted.

Telephone Numbers:

Chesterfield-Colonial Heights
Welfare Department SH 8-2211

Henrico County Health Dept. MI 9-1461

Richmond Area Community Council
353-1201

DIRECTORY OF SOCIAL SERVICES
Changes in March 1962 Edition
October, 1963

Pg. 3 BIG BROTHERS OF RICHMOND

precede by UGF, change telephone to 358-8461

BUREAU OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES

change name to CATHOLIC FAMILY AND CHILDRENS SERVICES

Pg. 4 CHESTERFIELD-COLONIAL HEIGHTS WELFARE DEPARTMENT

change telephone to SH 8-2211

CHESTERFIELD COUNTY JUVENILE AND DOMESTIC RELATIONS COURT

change telephone extension to 246

Pg. 6 FAMILY SERVICE SOCIETY

change name to FAMILY AND CHILDRENS SERVICE

Pg. 7 FLYNN CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP HOUSE OF VIRGINIA, INC.

change address for Women to 211 North Vine Street -- change address for Men to 2036 Monument Avenue

Pg. 8 HENRICO COUNTY HEALTH DEPARTMENT

change telephone to MI 9-1461

Pg. 9 INTERDENOMINATIONAL RELIGIOUS WORK FOUNDATION, INC.

change name to CHAPLAIN SERVICE

Pg. 11 MEMORIAL GUIDANCE CLINIC

change telephone to 648-1605

Pg. 11 MENTAL HEALTH ASSOCIATION OF THE RICHMOND AREA

change address to 2501 Monument Ave.

Pg. 12 THE NATIONAL KIDNEY DISEASE FOUNDATION, VIRGINIA CHAPTER

change address to 2501 Monument Ave.
change telephone to 358-9814

Pg. 14 RICHMOND AREA COMMUNITY COUNCIL

change telephone to 353-1201

RICHMOND AREA HEART ASSOCIATION, INC.

change address to 1-D East Grace St.

Pg. 16 RICHMOND CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY

change name to FAMILY AND CHILDRENS SERVICE

Pg. 19 RICHMOND GOODWILL INDUSTRIES

change telephone to 643-6784

Pg. 23 SENIOR CENTER

precede by UGF

Pg. 26 VIRGINIA CHAPTER—ARTHRITIS AND RHEUMATISM FOUNDATION

change address to 2501 Monument Ave.
change telephone to 359-0157

FOR EXTRA COPIES CALL
RICHMOND AREA COMMUNITY COUNCIL
353-1201

SIGMA DELTA CHI NEWS NOTES

A Report from the Atlanta Professional Chapter

Rec'd 6/8/66

JUNE 1966

Plans will be announced later for the big summer outing for members, wives or dates, in lieu of regular July meeting.

* * *

Ed Thomas of Southern Bell, Regional Director for Sigma Delta Chi for six states including Georgia, recently attended the National Sigma Delta Chi Board Meeting in Des Moines. The Board received reports on upcoming national conventions, and Ed reported for Atlanta that plans are underway for the National Convention to be held here at the Marriott Motel, on November 20-23, 1968.

He reported that the Atlanta Chapter's Committee on Interim and Preliminary Planning has already begun to meet and is setting up plans for the organizational structure to handle this convention.

* * *

Al B. Richardson, Vice President of Public Relations for Life of Georgia, has been elected to a three year term on the Executive Committee of the Life Insurers Conference, National Trade Association of Life Companies.

* * *

Lynn R. Westergaard has accepted a position as Public Relations Director of Georgia Municipal Association, leaving Fulton County in the same capacity for the past three years.

* * *

George H. Dockray was given a special plaque by Phi Psi textile fraternity at its recent Founders' Day Banquet in Philadelphia "In recognition of his many contributions to the textile industry as editor of Textile Industries."

* * *

Don Baird, WSB-Radio night news editor, spent two days in Washington attending the State Department's Foreign Policy Briefing for Editors and Broadcasters.

* * *

Tom Oxnard, Jr. is now owner, editor and publisher of The Weekly Star. His wife is associate editor and treasurer. Robert E. Thomas is ad manager.

* * *

Atlanta Professional Chapter
Sigma Delta Chi

OFFICERS:

Reese Cleghorn, *President*
The Atlanta Journal

Dale Clark, *Vice President*
WAGA Television

Curtis Driskell, *Vice President*
Atlanta Chamber of Commerce

John Pennington, *Vice President*
The Atlanta Journal

Harry C. Malone, Jr., *Secretary*
Piedmont Southern Life Insurance Co.

Earl Leonard, Jr., *Assistant Secretary*
The Coca-Cola Co.

David Cleghorn, *Treasurer*
W. R. C. Smith Publishing Co.

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Liller, Neal, Battle and Lindsey

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William I. Ray
The Atlanta Journal & Constitution

Lynn Westergaard
Fulton County

Rhea Eskew
United Press International

M. L. St. John
Lockheed-Georgia Co.

William S. Howland
City of Atlanta

REGIONAL DIRECTOR:

E. G. Thomas
Southern Bell Telephone & Telegraph Co.

-- June 14 Meeting --

LADIES' NIGHT

RALPH McGILL

. . . will be our speaker. You are urged to send your reservations for yourself and your wife or date and guests early. Don't miss this outstanding program!

NOTE NOTE NOTE

If your plans change and you want to cancel or make last minute reservations, please call Mrs. Grace Mitchell, 875-0621. Thanks for your help.

Social Hour	:	6:00 P.M.
Dinner	:	7:00 P.M.

The Atlantan Hotel Roof

MISSISSIPPI REGISTRATION

BY

COUNTY, RACE AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

(AS OF APRIL 30, 1966)

WHITE TOTAL	NEGRO TOTAL
513,855	130,345

DISTRICT I

COUNTY	WHITE REGISTRATION	NEGRO REGISTRATION
1. Attala	573	866
2. Bolivar	5,648	4,049
3. Calhoun	196	60
4. Carroll	3,037	1,036
5. Chicksaw	6,586	507
6. Choctaw	187	159
7. Clay	3,535	1.624
8. Leflore	7,698	6,868
9. Lowndes	9,713	1,260
10. Monroe	594	546
11. Montgomery	4,071	67
12. Oktibbeha	8,393	776
13. Sunflower	8,237	2,059
14. Washington	12,591	4,811
15. Webster	169	90
Totals	71,228	24,778

DISTRICT II

COUNTY	WHITE REGISTRATION	NEGRO REGISTRATION
1. Alcorn	8,469	139
2. Benton	2,371	942
3. Coahoma	7,157	7,553
4. Desota	5,489	1,825
5. Grenada	5,923	715
6. Itawamba	6,229	72
7. Lafayette	4,789	775
8. Lee	10,680	709
9. Marshall	4,706	2,469
10. Panola	6,459	2,186
11. Pontotoc	6,373	243
12. Prentiss	6,751	104
13. Quitman	3,440	1,238
14. Tallahatchie	4,881	917
15. Tate	3,829	900
16. Tippah	5,636	359
17. Tishomingo	5,201	43
18. Tunica	1,433	468
19. Union	6,965	274
20. Yalobusha	3,776	807
Total	110,557	22,738

DISTRICT III

COUNTY	WHITE REGISTRATION	NEGRO REGISTRATION
1. Adams	6,389	5,829
2. Amite	3,793	847
3. Claiborne	1,652	1,937
4. Copiah	8,369	1,407
5. Franklin	3,858	338
6. Hinds	63,848	14,160
7. Jefferson	1,193	3,038
8. Lincoln	367	392
9. Pike	8,668	2,090
10. Walthall	4,250	1,328
11. Warren	12,121	5,116
12. Wilkinson	2,601	597
Totals	117,109	37,079

DISTRICT IV

COUNTY	WHITE REGISTRATION	NEGRO REGISTRATION
1. Clarke	5,283	995
2. Holmes	5,103	4,891
3. Humphreys	2,839	787
4. Issaquena	764	377
5. Jasper	4,609	721
6. Kemper	3,323	352
7. Lauderdale	19,789	5,306
8. Leake	6,349	925
9. Madison	6,322	5,871
10. Neshoba	6,802	904
11. Newton	6,168	1,075
12. Noxubee	7,068	1,461
13. Rankin	12,348	1,503
14. Scott	5,635	664
15. Sharkey	1,746	398
16. Simpson	329	882
17. Smith	232	55
18. Winston	321	1,003
19. Yazoo	7,460	1,051
Totals	102,490	29,221

DISTRICT V

	COUNTY	WHITE REGISTRATION	NEGRO REGISTRATION
1.	Covington	4,269	850
2.	Forrest	14,579	1,459
3.	George	4,584	115
4.	Greene	3,125	225
5.	Hancock	5,519	509
6.	Harrison	17,332	3,482
7.	Jackson	8,917	2,018
8.	Jeff Davis	3,418	1,843
9.	Jones	25,833	2,568
10.	Lamar	6,013	149
11.	Lawrence	64	1,060
12.	Marion	10,772	1,197
13.	Pearl River	599	393
14.	Perry	187	212
15.	Stone	2,459	101
16.	Wayne	4,801	318
	Totals	112,471	16,529

Draft Proposal

ATLANTA HOUSING--
A PROGRAM TO ACHIEVE EQUAL
OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

INDEX

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INTRODUCTION: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ATLANTA NEGRO HOUSING

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EXISTING PATTERNS OF HOUSING SEGREGATION

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SECTION I

INTRODUCTION: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ATLANTA NEGRO HOUSING

SECTION II

EXISTING PATTERNS OF HOUSING SEGREGATION

Atlanta, the key city in the southeast, is one of the twenty-five largest cities in this area and is a city of over one million people in the five-county metropolitan area. Atlanta is outstanding because of its commercial, industrial, educational and natural resources. Atlanta is a city of beautiful homes, busy people and progress. Its ever-changing sky-lines in the downtown area continually reach upward to the heavens with the aid of private, state and federal interests. Its people, who can trace their heritage to every nation in the world, and natively, to every state in the USA, are constantly dealing with problems of conquering inner space, and move at a more rapid pace than those of most cities in the area. These are people who possess positive attitudes toward undertaking more and bigger responsibilities, who enjoy a better racial climate than in most southern cities, and who are constantly struggling to obtain money to pay for expanded services of renewing local communities with little or practically no help from the state government.

Atlanta's over-all attractiveness as a city going places and doing big things, is besmirched by the fact that its residential pattern tends to make it a rigidly segregated city. Its wheels of commerce and industry attract thousands of newcomers annually, many nonwhite, who find shelter in the deteriorating sections where the poor white and nonwhite settle and compete for the occupancy of the left-behind housing that has been vacated by the more affluent white citizens. Atlanta's beauty is defaced and its potential growth hampered by those who deny housing in all kinds of shelter to all of its citizens.

Table I

Number and Percent Distribution of Nonwhite and White Population Living Inside and Outside of City Limits of Atlanta, Ga., 1960

Race	Total	Inside City Limits	Outside city Limits	Percent Inside City Limits
Total	1,017,188	487,455	529,733	47.9
Nonwhite	232,169	186,820	45,349	80.5
White	785,019	300,635	484,384	38.3

The fact that of the 246,545 nonwhite citizens in the metropolitan area, in 1960, about 187,000 live in the city limits of Atlanta, is important only to the extent that it helps keep tab on the "problem." A much more meaningful statistic is the fact that the 187,000 compete feverishly with each other for space in the estimated twnety percent of the developed residential area. The net result of the fierce competition that goes on within the so-called Negro community for living space and for shelter, means that the Negro pays more for dirt and housing in relation to income than does the white Atlantan who can live anywhere in the metropolitan area.

Reason for the high prices
Also high prices
Lower tax base

Table 2

Percent Distribution of Nonwhite and White Population Living Inside and Outside of City Limits, Atlanta, Ga., 1960

Race	Total	Inside City Limits	Outside City Limits
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Nonwhite	22.8	38.3*	8.5
White	77.2	61.7	91.5

The relatively high cost of dirt for nonwhites means less money spent by developers of housing. This fact, in addition to the fact that the nonwhite earns less than the white Atlantan, also means that overcrowded neighborhoods and dwelling units are the brutal realities of Negro life in Atlanta. The census for 1960 showed that of the 57,879 dwelling units occupied by nonwhites, 19,679 or 34 percent had more than one person per room and that only nine percent of the units occupied by whites were as crowded.

* Changes since 1960 show more whites have moved out of the city and the increase in the proportion of city-dwelling Negroes in 1965 was 43% rather than the 38% shown in table I. See section on "Resources for Housing Relocation".

Overt or surreptitious containment of nonwhite citizens to prescribed areas is a major contributing factor to family disorganization, juvenile delinquency and slum neighborhoods. Hence, it is no wonder that the aforementioned social factors plus other factors, such as low incomes and second class schooling, are reasons why nonwhites live in substandard housing units. Containment and isolation of citizens in prescribed areas are the father and mother of distrust, two evil parents whose demise would place Atlanta on the road to greatness.

pernicious segregation

The area bound by Perry Boulevard on the north, Spring Street on the east, Cascade Road on the south and the Chattahoochee River on the west, contains about 88,883 nonwhites, or 47.8 percent of the total 185,816 nonwhites the 1960 Census lists in the city limits of Atlanta. The majority of the city's public housing units is located in this area, while not a single unit of public housing is in the northeast section. Therefore, the location of public housing units becomes the critical issue for determining the extent and amount of desegregation in public housing by city officials.

The median value of nonwhite owner occupied units was $8,500 as compared to $13,150 for whites in 1960. Sixty-three percent of the nonwhite owner units were valued below $10,000. The following table shows the value of nonwhite owner occupied units.

Number, Percent and Median Value of White and Nonwhite Owner Occupied Units in Metropolitan Atlanta, Ga., 1960

	White		Nonwhite	
Value	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	154,054	100.0	18,117	100.0
Less Than $7,500	18,485	12	7,248.00	40
$7,500 - 9,999	24,647	16	4,348,00	24
10,000 - 14,999	55,456	36	4,529,25	25
15,000 - 19,999	27,728	18	1,449,36	8
20,000 - 24,999	12,324	8	362.34	2
25,000 - or More	15,405	10	181,17	1
Median	13,150	-	8,500.00	-

Amount of Rent

The average (median) gross rent paid by nonwhite renters in 1960 was $52.00 as compared to $23.72 paid in 1950. The census showed that the greatest number of nonwhites (15,457) paid between $40.00 and $59.00 per month rent.

The average rent paid by nonwhite renters varied from $30.00 in Gwinnett County, $37.00 in Cobb, $39.00 in Clayton to $53.00 in the City of Atlanta. The nonwhite dwelling unit has an average of 3.7 rooms, but the nonwhite families of Clayton, Cobb and Gwinnett Counties have 4.1 rooms per dwelling unit. Please see following tables.

Tenure, Average Value, Rent and Number of Rooms of Nonwhite Occupied Units in Standard Metropolitan Atlanta, 1960

Tenure	Geographic Area						
	Total	Clayton	Cobb	DeKalb	Fulton	Atlanta	Gwinnett
Total	57,879	970	1,839	5,125	49,183	47,939	762
Owner	18,117	481	932	1,784	14,615	14,057	305
Renter	39,762	489	907	2,241	34,568	33,882	457
Average Value of Owner Units	$ 8,500	5,600	6,100	5,000	9,200	9,500	5,000
Average Rent (1)	$52.00	39.00	37.00	51.00	53.00	53.00	30.00
Average Rooms	3.7	4.1	4.1	3.6	3.7	3.7	4.1

(1) Gross Rent - The computed rent termed "gross rent" is the contract rent plus the average monthly cost of utilities (water, electricity, gas) and fuels such as wood, coal, and oil if these items are paid for by the renter in addition to contract rent. Thus, gross rent eliminates rent differentials which result from varying practices with respect to the inclusion of heat and utilities as part of the rental payment. In rural territory, rent data exclude rent for farm units.

Amount of Gross Rent Paid by Nonwhite Renters in Standard Metropolitan Atlanta in 1960

Amount	Number	Percent
Less than $20.00	1,153	2.9
20 - 39	8,617	21.7
40 - 59	15,357	39.0
60 - 79	10,096	25.4
80 - 99	2,625	6.6
100 - or more	426	1.1
No Cash Rent	1,299	3.3
	39,673	100.0

Ability to Pay for Shelter

The ability to own or rent decent, safe and sanitary housing is dependent upon income. The Housing and Home Finance Agency reported in the bulletin, the "potential Housing Demands of Nonwhite Population in Selected Metropolitan Areas" that there have been substantial increases in the earnings of nonwhite Atlantans between 1950 and 1960.

The median income for all families was $5,758 and $4,901 for families and unrelated individuals. The average income for nonwhite families was $3,033 or 89.9 percent less than the average for all families. For nonwhite families and unrelated individuals, the average income of $2,503 was 95.8 percent less than the average of $4,901 for all Atlantans in this group. Although the nonwhite family income is about half of the average for all citizens, the nonwhite family pays only $15.00 less than the $67.00 average rent paid by all citizens. The nonwhite family pays, in other words,

proportionately more rent than does the white Atlantan; a fact that may be attributed to the inability of nonwhite Atlantans to have access to the total housing market. Please see following table.

Income of Nonwhite Persons in Standard Metropolitan Atlanta, 1949 and 1959 and Family Income for 1959

Amount of Income	1959		1949		Family Income for 1959	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	110,363	100.0	78,415	100.0	50,020	100.0
Under $3,000	90,407	81.9	76,395	97.4	24,714	49.4
$3,000 - 3,999	10,413	9.4	1,385	1.8	9,044	18.1
4,000 - 4,999	5,295	4.8	305	0.4	5,915	11.8
5,000 - 5,999	2,604	2.4	100	0.1	3,910	7.8
6,000 +	1,644	1.5	230	0.3	-	-
6,000 - 6,999	-	-	-	-	2,213	4.4
7,000 - 7,999	-	-	-	-	1,494	3.0
8,000 - 8,999	-	-	-	-	965	1.9
9,000 - 9,999	-	-	-	-	642	1.3
10,000 & Over	-	-	-	-	1,123	2.3
Median	1,510	-	-	-	3,033	-

The above table shows also that there were 50,020 nonwhite families in the standard Megropolitan areas in 1959, and that 67.5 percent of these families had incomes of less than $4,000. The median nonwhite family income was $3,033.00

Median Income of Total and Nonwhite Families in the Standard Metropolitan Area, Atlanta, Ga., 1960

Family and Race	Geographic Area						
	Total	Clayton	Cobb	DeKalb	Fulton	Atlanta	Gwinnett
All Families	$5,758	5,901	6,014	6,873	5,207	5,029	4,431
Nonwhite	3,033	2,889	3,095	2,823	3,076	3,108	2,464
All Families and Unrelated Individuals	4,901	5,714	5,702	6,198	4,132	3,938	4,182
Nonwhite	2,502	2,683	2,614	2,463	2,504	2,517	2,300

The Atlanta Urban League's report, entitled "Some Observations About Minority Housing" stated, "land - living space - is the hard core issue facing the nonwhite citizen in developing housing both inside and outside of urban renewal areas. It is known that restrictions on living space and accommodations of nonwhites involve all Atlantans immediately and irrevocably in issues of civil rights which could doom the metropolitan area to increasing trouble." Land and housing are commodities that must become available to all people regardless of race, color, creed or national origin. Atlanta's people can ill afford the luxury of answering today's questions with stolid acquiescence to the past. Its government must recognize that housing is "big business" and that the future is inextricably linked to the total welfare of the Negro citizen. A new pride in self is developing in Negroes who are more determined to raise their aspirations and achievements via political activity in order to force Atlanta to face up to the problem of democracy in housing.

SECTION III

RESOURCES FOR HOUSING RELOCATION

RESOURCES FOR HOUSING RELOCATION

As demonstrated in other parts of this proposal, a sizable segment of Atlanta's population has grave housing needs that frustrate the attainment of the "Great Society" goals. Ironically, these needs exist in a dynamic, fast growing city where housing resources outside the Negro ghetto are tremendous. These resources include a good supply of vacant houses of standard quality and the availability of basic community services (schools, libraries, health, fire and police protection) in the various communities where the housing is available.

While the 1960 U. S. Census figures and April, 1965 estimates of the Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission show a significant rise in the total population for the Atlanta area, they also show a slight decline in the number of white city residents and relatively large increases in Negro city residents. In 1960, Negroes in Atlanta represented 38 per cent of the city's population; now they account for 43 per cent of the total.

TABLE I

Population of Atlanta

	1960*	1964**	1965***	Net Change 1960-1965
Total	487,455	506,200	504,600	+ 17,145
White	300,991	298,658	284,719	- 16,272
Negro	186,464	207,542	219,881	+ 33,417

*U. S. Census, 1960.
**Estimates of Atlanta Regional Metropolitan Planning Commission (ARMPC).
***Source: computed by SRC from census tract estimates of ARMPC.

Negro Housing Lag - Contrasting with the increased Negro share of the total city population is the lagging growth in the number of Negro housing units. Despite a drop in the percentage of whites in the total population, white housing units increased significantly (see Table II). This suggests a continuing shift of families with children to suburbia and a counter movement of childless couples and single persons into high rise apartments in the central city. At least one of these high rise apartments[1] in the upper middle-income brackets was built on land from which deteriorating Negro housing was removed in urban renewal projects, and some of the cleared land was converted to industrial use.

The pinch that this trend and the concomitant restrictions against open occupancy are making on Negroes is accentuated by removals from highway construction, renewal and other bulldozing in the Negro community and the accompanying increase of multi-dwelling units, especially along newly developed tracts near railroads in the Negro ghetto.[2]

Negro overcrowding - Evidence that progressive highway construction and urban renewal are among factors influencing crowding of low income Negroes is reported in the 1963 annual

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[1]At least two Negro families live in this high rise apartment building constructed in an area formerly called Buttermilk Bottom. Rental rates put the facility out of the economic reach of most Negroes, for few can pay as much as $175 or $200 a month for rent.

[2]Examples of this are about a dozen multi-unit apartments recently built along Gordon Road near the Atlantic Coastline Railroad on the West Side. Most single units have four rooms, two of which may serve as bedrooms. Some families use living rooms both as a parlor by day and sleeping room by night.

report of the Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services. Entitled, "Appalachia in Atlanta," the report states that bulldozing for renewal and highways, generally considered progressive measures, have cleared land where some slums lay festering, but a result has been the pushing of many slum dwellers back to the fringes of the areas cleared, making their overcrowded conditions more crowded.

This is not reflected in overall figures by U. S. Census tracts. Nevertheless, field trips to hard-core poverty pockets suggest increasing density of the poorest families. For example, the Welfare Department's report discloses that, " . . . for five years prior to 1960, 102 welfare recipients lived on Merritts Avenue, Northeast (adjacent to an urban renewal area), while during the last five years, 192 welfare recipients have lived on the same street" -- about a 90 per cent increase in the density of Merritts Avenue's welfare recipients.

Inspection of working maps reveal that the Ngero population, which represents 43 per cent of the city of Atlanta's total and 20.2 per cent of the metropolitan area's, occupies only about 20 per cent of the city's land area. The figures still show dense ghetto living for Negroes -- especially in low income districts -- despite the rapid pace of housing construction for both whites and Negroes. For those whose improving economic conditions afford them better housing, the trend seems to be reversing. This is reflected in the fact that new housing is keeping pace with population growth. It in fact suggests some relief.

TABLE II

Housing in Atlanta*

	1960	1964	1965	Net Change 1960-1965
Total	154,224	168,717	164,492	10,268
White	97,967	103,928	103,111	5,144
Negro	48,044	55,793	61,381	13,274
Vacant	8,213	8,996	9,040	827

*Source: Calculated from data supplied by Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission.

Housing Conditions - While the overall quantity of Negro housing units is inadequate and the Negro's proportional share of land use falls far below Negro population percentages, a more important problem is the condition of housing in the Negro ghetto.[1] In a study commissioned by Atlanta's Community Improvement Program (known generally as the Urban Renewal Program), a firm of private city planning consultants, in an unfinished report, finds that when data relating to condition of housing is introduced, Negro housing balance is out of kilter.[2]

[1]Some of the census tracts in the corporate city of Atlanta are not contigious with the city limits. There are 10 of these split tracts at the edge of the city. They include F-77 through 79; F-81 and 82; F-98; and F-100 through 103. For population breakdown within the city, we have used the city-county estimates of all the split tracts. For economic data and housing listings, including vacancies, we have used the estimates of whole tracts which roughly represent the city completely, omitting three of the split tracts (F-101 through 103) and including the other split tracts in their entirety.

[2]This report is being developed under the direction of the Atlanta Planning Department, with the help of private research consultants Candeub, Fleissig, Adley, and Associates.

The 1960 U. S. Census reports 46 of each 100 Negro homes surveyed were deteriorating, dilapidated, or lacked amenities. When applied to the total of Atlanta Negro housing, this suggests that 28,235 Negro residences are substandard, in one degree or another.

According to "Appalachia in Atlanta,"[1] "The physical condition of the shelter occupied by 54.4% of welfare recipients is classified as ranging from fair to very poor; 76.84% of them are living in unsanitary conditions and 55.08% are residing in housing needing renovation or repairs." (Plunkettown, near the city's south corporate limits, is a pocket of Negro housing with outside privies and slum dwellings.)

Housing Change - The movement of middle-income Negroes to standard housing outside the Negro area is overshadowed by the negative aspects of increased crowding of welfare recipients of which 61% in the corporate city limits are Negro.

"Of the 467,600 population Atlanta had in 1963," the report continues, "some 222,385 persons were living in 'highly concentrated poverty areas.'" These areas included 44 U. S. Census tracts covering 23 square miles. And every census tract in the corporate city limits and throughout the metropolitan area had families whose earnings were below the "$3,000-a-year poverty level."[2]

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[1] Annual Report of Fulton County Department of Children and Family Services, 1963.

[2] Of predominantly Negro census tracts surveyed, 26, or 65% have 30% or more families with earnings below $3,000 a year. Among the 83 predominantly white tracts within the corporate city limits, 13, or 15% have 30% or more families earning below $3,000.

Since much of the Negro housing expansion tends to be into low-income white fringe areas, other Negro homes are subject to deteriorate rapidly. This is especially true of borderline homes like those in Atlanta's West End and Kirkwood areas, and more recently, Center Hill, from which white families are moving.

On the other hand, some movement of Negroes into middle income districts like Peyton Forest, Audobon Forest, and the Cascade Heights areas of Southwest Atlanta provides above-standard residences and spacious lawns.

Working papers of Atlanta's unfinished CIP (Community Improvement Program) report catalogs the housing changes of Negroes by area in the table below.[1]

TABLE III

Change in Non-White Housing in Atlanta by Area*

Year	Central	W	E	S	NW	SW	N	NE
1960	35,256	4,631	2,061	3,249	1,954	456	270	167
1965	34,738	9,760	4,136	3,315	2,420	987	267	170
Net Change	-518	5,129	2,075	66	466	531	-3	3

*Three areas in the table increased over 100 per cent -- SW, 116; W, 111 per cent, and E, 101 per cent. The pattern of Negro migration is lateral -- East and West.

Vacant Houses and Economics - Scattered throughout the city, according to housing estimates of the Atlanta Regional Metropolitan Planning Council, there are some 9,040 vacant houses (see Table II). In addition, 11,732 are available outside the city limits but within the metropolitan area, indicating a total

[1] The table was prepared by Candeub, Fleissig, Adley, and Associates. Respective letter symbols are for west, east, south, northwest, southwest, north, and northeast.

of 20,772 vacant units.[1] About 300 of these are in public, low income projects[2] which are, in the main, still segregated with 16 to 20 Negroes mixed in predominantly white projects. Ironically, the projects have long waiting lists and many poverty-stricken Negroes cannot qualify for such housing because they have no job, can't prove marriage, or for other reasons. All eleven of Atlanta's public housing projects are situated either within or adjacent to predominantly Negro communities. To some degree, they serve as buffers to expansion of the ghetto at some fringes of Negro sections.[3]

To determine whether ill-housed Negroes could afford these vacant dwellings in the various census tracts, we know of no way short of actually surveying rental residences and earnings of potential Negro renters.[4] We do know, however, that Negroes tend to pay more than whites for comparable housing because of the artificial market created by ghetto barriers. For example, housing experts interviewed estimated that "other things being equal," a $20,000 house in the all-Negro Collier Heights district would cost about $18,000 in Chamblee, a white suburban area. Moreover, one substandard five room house in Atlanta's Vine City, a central slum district, was bringing its owner $120 a month by serving as the abode of more than one family unit.[5]

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[1] All of these figures are computed from estimates of each census tract by RMAPC.

[2] Atlanta Daily World, February 17, 1966.

[3] This is shown best by the location of projects in West End. Express highways, West View Cemetary and the lack of road access from Negro to white areas also serve as buffers.

[4] See attached economic data on Negro districts.

[5] Located on Markham Street, the five-room house has only one outside door and was constructed as a single family unit. It has one bath.

There also is evidence that some Negroes necessarily must decline job offers in outlying districts because they either are unable to solve transportation problems to and from the job or they are not free to move nearer.[1] This points to another obstacle in the complexities that tie housing and socio-economics together. Even the federal government, like some other equal opportunity employers, unwittingly builds a bias against potential Negro employees by locating plants far away from the population center where most Negroes live.

Conclusions - Neither the corporate city of Atlanta nor any governmental unit of the metropolitan area has laws prohibiting racial discrimination in housing. Consequently, many of the persons displaced by slum clearance and/or other public projects such as highway construction and schools face heavy burdens in their search for standard housing. Many with very low income end up more poorly housed and often cramped by overcrowding after displacement. This is due partly to the building of a smaller proportion of homes for low-income and the limited availability of homes for large families, especially those needing three or more bedrooms. For large poor families, the city's oldest supply of houses offers best prospects for obtaining enough room.

Moneywise and otherwise, Atlanta has the resources for providing the needed housing. In 1963, Atlanta's retail sales reached

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[1] Noyes Collins of the Atlanta Friends Service Committee said several unemployed and underemployed Negroes he contacted were unable to accept jobs near Chamblee because of transportation difficulties.

$1,618,757, up 75% from the $1,229,461 figure of 1958.[1] It has one of the nation's lowest unemployment indexes when compared with other cities of its size.[2] It has some political awareness of its urban problems and has commissioned studies to better determine a workable program for community improvement. It also has volunteer groups which have expressed interest in helping to solve problems.[3]

Since the bulk of the Negro housing migration is to deteriorating residences at the fringes of the Negro areas, change represents, in most cases, an extension of the Negro ghetto or the creation of new Negro enclaves. If the hypothesis is valid that the dissolution of the Negto ghetto is needed to undermine the roots that in-breed socio-economic and housing problems, it follows that a bold program of corrective mechanism is needed to break housing barriers. The entire metropolitan area must be included in the program.

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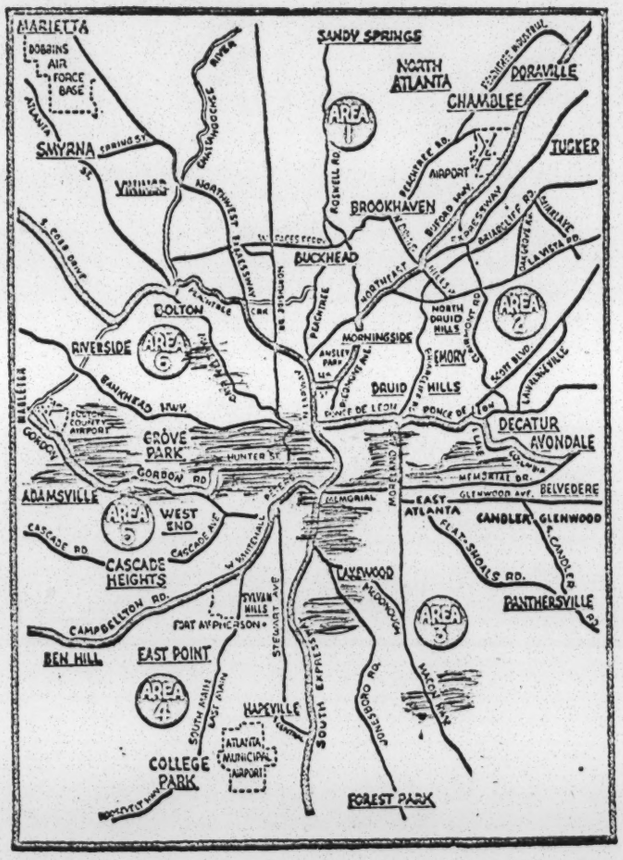
[1] Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.

[2] Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen and the Atlanta Constitution.

[3] These include civil rights groups and other civic and religious organizations.

ATLANTA: HOUSING



Negro Area

Price ranges for homes in the areas shown above.*

Area 1:
New: $15,000 to $85,000
Old: $10,000 to $250,000
Rent: $80 to $200

Area 2:
New: $15,000 to $50,000
Old: $10,000 to $75,000
Rent: $82 to $160

Area 3:
New: $12,500 to $45,000
Old: $6,500 to $35,000
Rent: $42 to $145

Area 4:
New: $12,500 to $50,000
Old: $6,500 to $75,000
Rent: $50 to $83

Area 5:
New: $15,000 to $65,000
Old: $6,500 to $85,000
Rent: $51 to $155

Area 6:
New: $7,500 to $50,000
Old: $4,500 to $75,000
Rent: $34 to $78

*Price range estimates furnished by the Atlanta Real Estate Board.

1961 FAMILY INCOME IN 109 ATLANTA CENSUS TRACTS

Census Tract	Average Family Income	Total Number Families	Number of Families Earning Under $3,000	Per Cent of Families Earning Under $3,000
D - 1	$13,427	526	53	10.0
D - 2	10,287	629	80	12.7
D - 3	7,285	1,226	141	11.5
D - 4	5,649	1,082	229	21.1
D - 5*	5,593	1,607	299	18.6
D - 6*	3,603	1,309	603	46.0
D - 7*	6,280	816	112	13.1
D - 8	7,703	2,241	224	9.9
D - 9	6,890	2,176	221	10.2
F - 1	12,600	1,514	127	8.4
F - 2	8,968	1,702	216	12.7
F - 4	10,811	562	96	17.1
F - 5	13,981	896	89	10.0
F - 6	5,669	875	176	20.1
F - 7	4,908	428	128	29.9
F - 8*	4,374	1,217	405	33.2
F - 9	4,858	587	147	25.0
F -10	5,695	590	136	23.0
F -11	5,613	565	102	18.0
F -12	7,708	1,039	143	13.7
F -13	6,126	1,395	310	22.2
F -14	6,840	634	105	16.5
F -15	7,576	1,429	151	10.5
F -16	6,263	761	185	24.3
F -17*	3,735	1,646	777	47.2
F -18*	3,344	2,243	1,266	56.4
F -19	3,556	191	94	49.2
F -20	2,354	458	318	69.4
F -21	3,013	800	555	69.3
F -22*	3,240	1,202	687	57.1
F -23*	4,602	1,558	487	31.2
F -24*	5,085	1,386	414	29.8
F -25*	3,455	1,774	933	52.5

1961 Family Income in 109 Atlanta Census Tracts - 2.

Census Tract	Average Family Income	Total Number Families	Number of Families Earning Under $3,000	Per Cent of Families Earning Under $3,000
F - 26*	$ 3,440	1,216	722	59.3
F - 27	3,375	56	26	46.0
F - 28*	3,324	795	452	56.8
F - 29*	3,948	1,084	443	40.8
F - 30	5,193	1,072	282	26.3
F - 31*	4,681	728	194	26.6
F - 32	4,047	773	312	40.3
F - 33*	2,610	1,104	774	70.1
F - 35	2,176	273	204	74.7
F - 36*	3,110	652	416	63.8
F - 37*	2,316	578	479	82.8
F - 38*	4,246	1,170	538	45.9
F - 39*	4,339	1,108	475	42.8
F - 40*	5,728	1,096	224	20.4
F - 41	5,554	1,101	243	22.0
F - 42	3,759	951	463	48.6
F - 43*	3,026	851	553	64.9
F - 44*	3,446	1,047	515	49.1
F - 45*	3,367	457	257	56.2
F - 46*	2,946	977	598	61.2
F - 47*	3,168	974	526	54.0
F - 48	2,880	767	499	65.0
F - 49	4,263	906	328	36.2
F - 50	5,335	813	220	27.0
F - 52	6,889	1,349	161	11.9
F - 53	5,282	1,395	372	26.6
F - 55A*	3,877	1,572	753	47.9
F - 55B*	3,408	1,415	816	57.6
F - 56*	3,708	1,335	599	44.8
F - 57*	3,787	837	345	41.2
F - 58	6,453	689	114	16.5
F - 59	4,774	379	130	34.3
F - 60	7,288	1,240	139	11.2

1961 Family Income in 109 Atlanta Census Tracts - 3.

Census Tract	Average Family Income	Total Number Families	Number of Families Earning Under $3,000	Per Cent of Families Earning Under $3,000
F - 61	$ 7,559	1,481	162	10.9
F - 62	5,322	761	217	28.5
F - 63*	3,523	1,319	632	47.9
F - 64	6,293	531	54	10.1
F - 65	8,009	1,604	109	6.7
F - 66	6,545	1,502	228	15.1
F - 67	4,983	2,278	518	22.7
F - 68	9,881	21	0	0
F - 69	6,557	1,166	80	6.8
F - 70	6,858	2,139	183	8.5
F - 71*	5,193	497	109	21.0
F - 72	5,384	1,430	201	14.0
F - 73	7,306	745	69	9.2
F - 74	6,456	545	45	8.2
F - 75	6,641	1,452	184	12.6
F - 76	9,620	1,219	50	4.1
F - 77	8,250	1,419	156	10.9
F - 78*	6,372	1,552	263	16.9
F - 79	12,737	1,003	23	2.3
F - 80	8,812	1,861	163	8.7
F - 81*	6,570	1,141	233	20.4
F - 82*	6,497	1,261	168	13.3
F - 83*	4,857	2,168	470	21.6
F - 84*	4,987	1,181	285	24.1
F - 85*	6,521	1,613	233	14.4
F - 86*	5,295	1,738	373	21.4
F - 87*	3,370	1,945	1,028	52.8
F - 88	5,996	1,239	217	17.5
F - 89	5,912	1,708	276	16.1
F - 90	13,732	1,121	43	3.8
F - 91	13,768	1,387	85	6.0
F - 92	10,016	1,022	108	10.0
F - 93	11,245	1,605	118	7.3
F - 94	11,081	1,272	89	6.9

1961 Family Income in 109 Atlanta Census Tracts - 4.

Census Tract	Average Family Income	Total Number Families	Number of Families Earning Under $3,000	Per Cent of Families Earning Under $3,000
F - 95	$22,819	1,297	72	5.5
F - 96	11,964	2,412	207	8.5
F - 97	19,817	770	80	10.3
F - 98	22,164	1,322	103	7.7
F - 99	23,511	942	32	3.3
F - 100	17,980	1,937	88	4.5

*Predominantly Negro.

VACANT HOUSING UNITS BY CENSUS TRACTS*
1965 and 1960

Census Tract	Housing Units 1965	Housing Units 1960
Clayton County		
CL- 1	74	71
CL- 2	120	100
CL- 3	434	253
CL- 4	280	146
CL- 5	79	56
CL- 6	190	171
Cobb County		
CC- 1	78	71
CC- 2	151	135
CC- 3	215	186
CC- 4	154	127
CC- 5	138	106
CC- 6	90	83
CC- 7	177	165
CC- 8	191	181
CC- 9	150	95
CC-10	302	220
CC-11	412	323
CC-12	154	133
CC-13	238	188
CC-14	108	81
CC-15	57	45
DeKalb County		
D- 1	9	9
D- 2	68	51
D- 3	61	61
D- 4	96	85
D- 5	90	238
D- 6	57	57
D- 7	36	31
D- 8	97	97

*Vacancies in tracts D-1-9 and F-1-100 roughly estimate the number of vacancies in the corporate city limits of Atlanta. The total listing represents the Atlanta metropolitan area.

Source: Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Council.

Vacant Housing Units by Census Tracts - 2.

Census Tract	Housing Units 1965	Housing Units 1960
DeKalb County (cont'd.)		
D - 9	53	52
DC-10	226	187
DC-11	103	96
DC-12	187	116
DC-13	216	116
DC-14	279	153
DC-15	125	96
DC-16	292	150
DC-17	327	142
DC-18	271	154
DC-19	112	99
DC-20	215	112
DC-21	61	55
DC-22	75	70
DC-23	88	75
DC-24	437	241
DC-25	89	83
DC-26	112	106
DC-27	73	56
DC-28	34	33
DC-29	63	63
DC-30	5	5
DC-31	318	251
DC-32	66	55
DC-33	110	104
DC-34	241	183
DC-35	222	172
DC-36	184	85
DC-37	30	29
DC-38	105	94
Fulton County		
F - 1	50	49
F - 2	84	77
F - 4*	65	63

*Original F-3 combined with F-4.

Vacant Housing Units by Census Tracts - 3.

Census Tract	Housing Units 1965	Housing Units 1960
Fulton County (cont'd.)		
F - 5	76	73
F - 6	63	63
F - 7	10	10
F - 8	69	64
F - 9	19	19
F -10	44	44
F -11	158	136
F -12	196	192
F -13	225	215
F -14	55	52
F -15	106	101
F -16	62	61
F -17	86	85
F -18	195	193
F -19	148	100
F -20	11	11
F -21	28	28
F -22	34	34
F -23	77	74
F -24	51	43
F -25	63	59
F -26	116	107
F -27	29	29
F -28	145	106
F -29	71	68
F -30	159	154
F -31	70	68
F -32	66	64
F -33	87	71
F -35*	26	25
F -36	55	55
F -37	4	4
F -38	42	41

*Original F-34 combined with F-35.

Vacant Housing Units by Census Tracts - 4.

Census Tract	Housing Units 1965	Housing Units 1960
Fulton County (cont'd.)		
F -39	40	40
F -40	26	26
F -41	120	118
F -42	79	75
F -43	24	24
F -44	84	76
F -45	69	92
F -46	72	100
F -47	50	50
F -48	87	87
F -49	77	76
F -50	51	49
F -52*	58	58
F -53**	84	84
F -55A***	65	62
F -55B***	37	37
F -56	155	166
F -57	33	33
F -58	33	33
F -59	45	43
F -60	62	38
F -61	56	56
F -62	56	56
F -63	62	62
F -64	55	55
F -65	69	69
F -66	70	69
F -67	104	99
F -68	0	0
F -69	33	33
F -70	177	252
F -71	92	87

*Original F-51 combined with F-52.
**Original F-54 combined with F-53.
***Original F-55 has been divided into F-55A and F-55B.

Vacant Housing Units by Census Tracts - 5.

Census Tract	Housing Units 1965	Housing Units 1960
F -72	78	373
F -73	64	55
F -74	21	20
F -75	18	17
F -76	42	26
F -77	185	119
F -78	382	289
F -79	68	58
F -80	48	46
F -81	67	49
F -82	200	230
F -83	486	181
F -84	87	57
F -85	54	54
F -86	120	81
F -87	174	137
F -88	56	54
F -89	125	101
F -90	22	22
F -91	130	80
F -92	52	28
F -93	98	88
F -94	156	32
F -95	209	93
F -96	307	192
F -97	30	27
F -98	56	49
F -99	29	26
F -100	139	133
F -101	191	134
F -102	273	174
F -103	140	117
F -104	122	116
F -105	237	214
F -106	206	176
F -107	118	107
F -108	129	122
F -109	39	37
F -110	64	58
F -111	21	21

Vacant Housing Units by Census Tracts - 6.

Census Tract	Housing Units 1965	Housing Units 1960
Fulton County (cont'd)		
F -112	233	209
F -113	139	105
F -114	102	93
F -115	171	176
F -116	41	35
Gwinnett County		
GC -1	199	166
GC -2	79	70
GC -3	264	245
GC -4	100	83
GC -5	179	161
GC -6	47	47
GC -7	180	169

SECTION IV

COMMUNITY ATTITUDES AND RESOURCES

Eliza Paschal is ~~to completed~~ doing draft on attitudes of CR and other organizations - to be inserted here.

SECTION V

THE PLAN: A PROGRAM FOR OPEN OCCUPANCY

INTRODUCTION

The proposed program for selective neighborhood desegregation in Atlanta has three purposes. First, it will investigate the feasibility and applicability of certain action approaches to housing desegregation that may have significant and constructive long-range effects. Second, it will develop and test certain specific incentives that may encourage segregated neighborhoods to initiate programs of orderly desegregation of housing thus stabilizing populations that otherwise might migrate in search of segregated housing. Third, by so effectively supplementing facilities, improving housing conditions, and providing amenities in certain neighborhoods as to induce residents in segregated areas to move into these neighborhoods.

To meet the first requirement, it proposes the selection of certain "testing points", i.e. neighborhoods now integrated or with socio-economic characteristics that should make housing integration a likely prospect in the immediate future. At these testing points, certain specific inducements that should further accelerate the process of desegregation would be introduced. The goal of this phase of the study would be to determine the effect upon neighborhood acceptance of the various techniques employed.

The "testing point" is to serve two functions. First, it will be the administrative device through which a project will be introduced into the selected neighborhood and maintained in that neighborhood for the life of the project. Second, it will provide the mechanism through which information on resident reaction to the project being tested will be fed back to the reviewing body. The staffing of a "testing point" will be highly variable, depending on the content of the project. In some cases it may involve the part-time services of one person; when more complex activities are involved, a full-time staff - professional and clerical - may be required in order to conduct the activity and feed back the results.

In developing this program proposal, the following assumptions have been made:

- The City cannot force integration on previously segregated neighborhoods but it can help provide conditions under which housing desegregation will make possible improvement in quality of housing, amenities and community facilities and in morale rather than accelerate residential decay and neighborhood decline.

- The City cannot prevent the distress and economic loss that may accompany integration of housing forced by ramdon migration of Negroes but it can help offer an alternative that insures that the social and economic dislocation that can accompany this integration no longer has its primary impact on its most defenseless citizens - Negro and White - and that these citizens are afforded the chance to convert apparent social crisis into opportunity.

- We cannot discipline a total population or even large groups of people - therefore we must motivate individuals;

- We cannot enforce a quota system, even if it might be desirable, but we can work actively toward placing some Negro families in virtually all segregaged neighborhoods;

- We cannot control the actions of communities abutting Atlanta, but we can provide an example of peacefull desegregation that they may later choose to follow;

- We cannot ask a political person to act "un-politically", but we can expose him to the opportunities to acquire support that are implicit in long range applications of desegregation policies;

- We cannot ask an "economic man" to do something that is unprofitable, but we can suggest the form and extent of the compensation that housing desegregation may provide.

Moreover, we assume that this program will be effective only if:

- The program is constantly subject to review and revision by competent private and public agencies;

- The program developed is considered to be only one facet of an overall activity aimed at changing Atlanta's institutional patterns over at least a decade;

- The voluntary flow of Negro families into previously all white neighborhoods continues at no less than the present pace;

- Certain fundamental structural changes take place at the governmental level (e.g., that a Fair Housing Code will be enacted, that an official "City Position" will emerge).

In its content and approach, this program will deal with barriers to housing desegregation as a complex of technical problems amenable to solution by rational means. Its orientation will be to the development of techniques for solving these problems. In its recommendations, it will stress the involvement of agencies and individuals now active in the fields of race relations, housing and urban development.

Data to support various study elements, e.g. condition and value of housing, scope and direction of Negro migration, current levels of public services and facilities, are becoming available as various elements of the Atlanta Community Renewal Program are completed. This information will be fed into the various preliminary studies proposed as part of this program.

The final product of this program will not be an official Proposal for the Integration of Housing in Atlanta, but a set of tools that should provide those interested in speeding housing desegregation with the means of making the process as rapid and as free of controversy as possible.

ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE

The proposed organization for the implementation of this proposal consists of four elements:

1. Program Guidance and Support: to be placed at the highest possible level in City government, preferably vested in a staff position assigned directly to the Office of the Mayor, in order that the full powers of the Mayor's office and prestige of his position will be available to support the public and private measures necessary to accomplish program goals. (Note: This proposal is predicated on the implementation of the content of the PAS report recommending a strong mayor structure for city government.)

   Function: To provide overall program guidance and to serve as principal point of contact and clearance between the Program and the Office of the Mayor and the Board of Aldermen. In order to insure continuous and close liaison between operational and administrative phases of the Program and the political leadership of the community, this officer will serve as "ex-officio" member of the Steering Committee (see below). In this connection, he will report regularly to the Mayor and Board of Aldermen as to progress made toward the objectives of the Program and on any unusually complex and significant problems that may arise in connection with its implementation. From time to time, he will present to community political and civic leaders his recommendations as to the direction the Program should take.

2. Program Selection and Policy Formulation: To be the function of a Steering Committee broadly representative of community interests and composed of senior officials of various cooperating public and private

agencies and of members-at-large selected on the basis of professional qualifications and/or access to important bodies of public opinion.

Function: To serve as the principal deliberative and decision-making body and the point of clearance for all substantive activities undertaken under the program; and, to provide the channel for communication between the political leadership of the community and the various protessional associations and the publics that members of the Committee represent. For this purpose, the Committee will meet regularly to review the content of current and recommended projects and the activities proposed for or underway at the various "testing points." On the basis of this review, the Committee will suggest neighborhoods in which projects should be initiated, or terminated and the specific projects that should be initiated, or terminated, in these neighborhoods. The Committee also will serve as the point of review and approval of proposals for city-wide research. The Committee may also, from time to time, request that the staff of the cooperating federal agency or consultants or advisors retained by the staff, undertake special studies of existing or proposed programs on potential "testing points."

3. Administration of Continuing Program Activities: To be the responsibility of a single agency, most logically the EOA, to insure program continuity and close cooperation among those working at the action level, and to simplify disbursement and accounting procedures. This function will encompass all Program activities ranging from field operations tied directly to EOA neighborhood centers to administrative backstopping for grants in support of specialized research and development projects undertaken under contract in support of the Program.

Function: To provide for initiating, directing and controlling all activities undertaken under this Program, including developing background data in support of proposed activities, and presenting these data at conferences

of the various Panels (see below). On approval of each component project, the Agency will assume responsibility for staffing, budgeting and orientation phases of project implementation and will report regularly to the Committee on the rate of progress of each project. In relation to the research projects undertaken under this Program, the Agency will recommend contractors, both governmental and private, and will provide supporting data indicating the scope and probable duration of the proposed project, areas of competence of potential contractors, and appropriate levels of financial support. It also will, at the request of the Committee, enter into contract negotiations with private contractors and on approval of these contracts will maintain necessary administrative records and controls.

4. Neighborhood Selection and Research Project Screening Activities: To be the responsibility of Technical Advisory Panels composed of appropriate members of the various public and private agencies represented on the Steering Committee, to be chaired by representatives of the cooperating federal agency and to receive technical backstopping from the same Agency.

Function: To examine the various neighborhoods that may be eligible to become "testing points" including their socio-economic characteristics and their respective needs, in order that meaningful priorities among alternative Program sites and categories of projects can be developed. In this connection, the various Panels will review data dealing with these elements that are compiled by the Agency for this purpose and, as necessary, will conduct field investigations to supplement its knowledge of neighborhoods and projects under consideration. When projects are underway, the Panel may conduct further investigations to determine in general the effectiveness of the project and to judge the feasibility of supplementing the activity, or terminating it. The Panel also will serve as the point of initial review of proposed new projects in the general area of research and will recommend to the Committee on the basis of its investigations those research activities that should receive priority consideration and the contractors it considers to be best equipped to complete the task.

PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

The selection of neighborhoods as "testing points" will be accomplished in three stages - definition, comparison and selection.

1. Definition: In this stage, criteria will be developed that will distinguish those neighborhoods that appear to be especially appropriate as sites for the study of housing desegregation from other parts of the city. Among the factors to be considered are:

   a. "Newness" of community/neighborhood, ratio of "immigrant" to indigenous residents - an indicator of extent to which patterns of relationship and attitude are rooted in tradition;

   b. Age level in community/neighborhood - in part reflecting item a (above) and in part indicating probable ability to adapt to change;

   c. Education level in community/neighborhood - in part reflecting a and b (above) and in part a criterion of acceptance of change (assumption: those with formal education are more likely to be concerned with objective fact than with emotion-rooted opinion);

   d. Economic level in community/neighborhood - in part reflecting items a, b, and c above, and in part suggesting that reduced anxieties over economic conditions and decreased competition for scarce jobs creates an atmosphere more conducive to housing desegregation;

e. Extent to which educational system and public facilities and services are desegregated and degree to which this desegregation is generally accepted by the community/neighborhood - suggests existing pattern of acceptance of desegregation that can be extended to include housing desegregation;

f. Extent to which public officials and informal leaders in community/neighborhood accept desegregation as an operating principle and reinforce their position by overtly supporting programs of desegregation;

g. Extent to which housing desegregation programs are undertaken on a moderate and rational basis with ample and skillful advance preparation for change, and with due respect for the rights of owners of private property.

2. Comparison: In this stage the various neighborhoods (Census Blocks) in the community will be examined on the basis of criteria developed under Item 1 above. From these data the first sort will be conducted and neighborhoods classified along a continuum ranging from "very high acceptance potential" to "very low acceptance potential". This step may also involve interviews with neighborhood leaders and/or survey research studies of attitudes of residents toward de-segregation.

Selection: In this stage members of Panels appointed on the basis of their special knowledge of various areas of the City or familiarity with attitudes toward housing integration will review the information accumulated (item 2, above) and select specific neighborhoods to serve as "testing areas". Their recommendations will be presented to the Steering Committee in general

session. Formal approval of these proposals by this body will constitute a commitment to institute an action program in the designated neighborhoods(s).

The selection of projects for introduction into neighborhood action programs will also be accomplished in three stages - investigation, testing and application:

1. Investigation: Various alternative proposals as to means of providing support to neighborhoods selected as "testing points" will be presented to Panels representing various functional fields, e.g. health, education, physical planning, welfare, transportation, recreation, urban design. These proposals will be researched, primarily through experience surveys, and estimates of probable impact and of cost and duration will be prepared. On the basis of this information, the Panel will suggest that certain projects be tested in various neighborhoods and will assign these projects specific priorities. These recommendations will be brought to the full committee for approval. Formal approval of specific project proposals and of the priority assigned to them will constitute a commitment to institute the testing process.

2. Testing: Those proposals approved for testing will be introduced into existing or newly established neighborhood centers on the basis of recommendations of Joint Panels composed of neighborhood and functional specialists to the Steering Committee and the Committee approval of the program. Regular reports on their progress, supplemented by inspections in the field, will be submitted to the Joint Panels by project personnel. At the conclusion of the period assigned for investigation, a report on the project, its apparent success and special problems it generated, together with recommendations for continuing or terminating it will be presented to the Committee by the Joint Panel.

3. Application: Approved projects will be assigned to various additional neighborhoods (within limitations imposed by availability of funds and personnel) where their use appears to meet local needs and in accordance with the priority roster of eligible neighborhoods prepared by the Committee (see above).

The selection of programs of research to be undertaken on a city-wide basis will be accomplished in two steps - review and selection.

1. Review: Various agencies, public and private, will be asked to submit research proposals to the Committee. These proposals should specify purpose, research methodology, probable duration and cost. These proposals will be reviewed by the cooperating federal agency and by members of the appropriate functional Panel, which then will recommend to the Committee that certain proposals be accepted and will suggest the priority to be assigned to the various approved proposals.

   Selection: Within the limits of the funds made available for City-wide research, the Committee will recommend specific priority programs, contractors and levels of support. These recommendations will be forwarded to the cooperating federal agency for action. From this point, responsibility for developing mutually satisfactory administrative and substantive arrangements will be in the hands of the Agency and the proposed contractor

PROJECT CONTENT:

The following are examples of projects that might be undertaken in various neighborhoods in the City under the proposed program:

Project: Consumer Education

Purpose: To inform low income residents of "testing point" neighborhoods of the differentials in cost and quality of basic consumer goods; to advise them of the costs of credit purchases and of alternative sources of credit; to assist them to develop simple budgeting and bookkeeping skills; and, to provide continuing financial and tax information if particular interest to low income groups.

Project: Property Maintenance and Improvement

Purpose: To instruct owners and tenants in the methods of reducing deterioration and of improving appearance, design and marketability of residential structures, including simple carpentry, painting, papering and decorating and, within limits of city codes, simple plumbing and electrical repairs.

Project: Spot Renewal and Physical Uplift

Purpose: To produce immediate and marked improvements in the physical appearance of the neighborhood by introducing certain specific amenities, e.g., small parks, kiosks, playgrounds, planting, significant handling of color or architectural design and by reducing or eliminating outmoded, dangerous or visually offensive structures.

Project: Clearing House

Purpose: To inform potential residents of desegregating neighborhoods of vacancies existing; of costs and special benefits that may accrue to residents of these neighborhoods under the proposed coordinated program. (Note: Recommended contractor: The Urban League.)

Project: Augmented Public Services

Purpose: To provide levels of supportive services, e.g., trash pick-up, street cleaning and maintenance, public safety, that meet the highest standards established for these services in comparable urban areas.

Project: Augmented Public Facilities

Purpose: To construct, rebuild, or refurbish public structures and facilities, e.g., libraries, schools, fire stations, parks and playgrounds, in order that their overall quality and appearance will be consistent with that in the most favored neighborhoods in the City.

Training and Placement Services

Purpose: To instruct residents in the skills and techniques required to practice certain vocations and trades, stressing those for which effective demand currently exists; and, to assist qualified residents to obtain local employment that will enable them to use these skills and techniques.

Project: Transportation Services

Purpose: To make available public transportation services, and to encourage the development of auxiliary private transportation services that will link the "testing point neighborhood" with principal complementary employment and shopping areas.

Project: School Up-Grading Program

Purpose: To supplement the instructional program with special activities and projects for the purpose of strengthening special talents and abilities and broadening economic and social perspectives of pupils and parents.

The following are examples of research programs that might be undertaken on a city-wide basis that could generate broad and wide-scale changes of attitude toward housing desegregation:

Project: Public School Teachers' Education Program

Purpose: To inform public school teachers of the goals of programs of housing desegregation and of their accomplishments; and, to encourage active participation in, and support of, these programs by these teachers.

Project: Real Estate Agents' Education Program

Purpose: To acquaint real estate agents with profit potentials of service to Negro clients; with the techniques that can be employed to introduce members of minority groups into segregated communities with minimal friction; and with effective methods of working with Negro tenants and clients.

Project: Influence of Property Tax Structure on Viability of Blighted Residential Areas

Purpose: To examine and report upon the characteristics of

municipal and state tax codes that may act to subsidize the investments of owners and administrators of slum properties, and, to specify changes in these codes and ordinances that might remove these special benefits and subsidies.

Project: Fair Housing Act
Purpose: To secure the enactment of a local ordinance consistent in content and philosophy with the goals and intent of the Federal Act; in this connection acquiring comparable acts and ordinances from other municipalities, preparing appropriate proposals as to content and presentation of such an ordinance, and encouraging significant organizations and individuals to support such legislation.

Project: Public Housing
Purpose: To evaluate needs for additional public housing, including demand, appropriate location and design and structural characteristics preferred by potential consumers; and, to determine applicability of present and proposed Federal actions—support of expanding public housing availabilities.

Project: Workable Program for Community Improvement
Purpose: To determine the extent to which the city is conforming in its housing and urban development activities with the increasingly rigorous standards that have been

developed and now are being invoked by the Department of Housing and Urban Development; and, to encourage the city so to enforce its housing codes and ordinances as to meet or exceed these standards.

Project: Policies and Practices in Enforcement of Eviction Ordinances

Purpose: To conduct a comparative study of eviction ordinances in various communities, their provisions and their apparent influence on landlord - tenant relations; and, to examine the policies and procedures for enforcement of these ordinances in order to develop recommendations as to changes in present practices that would protect the owners equity while at the same time protecting the tenant from arbitrary, abrupt eviction practices taking place under cover of legal sanction.

Project: Proposal for a Demonstration Grant in Support of Neighborhood Improvement

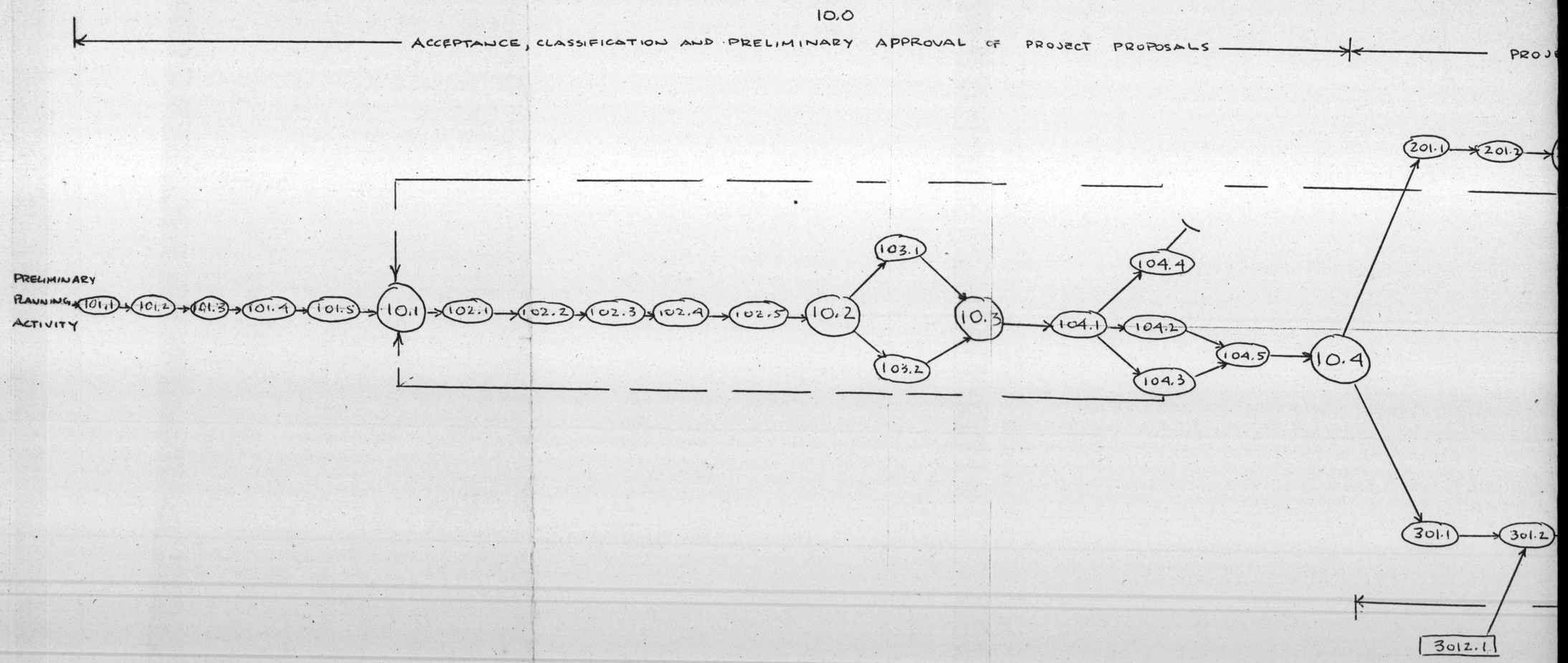
Purpose: To acquire information pertaining to the standards that must be met by a neighborhood wishing to be considered as a site for a Neighborhood Demonstration Grant (or for the Demonstration Cities Program), and to conduct an inventory of Atlanta neighborhoods that might be eligible for such assistance; to develop a plan for the implementation of such a program and, with appropriate support, to present this plan to the Department of Housing and Urban Development for approval.

Project: Survey Research re. Neighborhood Desegregation.

Purpose: To elicit responses from residents of various neighborhoods that will reveal the following perceptions: the attitudes of Negroes toward moving into "white" neighborhoods; the attitudes of whites toward moving into Negro neighborhoods; the attitudes of white and Negro residents in integrating neighborhoods toward continuing to live in such a neighborhood, i.e. Peyton Road Area.

Project: Economic Impact of "Block-busting" on Home Owners.

Purpose: To investigate the long-term effects on property owners of neighborhood desegregation. In particular, to estimate the costs, both to emigrating white residents and immigrant Negro residents, of sales of housing below fair market price and of acquisition of housing at inflated prices, including such factors as extension of mortgage payments, increased costs for equivalent facilities and increased interest charged on mortgage obligations payable over longer periods of time.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ACCEPTANCE, CLASSIFICATION AND PRELIMINARY APPROVAL OF PROJECT PROPOSALS
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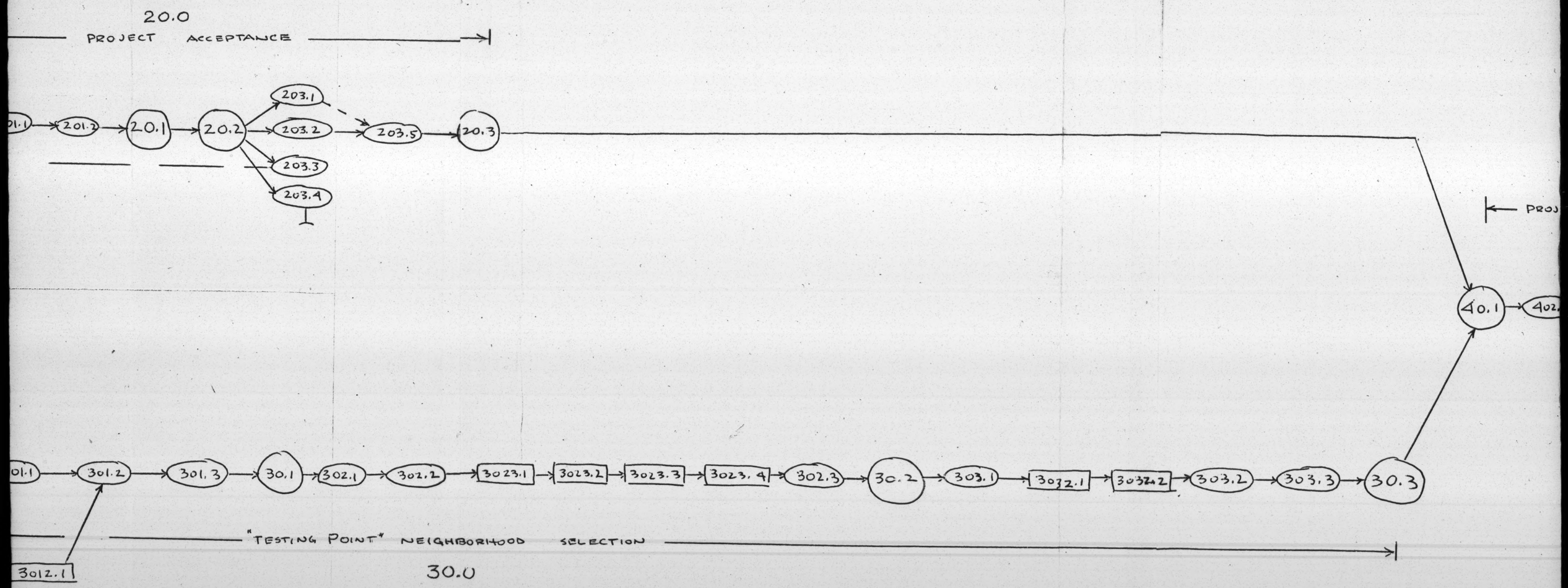
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"TESTING POINT" NEIGHBORHOOD SELECTION
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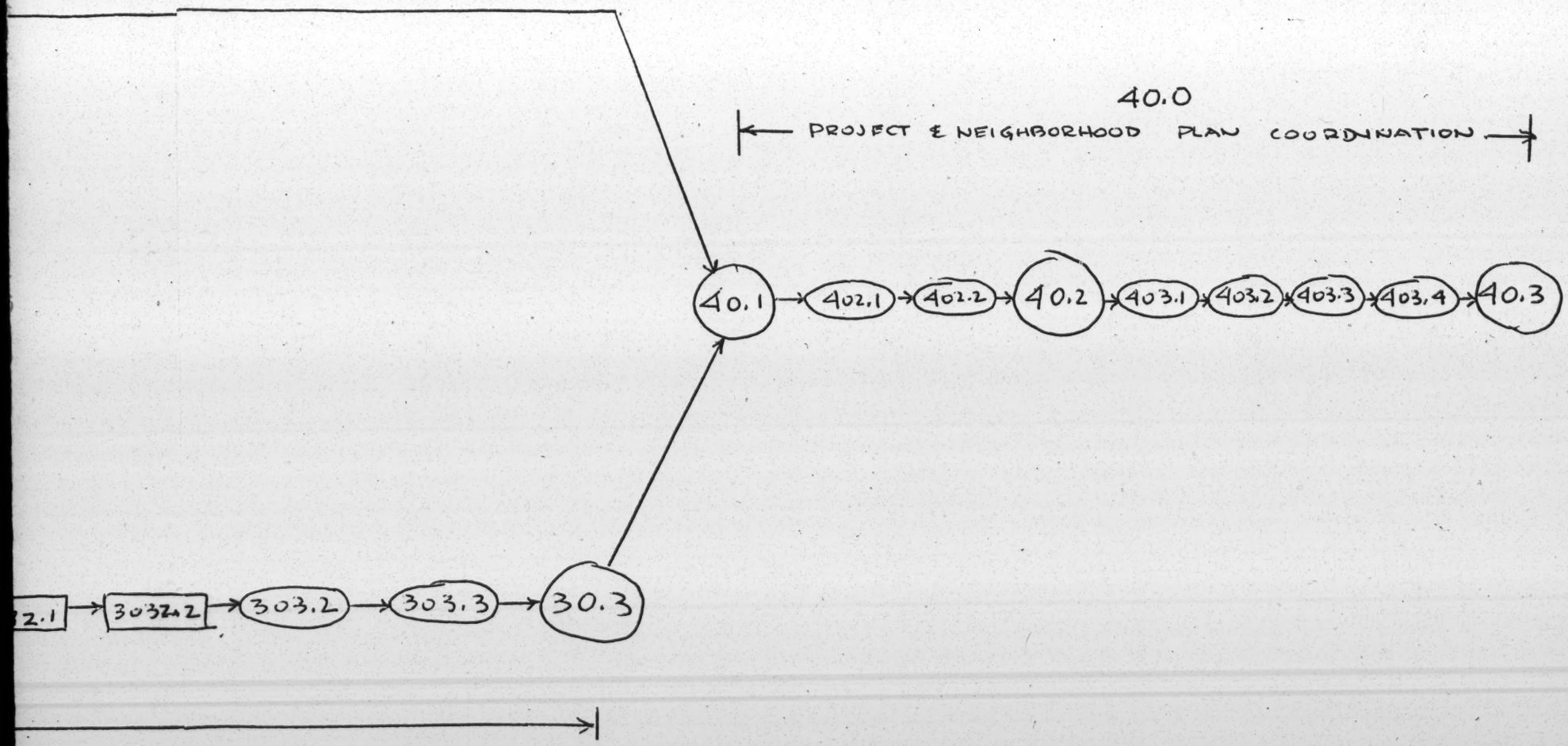
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PROJECT & NEIGHBORHOOD PLAN COORDINATION
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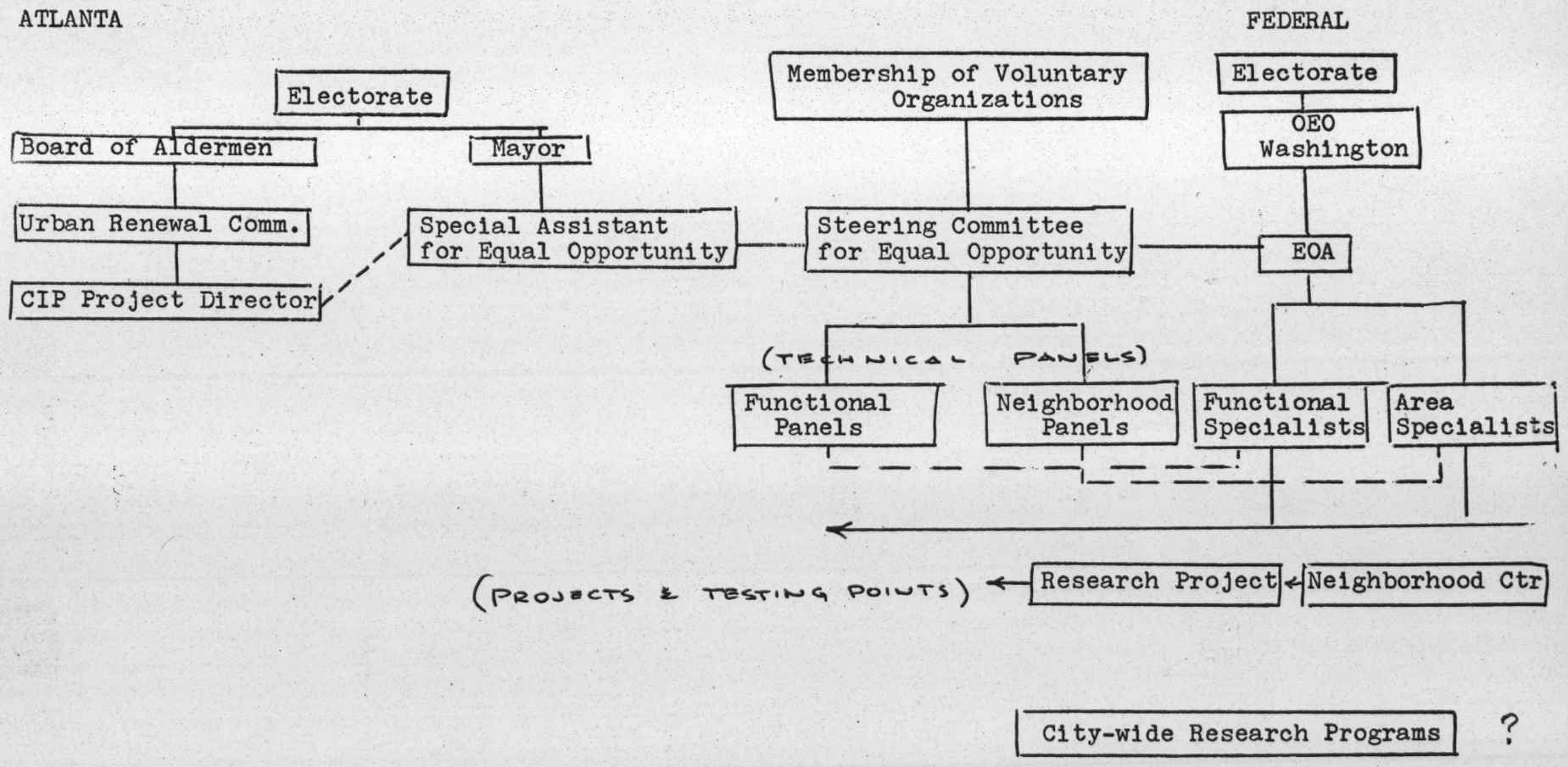
PROPOSED ORGANIZATION: ATLANTA EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING ACTION PROGRAM



Harry - not certain of EOA structure. Assume they have area and functional specialists; don't know where city-wide research should be assigned, but assume it should be under the steering committee

CRITICAL PATH ANALYSIS -- EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

10.0 Acceptance, Classification and Preliminary Approval of Project Proposals

10.1 Project description and content analysis.

101.1 Develop detailed task description.

101.2 Determine personnel and special service and/or equipment requirement

101.3 Estimate time required, by component element.

101.4 Estimate total direct project cost.

101.5 Recommend contractor or vendor.

10.2 Select contractor and/or program staff assignments.

102.1 Select qualified contractor(s).

102.2 Program staff support.

102.3 Clear project content.with contractor(s) or staff unit.

102.4 Clear proposed budget and time schedule with contractor(s)/staff unit.

102.5 Prepare draft contract or support agreement.

10.3 Present project proposal to appropriate technical panel

103.1 Review proposed project content.

103.2 Review proposed administrative arrangements.

10.4 Project acceptance or rejection.

104.1 Review applicable policy considerations with Special Assistant (Mayor)

104.2 Accept project as proposed.

104.3 Accept project, with specifically cited modifications. (Return to 10.1).

104.4 Reject project.

104.5 Assign approved or approved-with-qualifications projects priority numbers.

20.0 Project Acceptance.

20.1 Project review.

201.1 Present summary project proposal.

201.2 Present summary of proposed administrative arrangements.

20.2 Review pertinent policy considerations.

20.3 Formal project acceptance or rejection.

203.1 Approve project for immediate action.

203.2 Approve project for action when funds/personnel available.

203.3 Approve project subject to specified modifications. (Return to 10.1)

203.4 Reject project.

203.5 Approve proposed contractor or vendor or use of suggested unit.

30.0 "Testing Point" Neighborhood Selection.

30.1 Evaluate neighborhood characteristics.

301.1 Develop and compile specific criteria for neighborhood "eligibility".

301.2 Compile descriptive information relative to Atlanta neighborhoods on basis of criteria selected (above).

3012.1 Obtain pertinent data from Atlanta CRP

301.3 Sort neighborhoods, rejecting those that fail to meet criteria.

30.2 Subjective appraisal of neighborhoods as sites for program activities (i.e. as "testing points").

302.1 Develop supplemental criteria for neighborhood acceptance.

302.2 Apply these criteria to neighborhoods meeting objective standards (above).

302.3 Assign neighborhoods priority according to:

3023.1 Need.

3023.2 Amenability to integration.

3023.3 Demonstrated interest in the program.

3023.4 Policy considerations.

30.3 Neighborhood acceptance. (over)

30.3 Neighborhood acceptance.

303.1 Approve specific neighborhoods as eligible for project support.

303.2 Determine specific neighborhood needs.

3032.1 Establish needs in various functional categories.

3032.2 Establish piorities among needs for each "eligible" neighborhood.

303.3 Establish priorities among "eligible" neighborhoods.

40.0 Coordination of Project Plan with Neighborhood Plan.

40.1 Review priority listing of neighborhoods and estimates of their project needs.

40.2 Review categories of projects:

402.1 Available for immediate effectuation.

402.2 Under research contract or inter-agency agreement.

40.3 Select for priority neighborhoods appropriate projects, on basis of::

403.1 Demonstrated need.

403.2 Availability of needed project.

403.3 Availability of financial or other program support.

403.4 Conformity with policy considerations.

50.0 Project Implementation.

DEMOGRAPHIC MATERIALS

1960 Census

Richmond, Virginia

Key: N = having 2/3 or more Negro population
W = having 2/3 or more White population
MN = simple majority of Negroes
MW = simple majority of Whites

SUMMARY

Items	SMSA		Richmond		Chesterfield		Henrico		Virginia	U. S.
1. Total No. of tracts	87		61		10		16			
2. Total Population	2,108,494		219,958		71,197		117,339		3,966,949	179,323,175
3. White	300,658		127,627		61,762		111,269		3,142,443	88.6
4. Negro	107,366		91,972		9,405		5,989		816,258	11.4%
5. All Other Races	470		359		30		81		8,248	
6. Total Foreign Stock	19,369		9,702		2,376		7,291		4.5%	19%
7. Pop. per Household	3.32		3.14		3.64		3.49			
8. Median School Years Completed	10.9		10.1		11.0		12.1		9.9	10.6
9. All Families	103,289		53,864		17,716		31,709		954,720	45,128,393
10. Median Family Income	$6,071		$5,156		$6,707		$6,937		$4,964	$5,660
11. Families Earning 3000 and Under	17,321		13,093		1,752		2,476		27.9% 280,000(est)	21.4%
12. Median Age	Male 29.5	Female 31.3	M 31.1	F 34.8	M 27.0	F 26.8	M 28.4	F 28.8	27.1 (total)	29.5(total)

Items	SMSA		Richmond		Chesterfield		Henrico		Virginia	U. S.
13. Total Employed	M 102,679	F 63,456	M 52,353	F 39,269	M 18,504	F 8,660	M 31,822	F 15,527	1,340,800	64,639,252
14. White Collar	M 43,836	F 36,735	M 19,764	F 20,296	M 7,188	F 5,386	M 16,884	F 11,053	40.4%	41.1%
15. Blue Collar	M 53,131	F 22,741	M 28,454	F 15,886	M 10,739	F 3,032	M 13,938	F 3,823	59.6%	58.9%
16. Total Housing Units	123,758		69,105		19,931		34,722		1,072,840	53,023,875
17. Owner Occupied	W 62,530	N 11,630	W 22,422	N 9,400	W 14,149	N 1,209	W 25,959	N 1,021	658,078	32,796,720
18. Lacking Plumbing Facilities	9,953		6,705		1,722		1,526			
19. Shared Baths	6,374		4,821		916		637			
20. Deteriorating	12,757		9,782		1,475		1,500			
21. Dilapidated	4,756		2,997		1,026		733			

MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME

22. Lowest 7 Tracts

	Tracts	Income in $	Color
1.	N-6	1,914	N
2.	E-12	2,428	N
3,	W-3	2,500	MW
4.	E-4	2,574	N
5.	N-3	2,662	N
6.	E-6	2,831	N
7.	N-8	2,833	N

23. 10 Middle income classes (based on +$500 to or -$500 from Rich. median family income of $5156.)

1.	W-10	4,769	N
2.	W-11	5,007	W
3.	S-7 S-2	5,365 5,365	W MW
4.	N-4	5,399	N
5.	S-4	5,421	W
6.	S-9	5,538	W
7.	N-5	5,550	W
8.	N-11	5,618	MW
9.	N-9	5650	N

24. Highest 9 Tracts

Rank	Tracts	Income in $	Color
1.	W-22	25,000	W
2.	W-20	9,183	W
3.	W-19	8,785	W
4.	N-15	8,641	W
5.	S-6	8,176	W
6.	W-18	7,997	W
7.	W-21	7,927	W
8.	N-17	7,861	W
9.	N-16	7,567	W

25. 6 lowest income tracts having a majority of whites or large minority of whites

1.	E-1	755 (personal) not family income)	W
2.	W-3	2,500	MW
3.	W-2	2,750	W
4.	W-4	3,658	W
5.	S-1	3,934	MW
6.	S-3	3,983	MN

MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED

26. 9 Highest Tracts

Rank	Tract	Median School Year	Color
1.	W-22	14.7	W
2.	W-20	12.9	W
3.	W-21	12.8	W
4.	N-15	12.7	W
5.	W-18 N-17	12.6 12.6	W W
6.	W-19	12.5	W
7.	S-6 N-16	12.3 12.3	W W

27. 9 middle tracts (based on + or - 1 year from Rich. median of 10.1)

1.	S-7	9.4	W
2.	N-18	9.6	N
3.	N-5 W-10	9.7 9.7	W N
4.	N-12	9.8	W
5.	S-8	10.0	W
6.	N-4	10.4	N
7.	W-17	10.6	W
8.	N-11	10.9	MW

28. 7 Lowest Tracts

Rank	Tract	Median School Years	Color
1.	E-6	5.9	N
2.	N-2	6.7	N
3.	N-8	6.8	N
4.	W-3	7.1	MW
	S-1	7.1	MW
	E-5	7.1	N
5.	N-3	7.3	N
	E-2	7.3	N
6.	N-7	7.4	N
7.	E-4	7.5	N

AGE DISTRIBUTION

29. Highest 6 Median Ages (Females)

Rank	Tract	Male-Female
1.	W-9	34.8-49.2
2.	W-12	38.5-48.4
3.	N-15	39.9-48.3
4.	W-15	37.2-47.2
5.	N-12	40.2-45.1
6.	W-18 W-17	40.4-45.0 37.7-45.0

30. Lowest 10 Median Ages (Females)

Rank	Tract	Male-Female
1.	N-14	10.4-14.2
2.	E-12	11.9-16.8
3.	E-1	29.1-22.7
4.	S-9	25.4-24.4
5.	S-1	25.6-24.5
6.	S-8	25.4-24.7
7.	E-3	24.6-26.4
8.	E-8	23.2-26.6
9.	N-6	22.0-26.7
10.	E-5	24.1-27.8

31. Foreign Stock
(Highest number of foreign born, native born or of mixed parentage)

Rank	Tract	Number
1.	W-19	1211
2.	W-18	837
3.	N-15	572
4.	W-17	420
5.	W-20	417
6.	W-21	417
7.	W-13	393
8.	W-14	363
9.	W-16	349
10.	W-9	346

THE *Redevelopment* PLAN FOR THE 17th STREET REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Richmond, Virginia

THE *Redevelopment* PLAN FOR THE 17th STREET REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT

RICHMOND

Redevelopment and Housing Authority

JUNE, 1961

THE REDEVELOPMENT PLAN
FOR THE
17th STREET REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT

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B. DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT

1. Boundary Description - 17th Street Redevelopment Project

Beginning at the intersection of easterly line of Mechanicsville Turnpike with the northerly line of Fairmount Avenue; thence, southerly approximately 75 feet to the intersection of the southerly line of Fairmount Avenue with the easterly line of Mechanicsville Turnpike; thence, southwesterly along the easterly line of Mechanicsville Turnpike 1446.9 feet to the easterly line of Mosby Street; thence, southerly along said line approximately 925 feet to the northerly line of Venable Street; thence, southwesterly approximately 65 feet to the intersection of the southerly line of Venable Street with the easterly line of Mosby Street; thence, southwesterly along said line approximately 662 feet to a point formed by the extended southerly line of the alley in Block No. 5; thence, westerly along said line and the southerly line of said alley approximately 458 feet to an easterly line of Jefferson Park; thence northerly along said line 22 feet to a northerly line of Jefferson Park; thence, westerly along said line approximately 30 feet to the easterly line of 19th Street; thence, southwesterly along said line approximately 310 feet to the northerly line of Marshall Street; thence, westerly approximately 85 feet to the intersection of the westerly line of 19th Street with the southerly line of Marshall Street; thence, northwesterly along the southerly line of Marshall Street approximately 325 feet to the westerly line of 18th Street; thence, northeasterly along said line approximately 391 feet to the southerly line of Clay Street; thence, northwesterly along said line approximately 384 feet to the easterly right-of-way line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company; thence, northerly along said line approximately 45 feet to the southerly line of Parcel 2, Block 4; thence, northwesterly approximately 12 feet to the northwesterly line of said parcel; thence, northeasterly along said line 16.5 feet to the easterly right-of-way line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company; thence, meandering northerly along said right-of-way line approximately 396 feet to the northwesterly corner of Parcel 10 in Block 4; thence, westerly along the extended southerly line of Parcel 18, Block 4, approximately 226 feet to the westerly line of 16th Street; thence, northerly along said line approximately 408 feet to the northerly line (extended) of Parcel 18, Block 20; thence, easterly along said extended northerly line of Parcel 18, Block 20 approximately 276 feet to the easterly line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company; thence, northerly along said line approximately 309 feet to the southwest corner of Parcel 13, Block 20; thence, northerly 26 feet; thence, easterly 11 feet; thence, northerly 35 feet; thence, easterly 100 feet to the westerly line of 17th Street; thence, northerly along said line

approximately 3360 feet to a point 25 feet southerly of the southerly line of Hospital Street; thence, westerly along a line parallel to and 25 feet southerly of the southerly line of Hospital Street approximately 90 feet to the easterly right-of-way line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company extended; thence, northerly along said line approximately 550 feet to the northerly line of Wood Street; thence, easterly along said line approximately 50 feet; thence, meandering northerly along the easterly right-of-way line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company, a distance of 580 feet to the northwesterly corner of Parcel 10, Block 50; thence, northeasterly along the northerly line of Parcels 10 and 11, Block 50, 93 feet to the southwesterly line of Parcel 3, Block 50; thence, northwesterly along said line 10 feet; thence, northeasterly along the northwesterly line of Parcel 3, Block 50, 258 feet; thence, easterly along the northerly line of Parcel 3, Block 50 and extension thereof approximately 398 feet to the easterly line of Mecklenburg Street; thence, southerly along said line and extension thereof approximately 1330 feet to the southerly line of Hospital Street; thence, meandering westerly along said line approximately 518 feet to the westerly property line of Mosby Court, North Site; thence, southerly along said line approximately 349 feet to the southerly property line of Mosby Court, North Site; thence, easterly along the southerly line of Mosby Court, North Site approximately 270 feet to the easterly line of Ferrell Street; thence, southerly along said line approximately 132 feet to the northerly line of Ford Street; thence, easterly along said northerly line of Ford Street approximately 203 feet; thence, southeasterly approximately 40 feet to the intersection of the southerly line of Ford Street with the easterly line of Avery Street; thence, southerly along the easterly line of Avery and its extension approximately 205 feet to a point on the westerly line of Avery Street 40 feet south of the southerly line of Fairfield Avenue; thence, southerly along the westerly line of Avery Street approximately 540 feet to the southerly line of Lowndes Street; thence, easterly along said southerly line approximately 83 feet to the westerly line of James Street; thence, northly at right angles 12.5 feet to the center line of Lowndes Street; thence, easterly along said center line approximately 110 feet to the southerly line of Littlepage Street; thence, northeasterly at right angles 40 feet to the northerly line of Littlepage Street; thence, southeasterly along said northerly line approximately 646 feet to its intersection with the westerly line of Coalter Street; thence, continuing southeasterly along the northerly line of Littlepage Street approximately 1030 feet to the point of beginning, but excepting therefrom and thereout the City Jail Site described as follows:

Beginning at the intersection of the southerly line of Lowndes

Street with the westerly line of James Street; thence, southerly along the westerly line of James Street approximately 396 feet to the northerly line of Balding Street; thence, westerly along said line approximately 607 feet to a point 70 feet east of the easterly line of 17th Street; thence, approximately 900 feet to a point 40 feet south of the southerly line of Fairfield Avenue; thence, easterly along a line parallel to and 40 feet south of the southerly line of Fairfield Avenue, approximately 495 feet to the westerly line of Avery Street; thence, southerly along said line approximately 540 feet to the southerly line of Lowndes Street; thence, easterly along said line approximately 83 feet to the point of beginning.

The above description is delineated on the Boundary Map, Redevelopment Plan 1.

2. Types of Proposed Redevelopment Action

All of the real property within the project boundaries is to be acquired by purchase, donation, the power of eminent domain or otherwise except the following, as shown on the Boundary Map, Redevelopment Plan 1.

1. Parcel 17, Block 4 - C & O Railway Company (trackage).
2. Parcels 23, 24, 39, Block 6 - T. W. Wood & Sons Seed Company, 425 N. 18th Street.
3. Parcel 25, Block 6 - C & O Railway Company (known as Tunnel Street).
4. Parcel 32, Block 6 - VEPCO (1802 E. Marshall Street).
5. Parcel 17, Block 20 - C & O Railway Company (trackage).
6. Parcel 18, Block 20 - Bone Dry Fertilizer Company (1600 Brown Street).

<u>Streets</u>

1. Avery Street
2. Littlepage Street - East of Coalter
3. Marshall Street
4. Mechanicsville Turnpike
5. Mecklenburg Street
6. Mosby Street
7. 15th Street
8. Clay Street between 17th and 18th and an irregular parcel containing 460 S.F. west of 17th Street shown on the Boundary Map.
9. Hospital Street - between west project boundary and west line of 17th Street.
10. Wood Street - 100 feet east of the western project boundary.
11. 17th Street - 70' north of Carthage to South line of Hospital Street.

12. 18th Street - south of Clay
13. 19th Street - The south 330 feet of 19th Street.
14. Alley south of Block 5.
15. Alley west of Block 48.

Area of land not to be acquired - 4.9 acres

Area of streets not to be acquired - 12.6 acres

All existing buildings will be demolished or relocated off-site. Streets and utilities required to serve the redeveloped property will be retained, modified or installed prior to the disposition of any real property. All real property within the project boundaries to be acquired will be disposed of by sale, lease or dedication for redevelopment by private enterprise or by a public agency in accordance with the provisions of the Redevelopment Plan.

C. LAND USE PLAN

1. The Land Use Map for the 17th Street Redevelopment Project is included as Redevelopment Plan 2.

The Land Use Map indicates:

The proposed use of the Project Area for public or private redevelopment;

The location of streets, alleys and utility easements;

The location and area of each major type of land use, for which permitted uses are specified in the Redevelopment Plan as follows:

Multiple Family Residence	(R-6)
Public School	
Juvenile Detention Home	
Light Industry	(M-1)
Heavy Industry	(M-2)

None of the real property to be acquired is to be rehabilitated. None of the property is to be used for transient housing.

2. Land Use Provisions and Building Requirements

a & b. Covenants Running with the Land

The following shall be incorporated as covenants in appropriate disposition instruments by reference to a written declaration thereof recorded simultaneously with the new plat of the project area. These covenants are to run with the land and shall be binding on all parties and persons claiming under them for the period of time this Redevelopment Plan is in effect.

R-6 Multiple Family Residential Area Covenants: The following covenants shall apply to all areas designated R-6 Multiple Family Residence on the Land Use Map, Redevelopment Plan 2.

(1) Use Regulations: No building or land shall be used except for the following purposes:

(a) Single Family Dwellings.
(b) Two Family Dwellings.
(c) Multiple Family Dwellings.
(d) Accessory buildings or uses customarily incidental to permitted uses but not involving the conduct of a business.

(2) Height Regulations: No building shall exceed a height of 3 stories or 45 feet.

(3) Lot Size Regulations: No dwelling shall be erected or placed on any lot having a width of less than 50 feet at the front building setback line nor shall any building be erected or placed on any lot having an area of less than 5000 square feet. Densities in the "R-6" Multiple Family Dwelling Area shall not exceed 30 dwelling units per net acre.

(4) Building Location Regulations: Main buildings shall be located so that they do not project beyond the following setback lines, except that eaves or cornices may project beyond any setback line a distance no greater than 12 inches:

Setback from front lot line	-	25 feet
Setback from side lines	-	10 feet
Setback from rear lot lines	-	25 feet

(5) Offstreet Parking Regulations: Offstreet parking spaces shall be provided on the lot or within 300 feet of the building being served, in accordance with the following schedule:

(a) Single family dwelling - 1 parking space
(b) Two family dwelling - 2 parking spaces
(c) Multiple family dwelling - 2 parking spaces for each three dwelling units.

(6) Land Coverage Regulations: No more than 25 percent of the total area of any lot, tract or parcel or any combination of lots, tracts or parcels shall be covered by a building or buildings.

<u>M-1 Light Industrial Area Covenants</u>: The following covenants shall apply to all areas designated "M-1" Light Industry on the Land Use Map, Redevelopment Plan 2.

(1) Use Regulations: No building or land shall be used except for the following purposes:

Manufacturing, processing, storing or distribution of goods and materials in general dependent upon raw materials refined elsewhere, and manufacturing, compounding, processing, packaging or treatment as specified of the following products:

Clay, stone and glass products
Concrete products (except central mixing and proportioning plants)

Meat products, packaging and processing (no slaughtering)
Poultry packing and slaughtering
Metals and Metal Products
  Agricultural or farm implements
  Aircraft and aircraft parts
  Aluminum extrusion, rolling, fabrication and forming
  Automobile, truck, trailer, motorcycle and bicycle assembly
  Boat manufacture (vessels less than five tons)
  Bolts, nuts, screws, washers and rivets
  Containers (metal)
  Culverts
  Firearms
  Foundry products manufacture (electrical melting process only)
  Heating, ventilating, cooking and refrigeration supplies and appliances
  Iron (ornamental) fabrication
  Nails, brads, tacks, spikes and staples
  Needles and pins
  Plating, electrolytic process
  Plumbing supplies
  Safes and vaults
  Sheet metal products
  Silverware and plated ware
  Tool, die, gauge and machine shops
  Tools and hardware products
  Vitreous enameled products
Textiles, Bedding and Fibers
  Rubber and synthetic treated fabrics (excluding processing)
  Wood and paper products
  Building materials (cement, lime, sand, gravel, lumber and the like) storage and sales
  Carbon paper and inked ribbon manufacture
  Cigar and cigarette, chewing and smoking tobacco
  Coal and coke storage and sales
  Contractor's shop and storage yard
  Electric transforming station
  Feed and grain storage
  Fur finishing
  Greenhouses, wholesale
  Ice manufacture and cold storage
  Leather goods manufacture, but not including tanning operations
  Public utility storage yard
  Accessory buildings and uses customarily incident to the above uses.

(2) Height Regulations: No building or structure shall exceed a height of 3 stories or 45 feet.

(3) Building Location Regulations: No building or structure or storage of materials shall project beyond the following setback lines except that eaves or cornices may project beyond any setback line a distance of not greater than 12 inches:

Setback from front lot line	-	25 feet
Setback from rear lot line	-	25 feet
Setback from side lot line	-	none except that on a lot abutting a dwelling district there shall be a side yard of not less than 10 feet.

(4) Offstreet parking Regulations: Offstreet parking spaces shall be provided on the lot in accordance with the following schedule provided that no parking space shall be provided in that portion of the lot between the front lot line and the front setback line except for that property lying east of 17th Street between Fairfield Avenue and Hospital Street:

For all uses specified in "M-1" Use Regulations, at least 1 space per 700 square feet of gross floor area and in no instance will the number of spaces be less than equal to one for each two employees on the maximum shift plus space to accommodate all trucks and vehicles in connection therewith.

(5) Offstreet Loading Regulations: Offstreet loading berths having a minimum size of 10 x 50 feet and a minimum height of 14 feet shall be provided on the lot in accordance with the following schedule:

Less than 22,500 square feet gross floor area - 1 berth per 7,500 square feet of gross floor area or major portion thereof.

For each additional 75,000 square feet of gross floor area or major portion thereof -1additional berth.

(6) Land Coverage Regulations: No more than 70 percent of the total area of any lot, tract or parcel or any combination of lots, tracts or parcels shall be covered by a building or buildings.

<u>"M-2" Heavy Industrial Area Covenants</u>: The following covenants shall apply to all areas designated "M-2" Heavy Industry on the Land Use Map, Redevelopment Plan 2.

(1) Use Regulations: No building or land shall be used except for the following purposes:

Manufacturing, processing or storing of the following goods and materials:

Coal and petroleum products
Clay, stone or glass products
Concrete products
Meat and poultry products
Metals and metal products
Inorganic fertilizer products
Foundry products
Plating
Rubber and synthetic treated fabrics
Wood and paper products
Accessory buildings and uses customarily incident to the above uses.

(2) Height Regulations: No building or structure shall exceed a height of 8 stories or 100 feet.

(3) Offstreet Parking Regulations: The offstreet parking regulations in the "M-2" Heavy Industrial Area are the same as those in the "M-1" Light Industrial Area.

(4) Offstreet Loading Regulations: The offstreet loading regulations in the "M-2" Heavy Industrial Area are the same as those in the "M-1" Light Industrial Area.

(5) Land Coverage Regulations: No more than 70 percent of the total area of any lot, tract or parcel or any combination of lots, tracts or parcels shall be covered by a building or buildings.

Public Area Covenants: The following covenants shall apply to all areas designated as "Public Areas" on the Land Use Map, Redevelopment Plan 2.

(1) Use Regulations: No lot or tract shall be used except for schools, detention home (subject to an exception authorized by the Board of Zoning Appeals) or park purposes.

(2) Height Regulations: No building shall exceed a height of 2½ stories or 35 feet.

(3) Building Location Regulations: No building shall be located closer than 25 feet to any lot or tract boundary line.

(4) Offstreet Parking Regulations: Offstreet parking spaces shall be provided on the site in accordance with the following schedule:

Juvenile Detention Home	-	8 spaces
Elementary School	-	2 spaces per classroom
High School	-	1 space for each 8 seats in the main auditorium or 3 spaces for each classroom whichever is greater.

(5) Offstreet Loading Regulations: Offstreet loading berths having a minimum size of 10 x 50 feet and a minimum height of 14 feet shall be provided on the site in accordance with the following schedule:

Juvenile Detention Home	-	1 berth
Elementary School	-	1 berth
High School	-	1 berth

(6) Land Coverage Regulations: No more than 40 per cent of the total area of any lot, tract or parcel or any combination of lots, tracts or parcels shall be covered by a building or buildings.

c. Time Regulations are to be in Effect

The above land use provisions and building requirements including any amendments thereto, shall continue in full force and effect for a period of twenty years from the date of approval thereof by the City Council of the City of Richmond.

d. Applicability of Regulations to Property Not Acquired

The above regulations and land use provisions comprising the Redevelopment Plan shall not apply to real property within the project boundary which is not to be acquired. Zoning Regulations of the City of Richmond, with which these regulations are in accord, will control the development of such property. In the event that the owner or owners of property which is located within the project boundary but is "not to be acquired", subsequently acquire project land, the land use provisions and additional regulations stipulated in Section C of the Redevelopment Plan shall be made to apply to all property within the project boundary so owned, by covenants in appropriate disposition instruments.

3. The Redevelopment Plan for 17th Street Redevelopment Project also constitutes the Urban Renewal Plan for said project.

D. PROJECT PROPOSALS

1. Land Acquisition

   (a) Identification of real property to be acquired

   The real property which is to be acquired within the Project boundary has been identified on the Acquisition Map, Redevelopment Plan 2.

   (1) All land within the Project boundary which is to be acquired is to be cleared and made available for redevelopment.

   (2) Land which is to be acquired for public facilities (Juvenile Detention Home and combined Elementary and Junior High School) has been so indicated on the Acquisition Map, Redevelopment Plan 2.

   (3) None of the project land which is to be acquired is to be rehabilitated or otherwise conserved.

   (4) Property not to be acquired has been identified on the Acquisition Map, Redevelopment Plan 2.

   (b) None of the properties not designated for acquisition are to be acquired under any circumstances.

   (c) None of the properties designated for acquisition will be exempted from acquisition for any reason.

2. Conservation or Reconditioning

   This Redevelopment Plan includes no conservation or reconditioning proposals.

3. Redeveloper's Obligations

   The redeveloper shall begin and complete the development of the project land in accordance with the provisions of the Redevelopment Plan within the time specified in the disposition instrument.

E. OTHER PROVISIONS NECESSARY TO MEET STATE AND LOCAL REQUIREMENTS

The Redevelopment Plan for the 17th Street Redevelopment Project is based on the provisions of the Virginia Housing Authorities' Law 36:51 (Title 36, Code of Virginia 1952 as amended) and with the regulations of the City of Richmond. The relationship of the Redevelopment Plan to the provisions of the Virginia Law is as follows:

1. Relationship to Local Objectives

   a. Appropriate Land Uses

      The Land Use Plan for the City of Richmond provides for an arrangement of land uses including residential, public school and industrial essentially as delineated on the Land Use Map, Redevelopment Plan 2. Proposed changes in the existing zoning district map are made to conform more closely with the land use proposals of the Richmond Master Plan.

   b. Improved Traffic

      Five of the streets in the 17th Street Redevelopment Project have been designated as major streets in the Richmond Master Plan (Major Street Plan), 17th Street, Fairfield, Mechanicsville-Mosby, Venable, Marshall. Project proposals are in harmony with the City's plan as revised by the Technical Advisory Sub-Committee of the Richmond Regional Planning and Economic Development Commission. Improvement standards are those of the Richmond Department of Public Works. The Redevelopment Plan revises the network of internal minor streets, now an illogical grid pattern on rough topography, to provide improved access to abutting property with an overall reduction in streets. The net result will be an improved flow of traffic, improved access to abutting property and less traffic hazard in residential areas.

   c. Public Transportation

      Two existing bus routes utilize major streets within the project on Mechanicsville Turnpike, Mosby and 17th Streets. The improvement of these two streets to high standards will increase the efficiency of the present routing while the connecting network of new streets will permit improved routing.

d. Public Utilities

Public utilities provided in the redevelopment of the project area fully meet existing city standards for service for the types of land use specified in the Redevelopment Plan.

e. Recreation and Community Facilities

Recreation and Community facilities are provided in the Redevelopment Plan by the elementary and junior high schools and their related open areas to be built on a site of approximately 30 acres. The site is well related to the residential neighborhood and should provide full community facilities. Neighborhood park facilities for the surrounding area will be afforded by the playground developed on the combined school ground.

2. Relationship to City Plan and Zoning Ordinance

The proposed land use and building requirements as specified in Section C-2 of the Redevelopment Plan are in harmony with the city land use plan and zoning district map as revised.

3. Zoning Changes

The changes in the City of Richmond Zoning District Map which are required to permit redevelopment of real property in accordance with the Redevelopment Plan are delineated in detail on Redevelopment Plan 4.

Prior to the construction of the Juvenile Detention Home, the city will take necessary steps to permit the location of such facility in a residential district.

4. Project Improvements

Proposed project improvements have been designed to prepare the project land for full re-use in accordance with the Redevelopment Plan and to provide for major streets in accordance with the Richmond Major Street Plan. The streets, utility systems and other improvements necessary to accomplish local objectives as to improved traffic, adequate public utilities, recreational and educational facilities and proper land development, have been indicated on Redevelopment Plan 5.

5. Designation of Land Available for Redevelopment

All project land with the exception of the 29.6 acres to be redeveloped for school use and the 10.2 acres to be developed as a detention home will be available for redevelopment or development by private enterprise. This designation is indicated on the Land Use Map and the Acquisition Map, Redevelopment Plan 2 and 3.

6. Relocation

State and Federal laws require that decent, safe and sanitary dwellings be provided for displaced persons at rents or sale prices within their means. The Authority will comply with State and Federal laws by locating or assisting in locating a decent, safe and sanitary dwelling unit for every person to be displaced from the Project Area. Such dwelling units must be not generally less desirable than their former homes in regard to public utilities and commercial facilities and at rents and prices within the means of persons displaced from the Project. They shall be equal in number to the number of and available to such displaced persons and reasonably accessible to their places of employment.

Certain acts committed by a family to be relocated may be construed as a rejection of aid and will relieve the Authority of this responsibility. If a family is evicted for a failure to pay rents when due, such eviction after court action will relieve the Authority of any further responsibility for relocation assistance. If a person refuses a suitable vacancy without valid cause, the Authority will be under no further obligation to extend relocation assistance to that person.

A dwelling is regarded as decent, safe and sanitary when it complies with the Sanitary Housing Ordinance of the city of Richmond, is in good repair; weather-tight with no leakage and dampness; has no health, fire and safety hazards in the structure or its immediate vicinity; has a safe running water supply and sewer-connected sink within the dwelling unit; an available sewer-connected flush toilet within the building serving not more than 10 persons; an available bathroom; heating and electric lighting facilities and is large enough to accommodate the family without overcrowding.

Convenient site relocation offices, as required, staffed with experienced Authority personnel, will be established in the Project Area as property acquisition proceeds. Fol-

lowing purchase by the Authority site occupants and businesses will be notified in writing of the necessity for relocation and the assistance available through the Authority. The relocation offices will maintain contact with site occupants, locating and inspecting vacancies, and relocating occupants in suitable housing. Clearance will be carried out in stages or phases to facilitate relocation with all habitable dwellings being rented temporarily to site residents and maintained in a habitable condition by the Authority during the interval between purchase and clearance.

The scheduling of the development of the Project, together with the availability of existing decent, safe and sanitary dwellings will make temporary relocation of persons living on project lands to be acquired unnecessary. To the extent, however, that temporary relocation may prove to be necessary during the development of the Project, the Authority will aid all persons needing such assistance and the responsibility of the Authority in this matter will not cease until all such persons have been offered permanent, decent, safe and sanitary dwelling accommodations.

Cash payments for moving expenditures will be made to families, as well as commercial and industrial establishments. In no event will such payments exceed the maximum amount permitted by the Authority.

The Project Area is presently occupied by 481 families (including 83 single persons) living in 631 dwelling units to be cleared. There is now available or will have been made available upon completion of this project, an equivalent number of decent, safe and sanitary dwellings at rents or prices within the financial reach of the income groups displaced. The Authority's plans for relocating these families are as follows:

a. There are 349 non-white families whose incomes are so low as to qualify the families for low-rent public housing. There are 2035 units of public housing for Negroes in the community which have an annual average turnover of 408 units a year, or an estimated 1200 units over a three-year period. In addition, a 450 unit public housing project for non-whites will be completed and made available for occupancy during the acquisition and clearance of project land. The non-white families displaced from the Project Area will be given preference for vacancies in these public housing projects. There are seventeen white families

in the Project Area eligible for public housing. They will be offered accommodations in a 402 unit non-white public housing project which has an average annual turnover in excess of 144 units a year.

b. There are 107 non-white families ineligible for public housing whose incomes range from $2,900 to more than $5,000 per annum. There are presently available within the community sufficient decent, safe and sanitary dwelling units for rental purposes at rents ranging from $45.00 to $80.00 per month. The eight white families now living in the project area who are over income for public housing will have a considerable choice of available dwelling units for their consideration.

7. Redeveloper's Contracts

In addition to such conditions and requirements as the Authority may deem desirable, each contract with a redeveloper shall also require that:

a. The use of land in the project area shall be for the purposes designated in the Redevelopment Plan as provided in Section 36-51 of the Virginia Housing Authorities Law (Title 36, Code of Virginia 1952 as amended).

b. The Redeveloper shall begin and complete the development of project land acquired within a reasonable time to be specified in the contract.

c. The Redeveloper shall retain the interest acquired until the completion of construction and development in the area acquired pursuant to this Redevelopment Plan and shall not sell, lease or transfer the interest acquired or any part thereof without the prior written consent of the Authority at any time prior to such completion of construction and development.

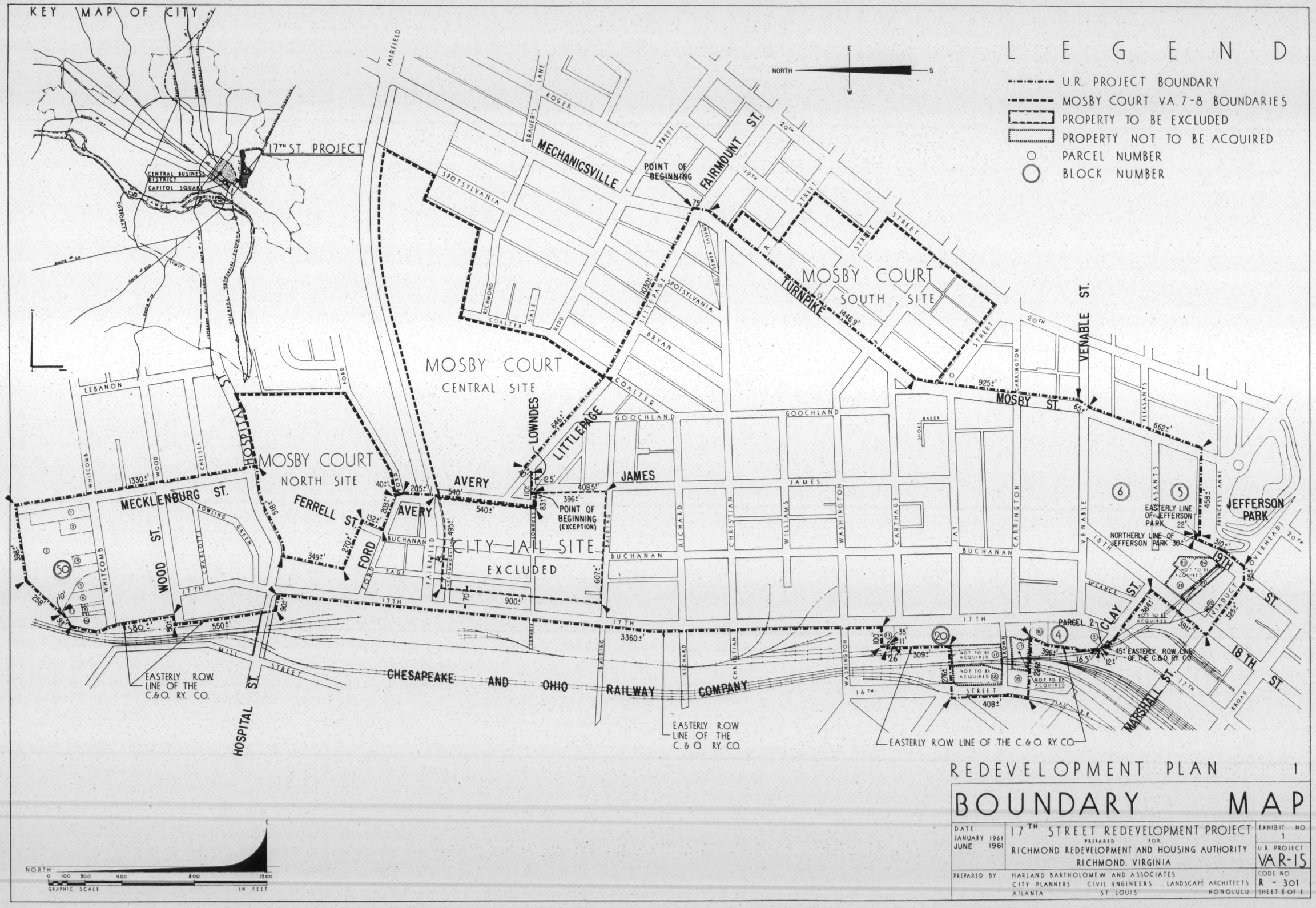
d. Land in the project area shall be used and maintained in a manner to prevent the recurrence of slums and blight or as would not disadvantage the general neighborhood or otherwise impair the objectives of the Redevelopment Plan.

No covenant, agreement, lease, conveyance or other instrument shall be executed by the Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority or by any purchasers or lessees from it (or any

successors in interest of such purchasers or lessees), whereby land in the project area is restricted, either by the Authority) or by such purchasers, lessees or successors in interest, upon the basis of race, creed or color, in the sale, lease or occupancy thereof.

F. PROCEDURE FOR CHANGES IN PLAN

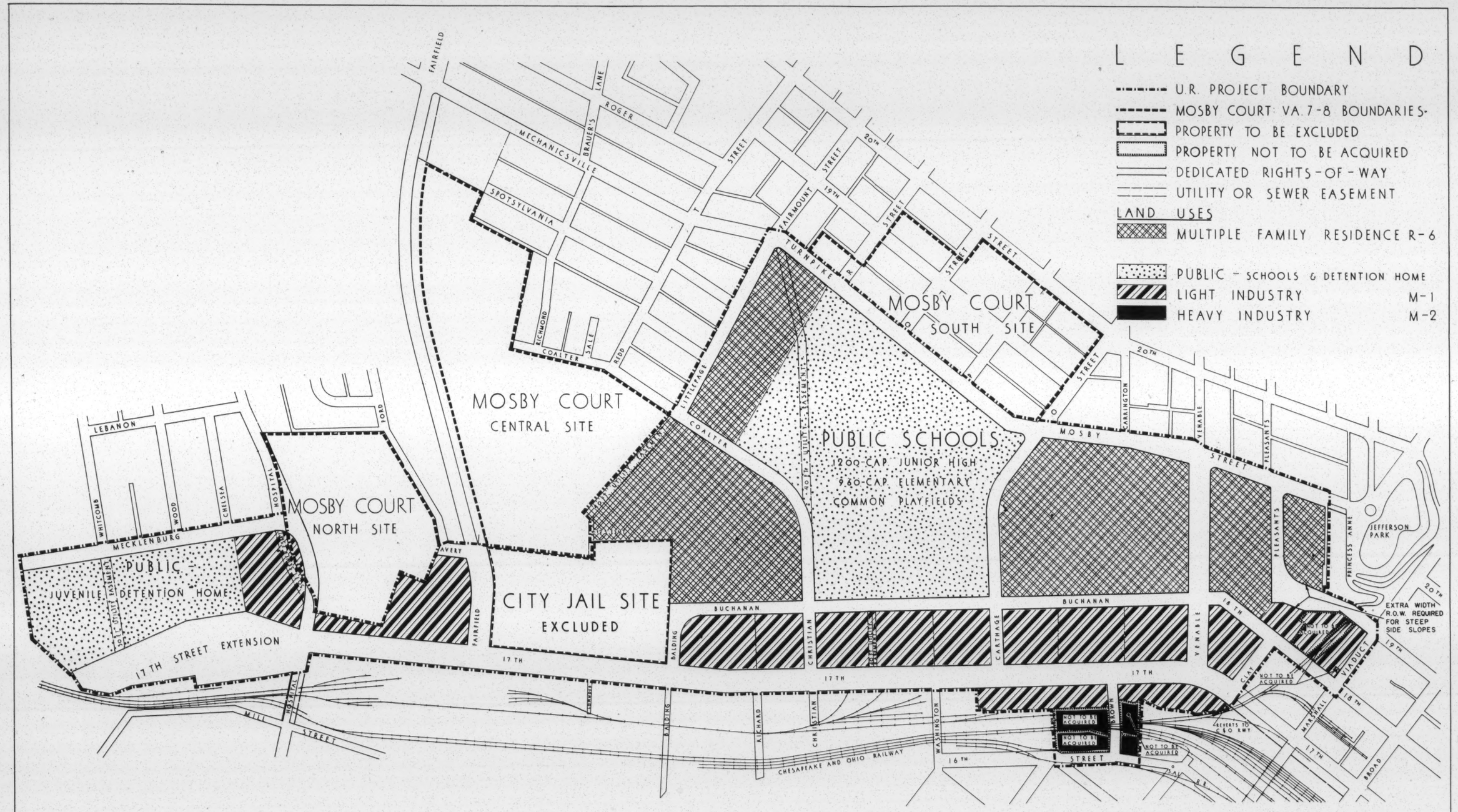
The Redevelopment Plan may be modified at any time by the Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority with the consent and approval of the Council of the City of Richmond provided that if modified after disposition of any land in the project area, said Authority shall obtain the written consent of the then owner of such land whose interests therein are materially affected by such modification.



REDEVELOPMENT PLAN 1

BOUNDARY MAP

DATE: JANUARY 1961 JUNE 1961	17TH STREET REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT PREPARED FOR RICHMOND REDEVELOPMENT AND HOUSING AUTHORITY RICHMOND, VIRGINIA	EXHIBIT NO 1
		U.R. PROJECT VA.R-15
PREPARED BY	HARLAND BARTHOLOMEW AND ASSOCIATES CITY PLANNERS CIVIL ENGINEERS LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTS ATLANTA ST. LOUIS HONOLULU	CODE NO R - 301 SHEET 1 OF 1



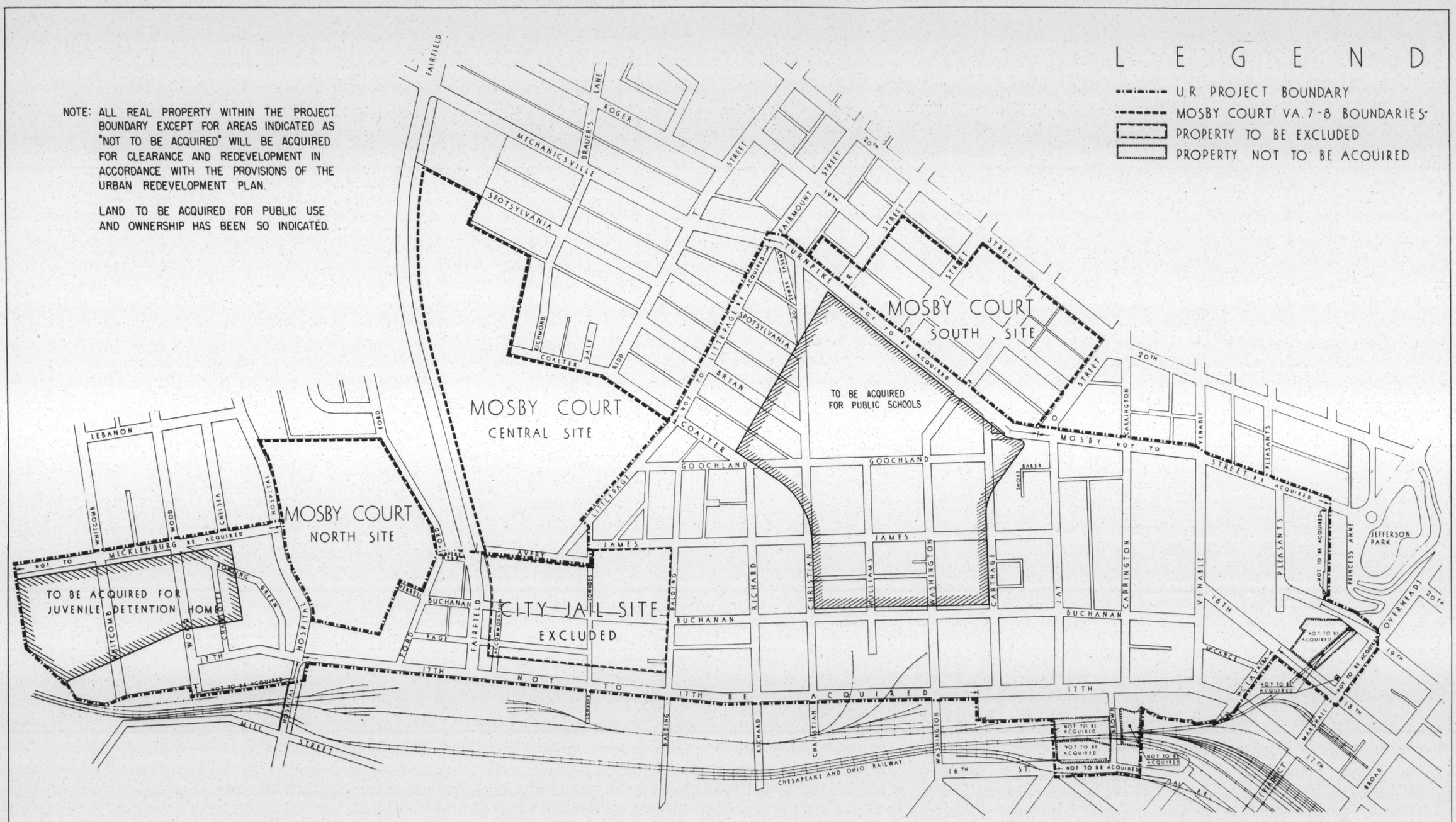
REDEVELOPMENT PLAN 2

LAND USE MAP

DATE: JANUARY 1961 JUNE 1961	17TH STREET REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT PREPARED FOR RICHMOND REDEVELOPMENT AND HOUSING AUTHORITY RICHMOND, VIRGINIA	EXHIBIT NO. 2
		U.R. PROJECT VA.R-15
PREPARED BY:	HARLAND BARTHOLOMEW AND ASSOCIATES CITY PLANNERS CIVIL ENGINEERS LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTS ATLANTA ST. LOUIS HONOLULU	CODE NO. R - 301 SHEET 1 OF 1

NOTE: ALL REAL PROPERTY WITHIN THE PROJECT BOUNDARY EXCEPT FOR AREAS INDICATED AS "NOT TO BE ACQUIRED" WILL BE ACQUIRED FOR CLEARANCE AND REDEVELOPMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE URBAN REDEVELOPMENT PLAN.

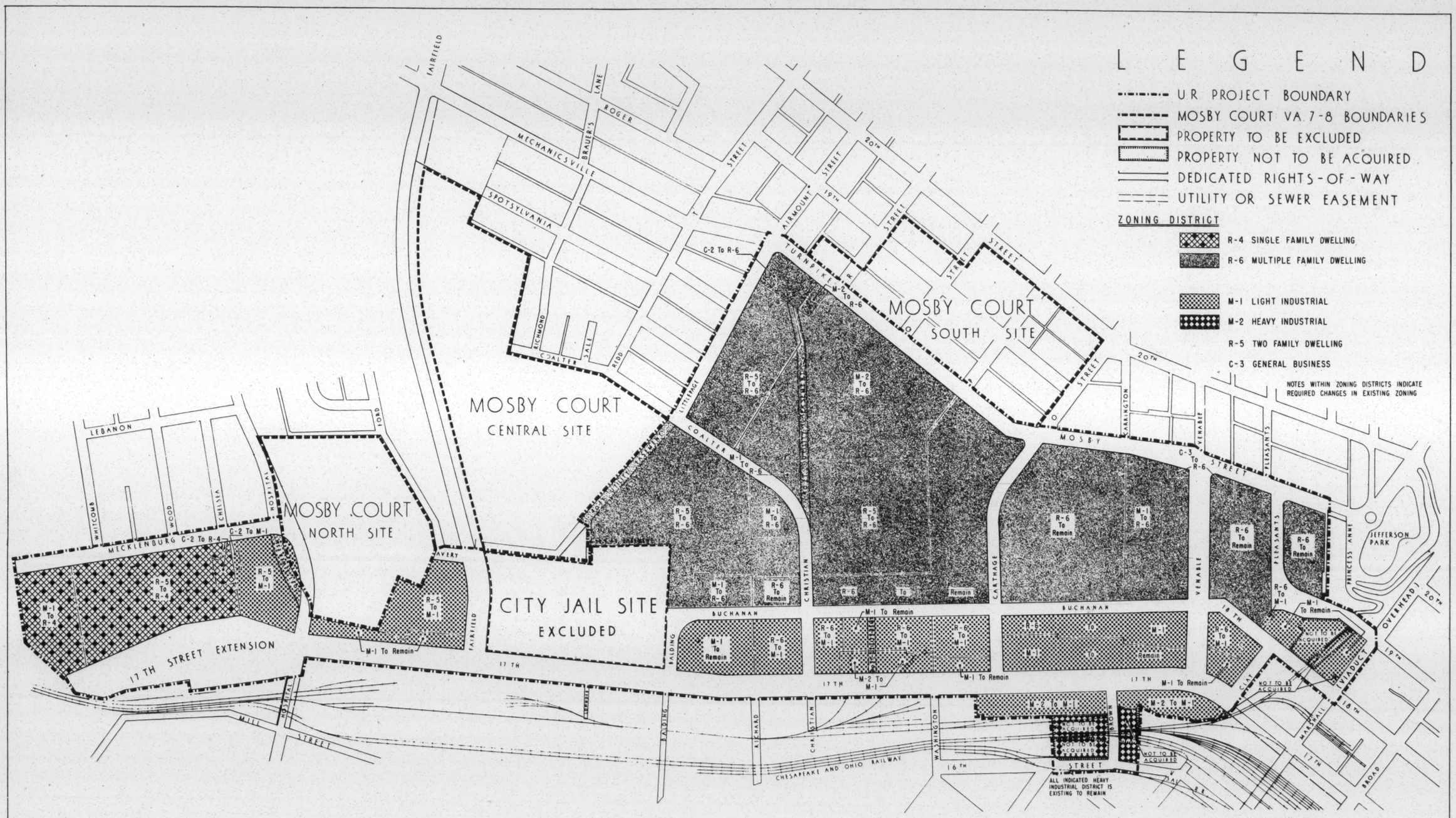
LAND TO BE ACQUIRED FOR PUBLIC USE AND OWNERSHIP HAS BEEN SO INDICATED.



REDEVELOPMENT PLAN 3

ACQUISITION MAP

DATE: JANUARY 1961 JUNE 1961	17TH STREET REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT PREPARED FOR RICHMOND REDEVELOPMENT AND HOUSING AUTHORITY RICHMOND, VIRGINIA	EXHIBIT NO. 3
		U.R. PROJECT VA.R-15
PREPARED BY:	HARLAND BARTHOLOMEW AND ASSOCIATES CITY PLANNERS CIVIL ENGINEERS LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTS ATLANTA ST. LOUIS HONOLULU	CODE NO. R - 301 SHEET 1 OF 1



REDEVELOPMENT PLAN 4

ZONING PLAN

DATE JANUARY 1961 JUNE 1961	17TH STREET REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT PREPARED FOR RICHMOND REDEVELOPMENT AND HOUSING AUTHORITY RICHMOND, VIRGINIA	EXHIBIT NO 4 U.R. PROJECT VA.R-15
PREPARED BY	HARLAND BARTHOLOMEW AND ASSOCIATES CITY PLANNERS CIVIL ENGINEERS LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTS ATLANTA ST. LOUIS HONOLULU	CODE NO R - 301 SHEET 1 OF 1

STREET IMPROVEMENTS

ALL EXISTING STREET PAVEMENTS WITHIN THE PROJECT BOUNDARY WITH EXCEPTION OF 16TH, 19TH, ST. AND MARSHALL ST. WILL BE REMOVED. DEDICATED STREET RIGHTS OF WAY SHOWN WITHIN THE PROJECT WILL BE IMPROVED AS FOLLOWS:

HEAVY DUTY PAVEMENT WITH VERTICAL CURB

17 TH ST.
HOSPITAL ST.
MECKLENBURG ST. SOUTH OF WHITCOMB ST.
BUCHANAN ST.
CARTHAGE ST. WEST OF BUCHANAN ST.
CHRISTIAN ST. WEST OF BUCHANAN ST.
VENABLE ST.
18 TH ST.
CLAY ST. AND BROWN ST.

MEDIUM DUTY PAVEMENT WITH COMBINATION CURB & GUTTER

MECHANICSVILLE TURNPIKE
MOSBY ST.
PLEASANTS ST.
CARTHAGE ST. EAST OF BUCHANAN ST.
CHRISTIAN ST. EAST OF BUCHANAN ST.
COALTER ST.
LITTLEPAGE ST.
AVERY ST.

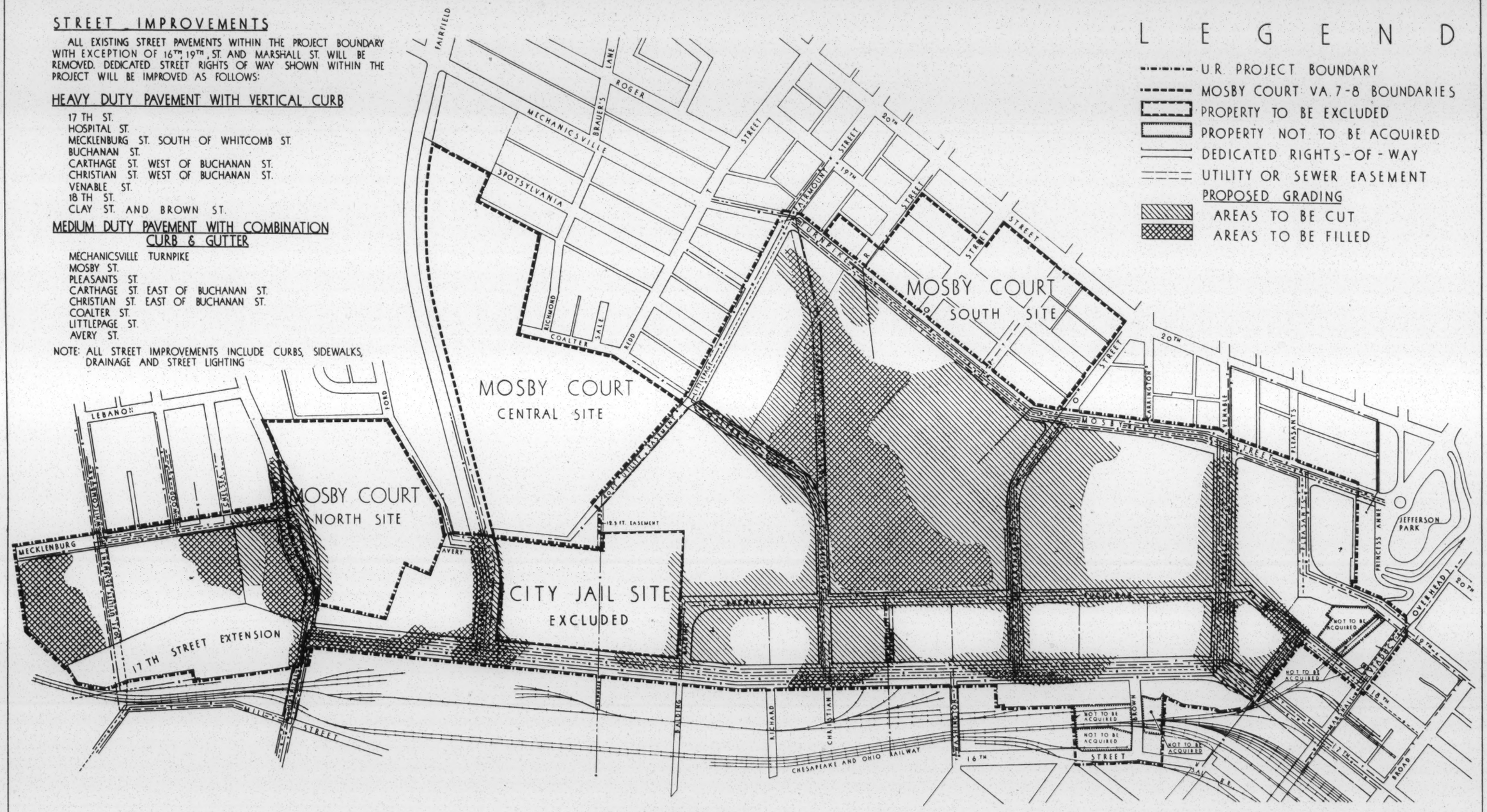
NOTE: ALL STREET IMPROVEMENTS INCLUDE CURBS, SIDEWALKS, DRAINAGE AND STREET LIGHTING

LEGEND

- U.R. PROJECT BOUNDARY
- MOSBY COURT VA. 7-8 BOUNDARIES
- PROPERTY TO BE EXCLUDED
- PROPERTY NOT TO BE ACQUIRED
- DEDICATED RIGHTS-OF-WAY
- UTILITY OR SEWER EASEMENT

PROPOSED GRADING

- AREAS TO BE CUT
- AREAS TO BE FILLED



UTILITY IMPROVEMENTS

LEGEND

- COMBINED STORM AND SANITARY SEWERS
- WATER MAINS
- GAS MAINS
- ELECTRIC LINES
- TELEPHONE LINES
- FIRE ALARM AND POLICE CALL LINES

NOTE: LOCATION OF ALL UTILITY LINES IS DIAGRAMMATIC ONLY. PROPOSED IMPROVEMENTS AND DIMENSIONS OF EASEMENTS ARE TENTATIVE AND SUBJECT TO REVISION.

Harry W. Alexander DATE JAN. 17, 1961
HARRY W. ALEXANDER P.E. 791 (VA.)

NORTH
0 100 200 400 800 1200
GRAPHIC SCALE IN FEET

REDEVELOPMENT PLAN 5

IMPROVEMENTS PLAN

DATE: JANUARY 1961 JUNE 1961	17TH STREET REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT PREPARED FOR RICHMOND REDEVELOPMENT AND HOUSING AUTHORITY RICHMOND, VIRGINIA	EXHIBIT NO. 5
		U.R. PROJECT VAR-15
PREPARED BY	HARLAND BARTHOLOMEW AND ASSOCIATES CITY PLANNERS CIVIL ENGINEERS LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTS ATLANTA ST. LOUIS HONOLULU	CODE NO. R - 301 SHEET 1 OF 1

Richmond Times-Dispatch, Wed., June 9, 1965 9

Attack on Blight Planned By City Housing Authority

Plans for a massive, six-year assault against the blighting influences that create slums are being completed by the Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority.

Frederic A. Fay, executive director of the authority, said the plans are expected to be finished by the middle of July.

They will be incorporated in a community renewal program designed to unite private and public forces in a campaign to prevent the development of blight and to attack it wherever it has begun.

This is the way the program would work:

For the purposes of the program, the city has been divided into 19 districts. The physical, social and economic characteristics of each district have been analyzed, and the attractive and unattractive features of each district have been identified.

The program will identify those areas that urgently need anti-blight attention. One such area is Fulton. Fay said it would be premature to disclose a complete list of the districts in this category.

To be executed over the six-year period, the community renewal program would involve the use of many anti-slum weapons, such as redevelopment, rehabilitation, the enforcement of housing codes, and public and private building programs that would upgrade neighborhoods.

Preparation of the program has been underway for more than three years. Although the housing authority has supervised the project, city officials and agencies have made major contributions.

Preparation for the project has cost about $120,000, of which $80,000 came from the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency. The balance represents the city's share, which was in the form of personnel and facilities needed for the study.

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THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

17 EAST CARY STREET RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA 648-4445

ROBERT LEE COMBS, Executive Director

A council that seeks — through fact-finding, discussion and action — to attain equal opportunity for all people in Virginia.

9 June 1965

Representatives from the Richmond Council on Human Relations and the VCHR appear today, 9 June 1965, before the Richmond's Commission on Community Relations to discuss the subject of "Fair Housing" in the City of Richmond, Virginia. We sincerely request you to study the following areas.....

(1) Would you please make a study of the "panic conditions" which exists in certain areas of the city due to the transition of population from all white to Negro; include in your study areas that are on the fringe of such a transition but as yet no Negro family has purchased a home in the block? We raise these questions ----- Who is really creating "panic" among the white home owners? Is it the (a) Negro purchasing the white owned home, (b) the white home owner who wants to sell and get out, (c) the Real Estate Agency or Salesman who wants to just increase sales, (d) or, are there other causes?

(2) Who really determines that a block or a section of a community has now become "colored" or Negro? Therefore, how many Negro families must buy a home in a block or a section to determine that the block or section is now a Negro community? What are the major causes of this labeling -- (a) Is it advertisement placed by the Real Estate Salesman in local papers, "For Sale-Colored, (b) Is it the fault of the white home owner, or white owners who rent the property, (c) Is it the fault of the Negro purchaser, (d) Or, are there other causes?

(3) What other pressures exist that cause or create a community to be based on definite racial or religious boundaries?

(4) Is there religious exclusions existing in certain communities which prevent a person of the Jewish Faith, Catholic or other religious minorities from purchasing or renting the home of their choice in the neighborhood of their choice?

(5) What are the methods the Real Estate Agencies use to cover up their operations to still appear legitimate when dealing in sales of a fringe or transitional neighborhood that borders another racial community? Are members of the Richmond Real Estate Board really abiding by their Code of Ethnics and the Code of Ethnics-National Association of Real Estate Boards? What about the Real Estate Agents who are not members of the Richmond Real Estate Board, are their methods legitimate in dealing with fringe or transitional neighborhoods? Is there an effort to include ALL Real Estate Agencies within the Richmond Real Estate Board? Is there an effort to embrace a clear policy of "Fair Housing to ALL?"

(6) What pressures are exerted to prevent a Negro or a Religious Minority from buying the home of their choice? What pressures are employed to prevent these people from -- moving into the home they have purchased in a different neighborhood from their racial or religious background, or remaining as a resident in that home once they have moved?

(7) How available is money from Mortgage Corporations, Banks, Building and Loan, and other private lending agencies to racial, religious, and ethnic minorities who desire to borrow money in order to purchase the home of their choice. Is money more available to the white majority than the Negro or Religious Minority, and yet, the person seeking the loan is just as qualified as the white protestant?

OFFICERS Mr. David H. Scull, *President* Mr. Harold O. DeWitt, *First Vice-President* Mr. John O. Lapp, Mrs. George E. Mattus, Mr. M. C. Martin, *Vice-Presidents*

Dr. Edna M. Colson, *Secretary* Dr. J. Rupert Picott, *Treasurer*

(8) Mr. A. Howe Todd, Richmond City Planning Commission, expressed this idea before the Bellevue-Ginter Park Civic League meeting on June 7, 1965 at the Ginter Park Methodist Church --- the re-zoning of the area located north of Lombardy Street, south of Brookland Park Blvd., and along both sides of Chamberlayne Avenue was accomplished because of race. This happened some years ago, because of the pressure of whites wanting to leave and yet they did not want to sell to Negroes. The change was from a " R " Zoning to a " C " Zoning. We request you to study the zoning policy to determine if decisions are still being made because of the above mention reason? Is there discrimination in zoning decisions?

(9) Mr. R. A. Chandler, Assessor of Real Estate, City of Richmond, expressed this idea before the Bellevue-Ginter Park Civic League meeting on June 7, 1965 at the Ginter Park Methodist Church --- one of the charateristics used to determine assessed value of property is social...we look for the homogeneous neighborhood, that is, race, religion, and vocation. We sincerely request that you make a study to see if discrimination is being employed in determining the assessed value of a piece of property because of race or religious minorities?

(10) We kindly request you to review the zoning and building enforcement. Is there a "double standard" of approach and enforcement of the building and zoning codes in certain areas of Richmond when dealing with racial, ethnic, or religious minorities?

We are grateful to you for allowing us to appear today before you. We sincerely urge the above listed subjects be given a fair, factual study and a report be made public indicating your findings.

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116000
100400-
 15600*

107800
 92400-
 15400*

 87200
 73100-
 14100*
       *

 74600
 61300-
 13300*
       *

 66700
 53000-
 13700*
       *

 67000
 54100-
 12900*
       *

 61100
 46800-
 14300*
       *

 52700
 32300-
 20400*
       *
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RICHMOND, DEMOGRAPHICALLY BY RACE
1900 – 1965

RICHMOND CITY:

Year	Total Population	Whites Number	Whites Pct.	Whites Change	Whites Percent Change	Nonwhites Number	Nonwhites Pct.	Nonwhites Change	Nonwhites Percent Change
1965 est.	223,000	122,600	55.0	-5,000	n.c.	100,400	45.0	+8,000	n.c.
1960	220,000	127,600	58.0	-29,600	-18.8	92,400	42.0	+19,300	+26.3
1950	230,300	157,200	68.3	+25,500	+19.4	73,100	31.7	+11,800	+19.2
1940	220,000	131,700	68.2	+1,800	+1.4	61,300	31.8	+8,300	+15.6
1930	193,000	129,900	71.0	+12,300	+10.5	53,000	29.0	-1,100	-1.9
1920	171,700	117,600	68.5	+36,700	+45.4	54,100	31.5	+7,300	+15.6
1910	127,600	80,900	63.4	+28,100	+53.1	46,800	36.6	+14,500	+45.0
1900	85,100	52,800	62.1	-----	-----	32,300	37.9	-----	----

n.c. = Not Comparable -- 5-year period.

METROPOLITAN RICHMOND (RICHMOND-CHESTERFIELD-HENRICO):

Year	Population Total	Whites Number	Whites Pct	Whites Change	Whites Percent Change	Non-White Number	Non-White Pct	Non-White Change	Non-White Percent Change
1965 est.	453,000	337,000	74.4	+36,300	n.c.	116,000	25.6	+8,200	n.c.
1960	408,500	300,700	73.6	+59,800	+24.8	107,800	26.4	+20,600	+23.7
1950	328,100	240,800	73.4	+49,200	+25.7	87,200	26.6	+12,600	+16.9
1940	266,200	191,600	72.0	+19,000	+11.0	74,600	28.0	+7,900	+11.8
1930	239,300	172,600	72.1	+28,600	+19.9	66,700	27.9	- 300	-0.5
1920	211,000	144,000	68.2	+32,700	+29.4	67,000	31.8	+5,900	+9.7
1910	172,400	111,300	64.6	+30,100	+37.0	61,100	35.4	+8,400	+15.9
1900	133,900	81,200	60.6	----	----	52,700	39.4	----	----

n.c. = Not comparable -- 5-year period.

Richmond By Race By Census Tracts 1950 and 1960

	1950			Trend	1960		
TRACT	TOTAL	NON-WHITE	PERCENT		TOTAL	NON-WHITE	PERCENT
RICHMOND	230,310	73,082	31.7		219958	92331	42.0
N-1	3739	3689	98.7	<	1979	1934	97.7
N-2	3420	3250	95.0	=	2240	2128	95.0
N-3	4912	4854	98.8	>	3809	3794	99.6
N-4	3665	2030	55.4	>	3756	3096	82.4
N-5	3909	2	0.05	>	3813	6	0.16
N-6	5707	5644	98.9	>	3886	3876	99.7
N-7	4197	4155	99.0	>	2081	2074	99.7
N-08	3005	2988	99.4	>	1537	✱ 1537	100.0
N-9	4447	2711	61.0	>	4254	3575	84.0
N-10	3541	4	0.11	>	3476	1165	33.5
N-11	3645	490	13.4	>	3458	1183	34.2
N-12	5720	57	1.0	>	4885	74	1.5
N-13	905	✱ 0	0.00	=	535	✱ 0	0.00
N-14	233	3	1.3	<	221	1	0.45
N-15	6296	41	6.5	<	6408	35	0.55
N-16	1145	1	0.09	<	1654	✱ 0	0.00
N-17	4272	28	0.66	<	4263	8	0.19
N-18	1296	1109	85.6	>	937	919	98.1
E-1	3186	2063	64.8	<	1666	681	41.0
E-2	5380	3078	57.2	>	4467	3940	88.2
E-3	4552	2316	50.9	>	4627	4459	96.4
E-4	5002	4405	88.1	>	4256	4233	99.5
E-5	4889	2427	49.7	>	4613	4472	96.9
E-6	5213	2440	46.9	>	3994	3685	92.3
E-7	4513	1847	40.9	>	5086	4931	97.0
E-8	4121	692	16.8	>	4528	4292	94.8
E-9	4911	3297	67.1	>	4256	3234	76.0
E-10	1361	9	0.66	<	1430	1	0.07
E-11	1200	1	0.08	>	1163	6	0.52

TRACT	1950 TOTAL	1950 NON-WHITE	1950 PERCENT		1960 TOTAL	1960 NON-WHITE	1960 PERCENT
E-12	2147	886	41.3	>	8855	8646	97.6
S-1	4344	469	10.8	>	3677	1613	43.9
S-2	3252	695	21.4	>	3362	1337	39.8
S-3	4511	2593	57.5	>	3870	2375	61.4
S-4	6677	1049	15.7	>	6425	1695	26.4
S-5	5292	309	5.8	>	5473	398	7.3
S-6	2891	12	0.42	<	3400	9	0.26
★ S-7	3455	162	4.7	<	6120	127	2.1
★ S-8	3978	184	4.6		4513	111	2.5
S-9	737	92	12.5	<	1613	185	11.5
W-1	158	14	8.9	<	52	★ 0	0.00
W-2	2474	520	21.0	>	946	229	24.2
W-3	3739	1221	32.7	>	2969	1266	42.6
W-4	5492	1719	31.3	>	4713	1569	33.3
W-5	2552	1700	66.6	>	2200	1535	69.8
W-6	5481	176	3.2	<	3934	112	2.8
W-7	5614	3954	70.4	>	5592	5462	97.7
W-8	3017	1962	65.0	>	2617	1969	75.2
W-9	5549	52	0.94	<	4762	21	0.44
W-10	3492	561	16.1	>	3488	2698	77.4
W-11	3953	263	6.7	>	3459	963	27.8
W-12	5222	26	0.50	<	4327	14	0.32
W-13	5672	75	1.3	<	4977	48	0.96
W-14	3481	16	0.46	>	3544	18	0.51
W-15	3298	8	0.24	<	2895	4	0.14
W-16	2737	25	0.91	<	2322	17	0.73
W-17	3459	4	0.15	>	3313	30	0.91
W-18	6066	53	0.87	<	6015	24	0.40
W-19	4646	34	0.73	<	6103	40	0.66
W-20	3248	374	11.5	<	3802	296	7.8
W-21	3806	118	3.1	<	4890	62	1.3
W-22	1488	118	7.9	<	2452	119	4.9

★ S-7, S-8 – BOUNDARIES CHANGED SLIGHTLY 1950/1960, THRU EXCHANGE OF TERRITORY

+ S-8	7433	346	4.65		10633	238	2.2

Richmond By Race by Census Tract 1950 and 1960

Change in Number of Whites

TRACT	1950	1960	CHANGE	TRACT	1950	1960	CHANGE
RICHMOND —	157,228	127,627	-29,601	S-1	3875	2064	-1811
N-01	50	45	- 5	S-2	2557	2025	-532
N-02	170	112	- 58	S-3	1918	1495	-423
N-03	58	15	- 43	S-4	5628	4730	-898
N-04	1635	660	-975	S-5	4983	5075	+ 92
N-05	3907	3,807	-100	S-6	2879	3391	+512
N-06	63	10	- 53	S-7	3293	5993	+2700
N-07	42	7	- 35	S-8	3794	4402	+ 608
N-08	17	0	-17	S7+S8	7087	10395	+3308
N-09	1736	679	-1057	S9	645	1428	+ 783
N-10	3537	2,311	-1226	W-1	144	52	- 92
N-11	3155	2,275	-880	W-2	1954	717	-1237
N-12	5663	4,811	-852	W-3	2518	1703	- 815
N-13	905	535	-370	W-4	3773	3144	- 629
N-14	230	220	- 10	W-5	852	665	- 187
N-15	6255	6,373	+ 118	W-6	5305	3822	-1483
N-16	1144	1,654	+ 510	W-7	1660	130	-1530
N-17	4244	4,255	+ 11	W-8	1055	648	- 407
N-18	187	18	-169	W-9	5497	4741	- 756
E-1	1123	985	-138	W-10	2931	790	-2141
E-2	2302	527	-1775	W-11	3690	2496	-1194
E-3	2235	168	-2067	W-12	5196	4313	- 883
E-4	597	23	-574	W-13	5597	4929	- 668
E-5	2462	141	-2321	W-14	3465	3526	+ 61
E-6	2768	309	-2459	W-15	3290	2891	- 399
E-7	2665	155	-2510	W-16	2712	2305	- 407
E-8	3429	236	-3193	W-17	3455	3283	- 172
E-9	1614	1,022	- 592	W-18	6013	5991	- 22
E-10	1352	1,429	+ 77	W-19	4612	6063	+1451
E-11	1199	1,157	+ 42	W-20	2874	3506	+ 632
E-12	1261	209	-1052	W-21	3688	4828	+1140
				W-22	1370	2333	+ 963

∴ There are 18 + 12 + 9 + 22 = 61 Tracts in Rich.

1950 to 1960 —

① Gaining significantly in NUMBER OF NON-WHITES [18]
N-4; N-9; N-10; N-11; E-2; E-3; E-5; E-6; E-7; E-8; E-12; S-1; S-2; S-4; W-7; W-8; W-10; W-11;

② Gaining significantly in PERCENTAGE OF NON-WHITES: [21]
N-4; N-9; N-10; N-11; N-18; E-2; E-3; E-4; E-5; E-6; E-7; E-8; E-12; S-1; S-2; S-4; W-3; W-7; W-8; W-10; W-11;

In ①, not in ② —
In ②, not in ① — N-18, E-4; W-3.

No census tract which gained significant number of Negroes which did not also increase significantly in percentage of Negroes.

Three tracts gained significantly in percentage while not making significant gains in number. [In fact, two (2) tract lose Negroes]
Reason: Drops in total population; exodus of whites. One was downtown (near) — two other Negro resi-areas. Why these 2 last population is not apparent.

③ Significant losses in number of whites: [31]
N-4, N-9; N-10; N-11; N-12; N-13; E-2; E-3; E-4; E-5; E-6; E-7; E-8; E-9; E-12; S-1; S-2; S-3; S-4, W-2; W-3; W-4; W-6; W-7; W-8; W-9; W-10; W-11; W-12; W-13; W-15; W-16.

④ Significant losses in percentage of whites: [21]
See 2 above.

(5) Tracts increasing in percentage of Negroes — 35
(6) Tracts increasing in percentage of whites — 24
However, of these: In 1960;
19 had less than 5% Negroes; 13 had less than 1%.
(7) Tracts with stable percentages of N's + W's — 2
One with 95% Negroes, other with NO Negroes.

Integration-Segregation of Tracts:	1950	1960
Number with no Negroes ----	1	3
Number with less than 1% Negroes —	17	19
" " 5% or less Negroes —	23	25
" " 10% or less Negroes —	28	27
" " 20% or less Negroes —	35	28
" " 40% or less Negroes —	38	34
" " 60% or more Negroes --	14	23
" " 80% or more Negroes --	8	18
" " 90% or more Negroes --	6	15
" " 95% or more Negroes --	6	13
" " 99% or more Negroes --	2	5
" " 100% Negroes (no whites) --	0	1
"Integrated" tracts — 1/3 to 2/3 Negro-White --	11	8
"Integrated" tracts — 1/4 to 3/4 Negro-White --	15	11

T. J. WOOFTER, JR. —

NEGRO PROBLEMS IN CITIES

(Doubleday, Doran & Co, Inc. 1928 Garden City, N.Y.)

In Richmond — 1920 —

53 % of W in concentrated White Areas (90%+ W)

25 % of N in concentrated Negro Areas (90%+ N)

Whites in Conc W Areas				Negroes in Concen N Areas	
	1950		1960	1950	1960
S-5	4983	N-5	3807	3689	1934
S-6	2879	N-12	4811	3250	2128
S-7	3293	N-13	535	4854	3794
S-8	3794	N-14	220	5644	3876
W-1	184	N-15	6373	4155	2081
W-6	5305	N-16	1654	2988	1537
W-9	5497	N-17	4255	24,580	919
W-11	3690	E-10	1429		4459
W-12	5196	E-11	1157		4233
W-13	5597	S-5	5075		4472
W-14	3465	S-6	3391		3685
W-15	3290	S-7	5993		4931
W-16	2712	S-8	4402		4292
W-17	6013	W-1	52		8646
W-18	4612	W-6	3822		5462
W-19	2874	W-9	4741		56449
W-21	3688	W-12	4313		
W-22	1370	W-13	4929		
N-5	3907	W-14	3576		
N-10	3537	W-15	2891		
N-12	5663	W-16	2305		
N-13	905	W-17	3283		
N-14	230	W-18	5991		
N-15	6255	W-19	6063		

Whites

1950		1960	
N-16	1144	W-20	3506
N-17	4244	W-21	4828
E-10	1352	W-22	2333
E-11	1199		95685
	96838		

Negroes in Concentrated Negro Areas —

$$1950 = \frac{24580}{73082} = 33.6^{+} = 34\%$$

$$1960 = \frac{56449}{91972} = 61.3^{+} = 61\%$$

Whites in Concentrated White Areas —

$$1950 = \frac{96838}{157228} = 61.6^{-} = 62\%$$

$$1960 = \frac{95685}{127627} = 74.97^{+} = 75\%$$

Summary:

	1920	1950	1960
N's in conc N Areas	25%	34%	61%
W's in conc W Areas	53%	62%	75%

Richmond Area Community Council
1970 population estimates

Planning Districts 8-21, with partial exceptions

District	Tracts	TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO
8	E-9, E-10, E-11	6,922	3900	3022
9	E-4, 5, 6, 7, 8	24,800	200	24600
10	E-2, 3, 12	21,100	100	21000
11	N-5, 10, 11, 12, 16	18,500	6500	12000
12	N-13, 14, 15, 17, 18	13,000	12000	1000
13	N-4, 8, 9	9,700	500	9200
14	E-1, N-1, 2, 3, 6, 7, W-1, 2, 3	16,447	4460	11987
15	W-6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16	19,600	17867	1733
16	W-4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14	24,000	7200	16800
17	W-17, 18, 19, 20, 22	21,400	21000	400
18	* W-21 and T-2	5,500	5450	050
19	S-4, 5, 6	17,100	13,000	4,100
20	S-1, 2, 3, 7	18,600	8 600	10,000
21	* S-8, 9 and C-3	7,500	7100	400
		224,169	107,877	116,292

* E-12, S-9, W-22, N-18

less C-3

*Correction to 21:

1960		1970
12,307	T	14,880
11,305	W	13,680
1,002	N	1,200
C-3		S 8+9
1960: 6181	T	6 126
1960: 5475	W	5830
1960: 706	N	296

Est: S8+9

T: 7,500

W: 7,100

N: 400

less T-2

*Correction to 18:

1960		1970
13,483	T	15950
13322	W	14800
166	N	150
T-2		W-21
1968: 8598	T	4890
1968: 8494	W	4828
1968: 104	N	62

Est. W-21

T: 5500

W: 5450

N: 50

Summary —
Community Council Study
Projections, 1970
(rounded)

Richmond population —	224,200 =	100.0%
Whites — — — — — —	107,900 =	48.1%
Negroes — — — — — — —	116,300 =	51.9%

written for college student group. - never used

THE DIMENSIONS OF A COMMUNITY

Today, those of us who wish to see and effect social change are called upon to become more sophisticated, and more informed than any generation ever before. We must understand the conditions and barriers which prohibit change; conditions which our parents would have never dreamed of questioning. Students who wish to bring our state more nearly in line with modern human aspiration are compelled to become students of the "community." That is to say, if we wish to be effective and to avoid blind action and wasted efforts we must come to understand even the most subtle historical, social, psychological, economic, and political factors in the functions and organization of our communities. Out of this knowledge comes the most success for bringing to all Americans civil, social and economic rights and liberties.

In order to begin one's study of the "community" or before one begins some social action calculated to improve the conditions in a given community, one needs certain basic tools. Following is a short list of some such tools. They are sources of important information about Virginia's cities, towns, counties and even magisterial districts. Familiarity with such data is essential to those who anticipate working on projects in local communities. They are also essential for those who have never examined what the American community really looks like in terms of its social and economic conditions.

A. <u>Background information</u> on communities (e.g. population distribution; economy; family and personal income; occupational data; housing conditions; age distribution; education; migration; labor force; agriculture; etc.)

1. <u>County and City Data Book, 1962</u> (latest edition) Bureau of the Census. Available in the reference section of most libraries.
2. "Economic Data." A separate report for each county in Virginia. Free to the public from the Virginia State Division of Industrial Development and Planning, Richmond.

3. U. S. Census of Agriculture, 1959. Bureau of Census. Available in libraries and at the Bureau of Census, Department of Commerce library in the Federal Building, Richmond.

4. U. S. Census of Housing, 1960. Bureau of Census. Available in libraries and at Bureau of Census, Department of Commerce library, Federal Building, Richmond, for 421 cities in United States and Puerto Rico. These include a housing census in 10 Virginia localities.

5. Census Tract, 1960. Available at libraries and at the Bureau of Census, Department of Commerce library, Federal Building, Richmond, for 180 cities in United States and Puerto Rico. Virginia's 3 largest metropolitan areas and the Washington, D.C.-Maryland-Virginia area are objects of these studies.

6. United States Census of Population, 1960, including:

   PC (1), 48 A, Virginia, "Number of Inhabitants."
   PC (1), 48 B, Virginia, "General Population Characteristics."
   PC (1), 48 C, Virginia, "General Social and Economic Characteristics."
   PC (1), 48 D, Virginia, "Detailed Characteristics."

   Available at most libraries and at the Bureau of Census, Department of Commerce library, Federal Building, Richmond.

B. Maps

1. Virginia Department of Highways, Richmond, sells and distributes free to the public state maps as well as detailed maps for each county. "Base" maps of the state for various uses are also available there.

2. City Departments of Public Utilities as well as City Planning Commissions have very helpful and interesting maps which are for the most part distributed to the public.

3. State and Local Chambers of Commerce distribute maps of the state and localities to the public.

C. Government Structure

1. Virginia's Government, A Description of the Structure and functions of the State and Local Government of the People of Virginia, published and distributed by the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, Richmond.

2. Constitution of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Available in paperback form from the Department of Purchases and Supply, Richmond.

D. Officers and Officials of the State, Cities, Towns, Counties and Magisterial Districts.

1. Report of the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the Governor and General Assembly of Virginia, Depart of Purchases and Supply. Published every other year and available in libraries; or for $3 from the Office of Martha Bell Conway, Secretary of the Commonwealth; or from the Department of Purchases and Supply.

E. Property Ownership, Tax Records and Records of Council and Supervisors Meetings.

1. County and city property tax books found in the county courthouses and city government offices. Duplicates for most years are found in the Archives of the Virginia State Library, Richmond.

2. Proceedings of Boards of Supervisors and City Councils - found in county courthouses and city government offices.

F. Education (including finance, curriculum, school census, education officials, etc.)

1. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia, published by and available through the State Board of Education, Richmond.

2. Educational Directory, published by and available through State Board of Education, Richmond. This includes all major education officials for state and local school divisions including principals in local elementary and secondary schools.

G. Health and Medical Care.

1. "Statistical Annual Report of the Virginia State Department of Health," published and distributed yearly by the Virginia State Department of Health, Richmond.

H. Organizations and Agencies.

The publications and research reports of the following organizations and agencies often provide a wealth of information about Virginia communities.

1. Community Organizations

The local area community council or United Givers Fund very often (e.g. Richmond Area Community Council) publishes a "Directory of Social Services."

2. Education - Professional Associations

Virginia Teachers Association, 316 East Clay Street, Richmond

Virginia Education Association, 116 South Third Street, Richmond

3. Health, Welfare and Crime

a. Virginia Council on Social Welfare, Richmond, a private state-wide organization which studies and encourages solutions to certain social welfare problems in Virginia.

b. Virginia State Department of Mental Hygiene and Hospitals, 9 North Twelfth Street, Richmond.

c. Statistical Section, Virginia State Department of Welfare and Institutions, 429 South Belvidere Street, Richmond. This agency publishes arrests, public assistance, probation and parole, adoption and foster care and other data for the State and all localities.

FROM THE RICHMOND COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS AND THE V.C.H.R. TO THE RICHMOND'S COMMISSION ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS ---- "FAIR HOUSING"

The VCHR contends that there exists discrimination and policy maintaining of housing segregation by the Richmond City zoning policies AND PRACTICES:

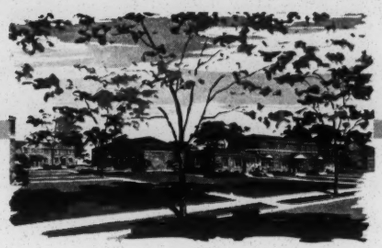
WE OFFER THE FOLLOWING EVIDENCE:

(1) Mr. A. Howe Todd, Richmond City Planning Commission, expressed this idea before the Bellevue-Ginter Park Civic League meeting on June 7, 1965 at the Ginter Park Methodist Church --- the rezoning of the area located north of Lombardy Street, south of Brookland Park Blvd., and along both sides of Chamberlayne Avenue was accomplished because of race. This happened some years ago, because of the pressure of whites wanting to leave and yet they did not want to sell to Negroes. The change was from an "R" zoning to a "C" zoning.

(2) We request you to study the zoning policy to determine if decisions are still being made because of the above mentioned reason? Is there discrimination in zoning decisions?

Southern Regional Council, Inc., "Research Design for a Study of Southern Housing Patterns" suggests the following is being used as a mechanism for maintaing housing segregation . . . zoning ~~policies and~~ practices. (Note: use of zoning is legally uneforceable, this does not prevent segregating of the races residentially)

Questions: Do racial zoning "Laws" exist, and are they "in force" because they have not been challenged successfully? Is land zoned for certain uses (e.g., parks, cementeries, expressways, municipal facilities) in order to create buffers between white and minority housing areas?



RICHMOND
Redevelopment and Housing Authority
POST OFFICE BOX 2-AF
RICHMOND 5, VIRGINIA

FREDERIC A. FAY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority, under Virginia law a political subdivision of the Commonwealth of Virginia, is the official slum clearance and urban redevelopment agency for the City of Richmond. All programs and undertakings of the Authority must be approved by City Council. In carrying out its activities the Authority is guided by a "Cooperation Agreement" or contract with the City, authorized by Council, which states the responsibilities of the City and the Authority with respect to the activity involved.

Commissioners of the Authority are appointed by City Council and serve for a term of four years without compensation. The Chairman and Vice-Chairman are elected at the annual meeting of the Authority in October.

The Authority works closely with all affected City agencies and departments and in effect considers it a part of the City government. In fact the Authority has patterned its personnel policies, including compensation, after those of the City.

The Authority, under Virginia law, is exempt from real and personal property taxes, but makes a payment in lieu of taxes to the City each year. Payments over the last few years have approximated $87,000. each year, the total to date exceeds $626,000.

The Authority's low-rent housing and urban redevelopment programs attract many visitors interested in such programs.

RICHMOND
Redevelopment and Housing Authority
POST OFFICE BOX 2-AF
RICHMOND 5, VIRGINIA

FREDERIC A. FAY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Information - Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority

The Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority was established in October 1940 pursuant to the provisions of Title 36 of the Code of Virginia as amended.

The members of the Authority, appointed by the Council of the City of Richmond are:

Mrs. Evelyn Byrd Purcell, Chairman
Mr. Lewis T. Booker, Vice Chairman
Mr. Herbert C. Moseley
Mr. Fred S. McCall
Mr. Clarence L. Townes, Jr.

Members are appointed by City Council for a term of four years and serve without compensation.

The Authority maintains its administrative headquarters in its own Central Office Building at 901 Chamberlayne Parkway. The Authority employs a total staff of about 130 persons.

The Authority operates seven low-rent public housing projects in the City described later and is undertaking an urban redevelopment program also described later.

The following income limits for admission and continued occupancy are in effect in the Authority's projects:

Number of Persons	Limits in Net Income After Exemptions		
	Admission		Continued Occupancy
	Regular	Special	
One or Two	$2600	$2900	$3250
Three or Four	2800	3150	3500
Five or More	3100	3500	3875

Each family is entitled to an exemption of $100. for each minor dependent. Certain other administrative exemptions are permitted by the Authority in the case of members of the Armed Services and for child care.

LOW-RENT HOUSING PROJECTS

GILPIN COURT

Location: Chamberlayne Avenue to St. Paul Street, Hickory to Coutts Streets

Dwelling Units — 2885
Approx — 10,000
Av family Y — $2700 / avg fam.
more like 5 (3 kids)
Range —

Number dwelling units - 297 dwelling units for Negro families:

One bedroom	-	98
Two bedroom	-	132
Three bedroom	-	48
Four bedroom	-	18
Five bedroom	-	1

Number of Buildings - 25

Area: 9.03 acres

Open for occupancy - 1942

Annual tax revenue before redevelopment - $2600.

Annual payment in lieu of taxes (approximate) - $8764.

GILPIN COURT EXTENSION

Location: Adjacent to Gilpin Court, Chamberlayne to St. James, Baker to Coutts.

Number dwelling units - 338 dwelling units for Negro families:

One bedroom	-	0
Two bedroom	-	192
Three bedroom	-	102
Four bedroom	-	44
Five bedroom	-	0

Number of Buildings - 30

Area: 13.75 acres

Open for occupancy - Summer 1957

Annual tax revenue before redevelopment $8691.

Annual payment in lieu of taxes (approximate) - $11,110.

HILLSIDE COURT — WHITE

Location: Bruce to Southlawn, Rosecrest to Lone Streets (South Richmond).

Number of dwelling units - 402 dwelling units for white families:

One bedroom	-	80
Two bedroom	-	184
Three bedroom	-	102
Four bedroom	-	36
Five bedroom	-	0

Number of Buildings - 68

Area: 30 acres

Open for occupancy - 1952

Annual tax revenue before redevelopment - $500.

Annual payment in lieu of taxes (approximate) - $12,983.

CREIGHTON COURT

Location: Nine Mile Road to 29th Street adjacent to City Limits.

Number dwelling units - 504 dwelling units for Negro families:

One bedroom	-	124
Two bedroom	-	206
Three bedroom	-	128
Four bedroom	-	46
Five bedroom	-	0

Number of Buildings - 85

Area: 40 acres

Open for occupancy - 1952

Annual tax revenue before redevelopment - $1600.

Annual payment in lieu of taxes (approximate) - $15,095.

WHITCOMB COURT

Location: Whitcomb to LaCrosse between Sussex and Magnolia Streets.

Number of dwelling Units - 447 dwelling units for Negro families:

One bedroom	-	62
Two bedroom	-	223
Three bedroom	-	112
Four bedroom	-	46
Five bedroom	-	5

Number of Buildings - 77

Area: 35 acres

Open for occupancy - Spring 1958

Annual tax revenue before redevelopment - $755.

Annual payment in lieu of taxes (approximate) - $15,001.

FAIRFIELD COURT

Location: Fairfield Avenue to Phaup Street between 21st and 26th Streets

Number of dwelling units - 447 dwelling units for Negro families:

One bedroom	-	62
Two bedroom	-	225
Three bedroom	-	110
Four bedroom	-	44
Five bedroom	-	6

Number of Buildings - 84

Area: 35 acres

Open for occupancy - Summer 1958

Annual tax revenue before redevelopment - $2513.

Annual payment in lieu of taxes (approximate) - $13,808.

MOSBY COURT

Location: Three separate areas adjacent to the proposed 17th Street Redevelopment Project:

a. Mosby to 20th Street, from "O" to Fairmount Streets

b. Littlepage to Fairfield, Spottsylvania to Avery Streets

c. Ford to Hospital Streets east of Ferrell

Number of dwelling units - 450 dwelling units for Negro families:

One bedroom	-	56
Two bedroom	-	136
Three bedroom	-	180
Four bedroom	-	68
Five bedroom	-	10

Number of Buildings - 106

Total area: 55.8 acres

Construction started June 1961 - initial occupancy April, 1962

Annual tax revenue before redevelopment - $7,252.79.

Annual payment in lieu of taxes (approximate) - $15,000.

REDEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

CARVER PROJECT - Completed

Located north of Leigh Street between the Belvidere Extension and

Lombardy Street and generally surrounding the Carver Elementary School. The 45 acre area, one of the City's worst slums, was acquired by the Authority, cleared and sold for various public and private uses as follows:

Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike Authority

Carver Elementary School

Virginia Electric and Power Company

Viking Development Corporation of Richmond (residential)

Galeski Photo Center, Incorporated

Lewis Printing Company

Begun 1955, completed 1961.

Total site acquisition and clearance costs were $1,814.941.

Proceeds from the sale of land were $667,505.95

Annual tax revenue before redevelopment $13,353.00

Annual tax revenue after redevelopment (approximate) $24,600.00

A distinctive feature of the redevelopment is the use of a modified form of the principle of "condominium" employed in the Hartshorn Town House Community being developed as a joint venture by the Viking Development Corporation of Richmond and the Reynolds Aluminum Service Company of Virginia. This development of middle income housing is being developed for Negro occupancy and sells for $11,500. In this type of development title to the dwelling and a small plot of ground is conveyed to the purchaser with recreational, parking, service and circulation areas being owned in common and administered and maintained by a community group. The Carver Project is the first redevelopment project in Virginia to have been completed.

17TH STREET REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Located between 17th Street and Mosby Street, Mechanicsville Turnpike from Marshall to Whitcomb Street, this 150 acre project is planned as Richmond's second urban redevelopment project. The Authority began acquisition and clearance of the area in January of 1962.

The area is one of the City's worst slums and has been blighted since Colonial times when the jail and gallows were located there. The renewal of the area contemplates major revisions in the street pattern, the development of new industrial and residential areas, two new schools, a church and an attractive and modern juvenile detention home and courts building. The area has been completely acquired and cleared at a cost of $3,193,413. and land has been offered for sale for private redevelopment.

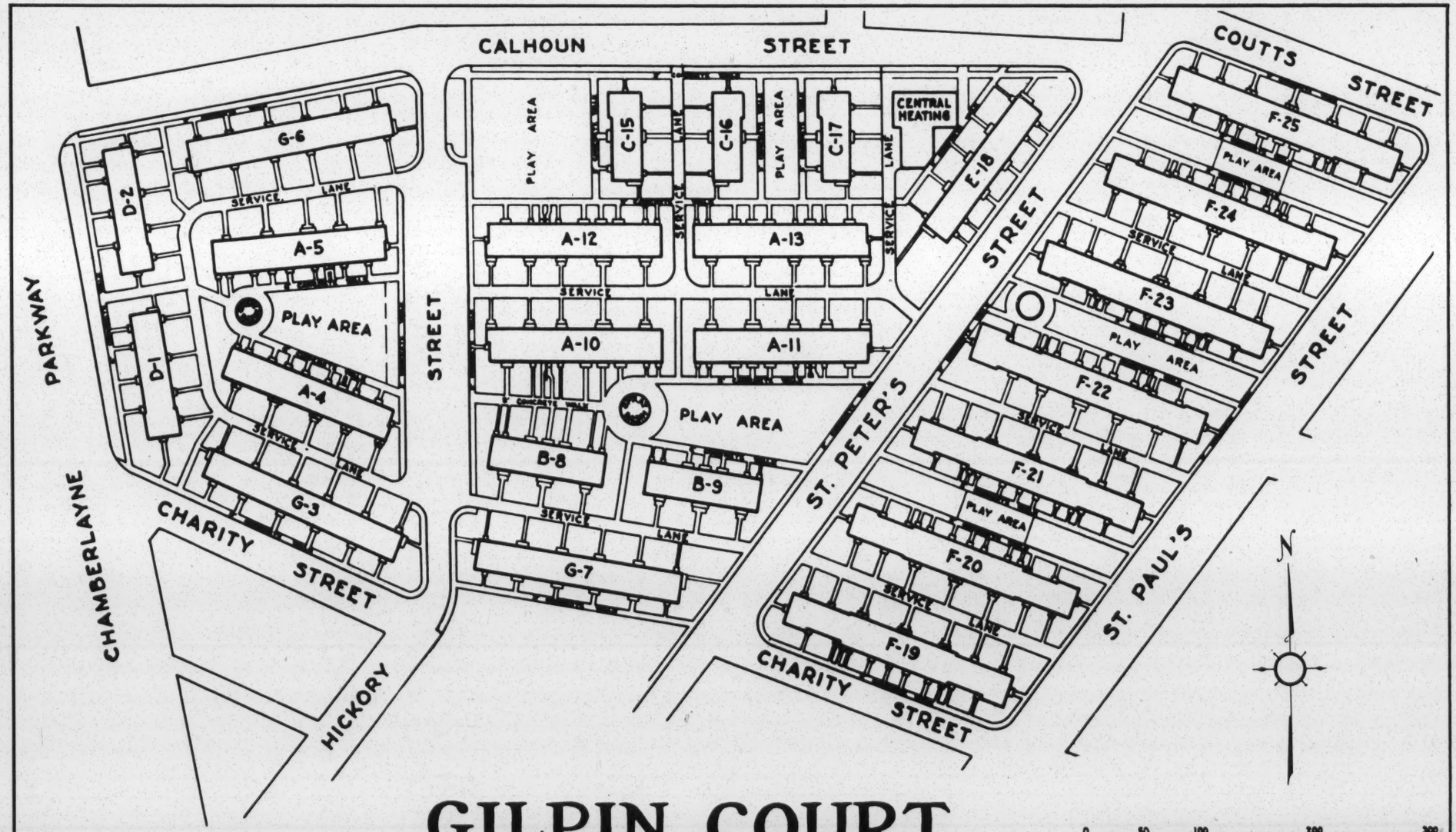
Annual tax revenue before redevelopment $29,019.00.

Annual tax revenue after redevelopment (estimated) $160,000.00.

COMMUNITY RENEWAL PROGRAM

Richmond is the first city in Virginia and one of the first in the Nation to undertake the preparation of a Community Renewal Program. The study is being undertaken with the cooperation of the City at a cost of approximately $90,000. of which two-thirds is a Federal Grant. The balance has been contributed by the City in the form of services and personnel. The program defines all areas of blight in the City, analyzing the causes and projecting a schedule of renewal activity coordinated with the City's Master Plan and Capital Improvement Program. The study will be complete and ready for presentation to City Council in the summer of 1965.

July, 1964



GILPIN COURT

RICHMOND ~ VIRGINIA

☆

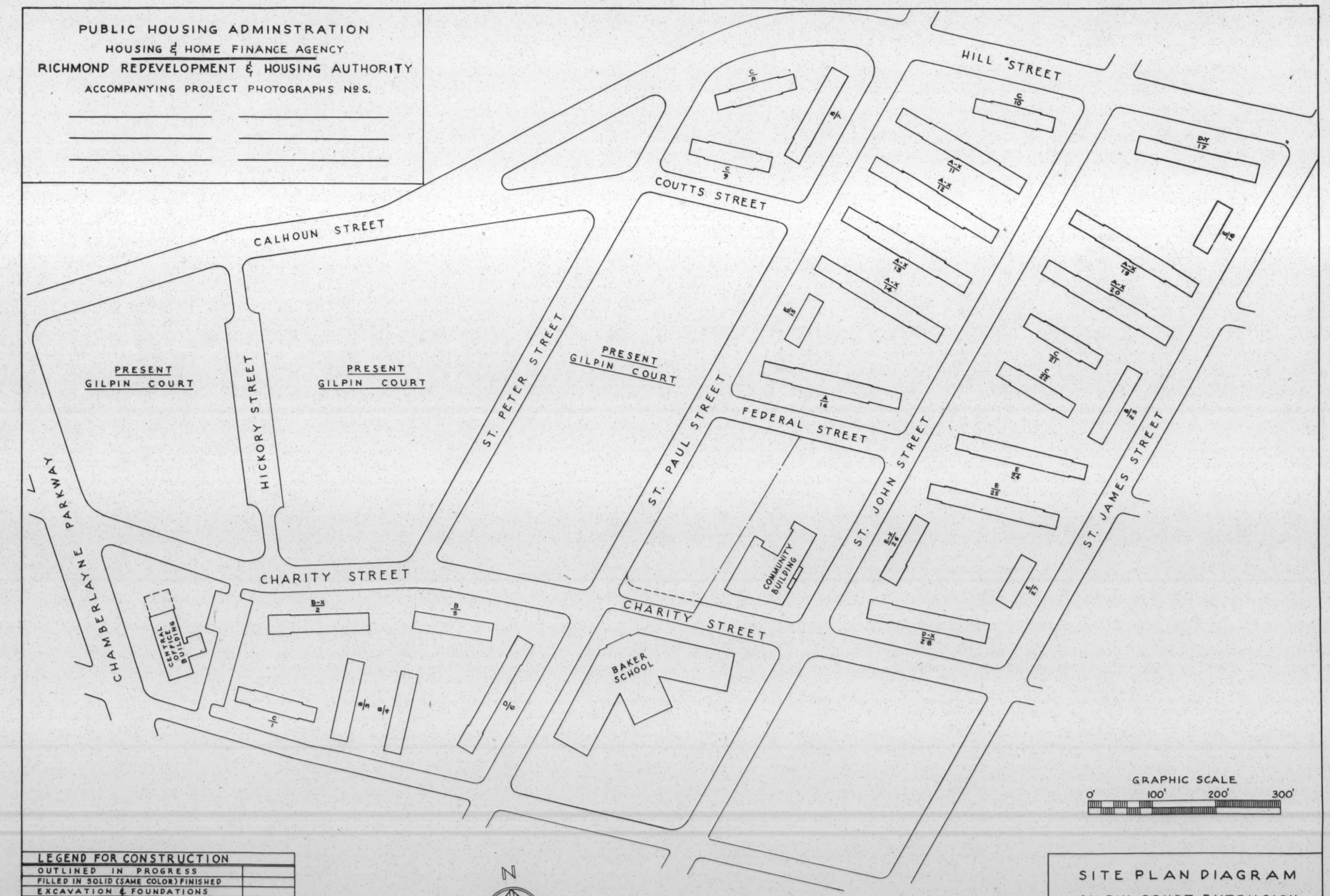
RICHMOND

Redevelopment and Housing Authority

PROJECT VA. 7-1

1941

PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINSTRATION
HOUSING & HOME FINANCE AGENCY
RICHMOND REDEVELOPMENT & HOUSING AUTHORITY
ACCOMPANYING PROJECT PHOTOGRAPHS Nos.

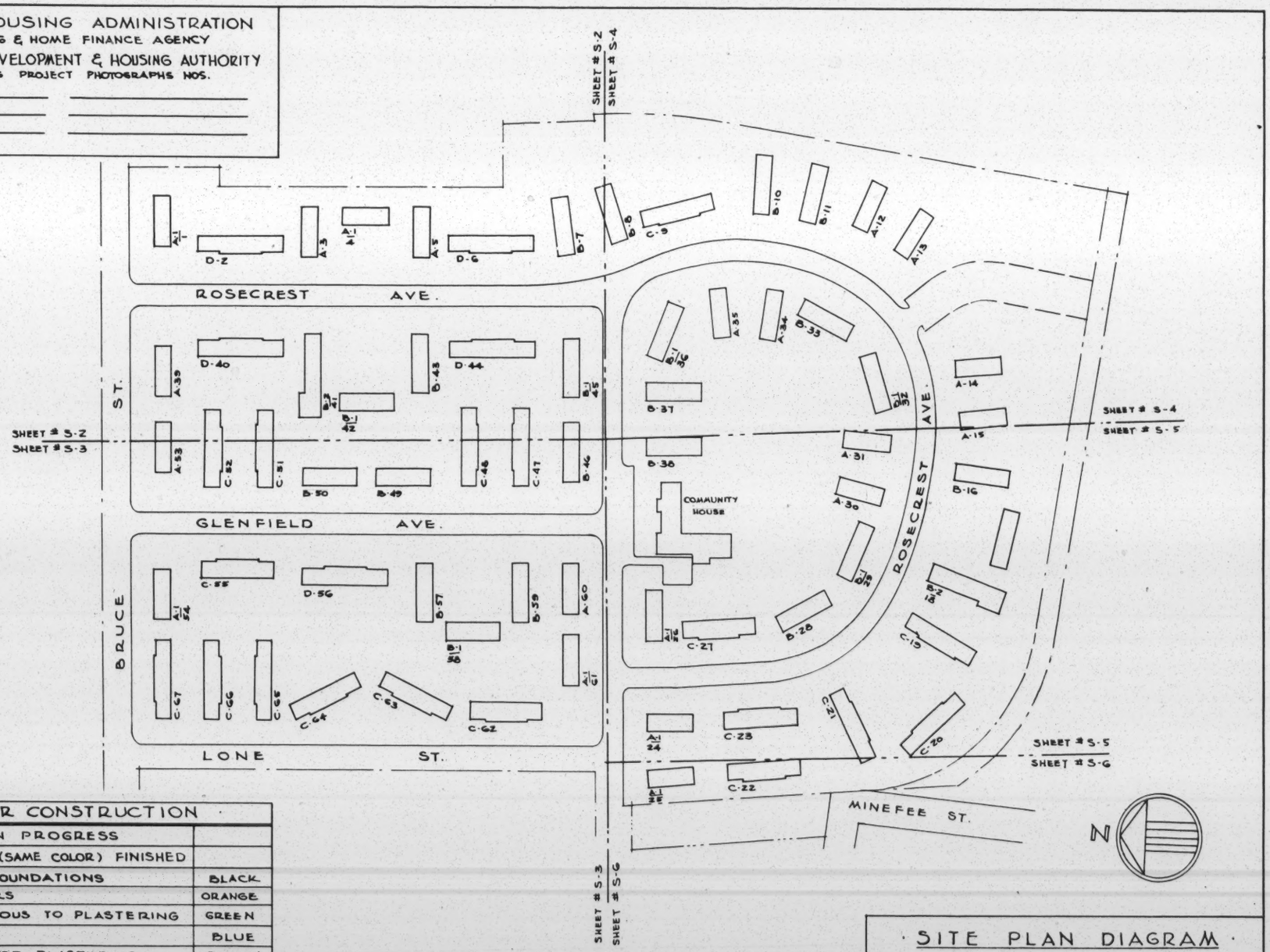


LEGEND FOR CONSTRUCTION	
OUTLINED IN PROGRESS	
FILLED IN SOLID (SAME COLOR) FINISHED	
EXCAVATION & FOUNDATIONS	
WALLS & FLOORS	
MISC. WORK PREVIOUS TO PLASTERING	
PLASTERING	
MISC. WORK AFTER PLASTERING	
PUNCH LIST ITEMS	
LEGEND FOR LANDSCAPING	
OUTLINED - IN PROGRESS	
HATCHED (SAME COLOR) FINISHED	
FINE GRADING	
PLANTING - TREES & SHRUBS	
LAWN WORK	

SITE PLAN DIAGRAM
GILPIN COURT EXTENSION
PROJECT VA 7-2
RICHMOND VIRGINIA
MAR. 21, 1956

BASKERVILL & SON - MERRILL C. LEE - MARCELLUS WRIGHT & SON
ASSOCIATED ARCHITECTS
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

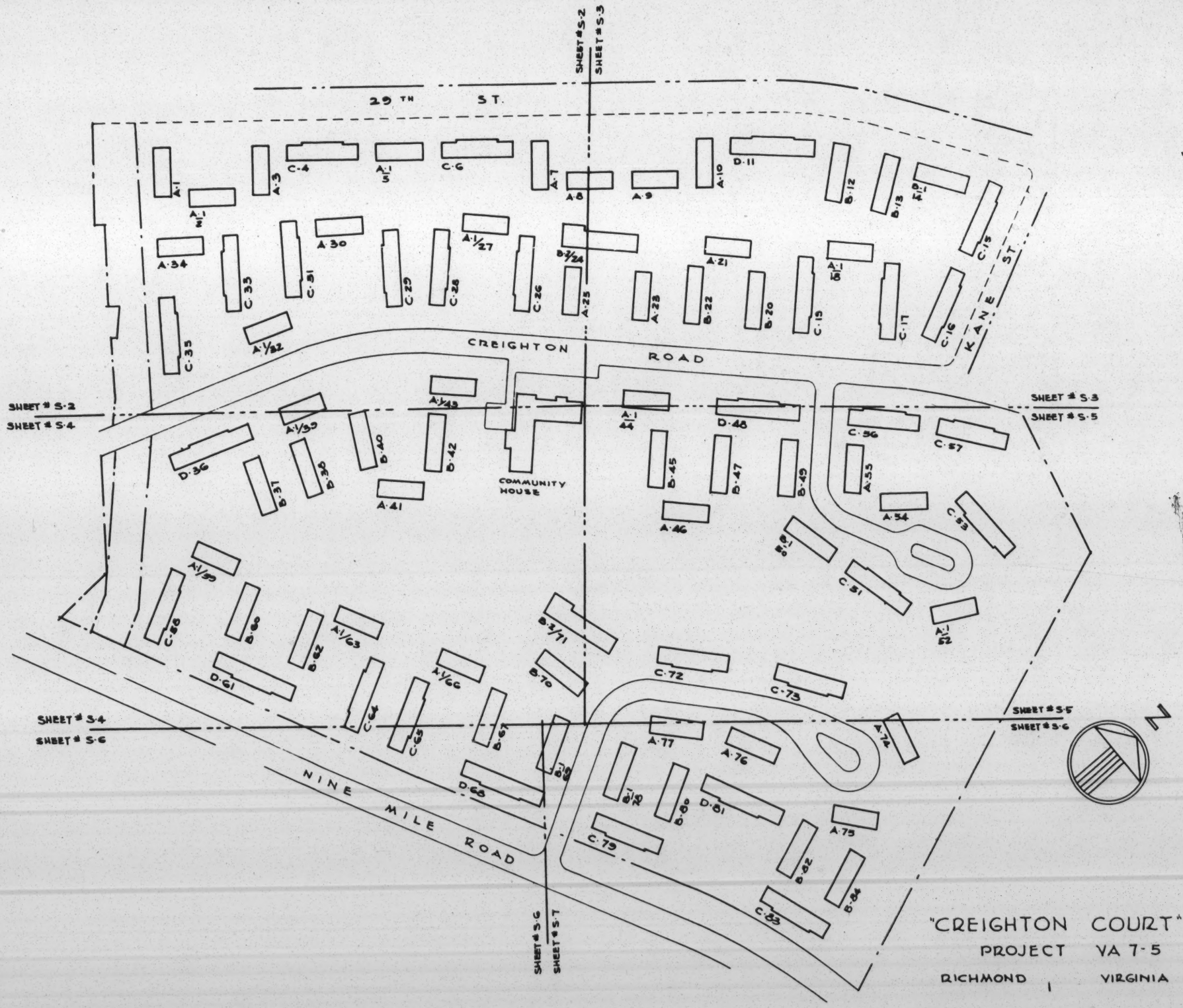
PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION
HOUSING & HOME FINANCE AGENCY
RICHMOND REDEVELOPMENT & HOUSING AUTHORITY
ACCOMPANYING PROJECT PHOTOGRAPHS NOS.



LEGEND FOR CONSTRUCTION	
OUTLINED - IN PROGRESS	
FILLED IN SOLID (SAME COLOR) FINISHED	
EXCAVATION & FOUNDATIONS	BLACK
WALLS & FLOORS	ORANGE
MISC. WORK PREVIOUS TO PLASTERING	GREEN
PLASTERING	BLUE
MISC. WORK AFTER PLASTERING	BROWN
PUNCH LIST ITEMS	RED
LEGEND FOR LANDSCAPING	
OUTLINED - IN PROGRESS	
HATCHED (SAME COLOR) FINISHED	
PLANTING - TREES & SHRUBS	YELLOW
LAWN WORK	PURPLE

SITE PLAN DIAGRAM
"HILLSIDE COURT"
PROJECT VA 7-4
RICHMOND VIRGINIA
DATE:

JULY 20, 1951



"CREIGHTON COURT"
PROJECT VA 7-5
RICHMOND VIRGINIA

PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION
HOUSING & HOME FINANCE AGENCY
RICHMOND REDEVELOPMENT & HOUSING AUTHORITY
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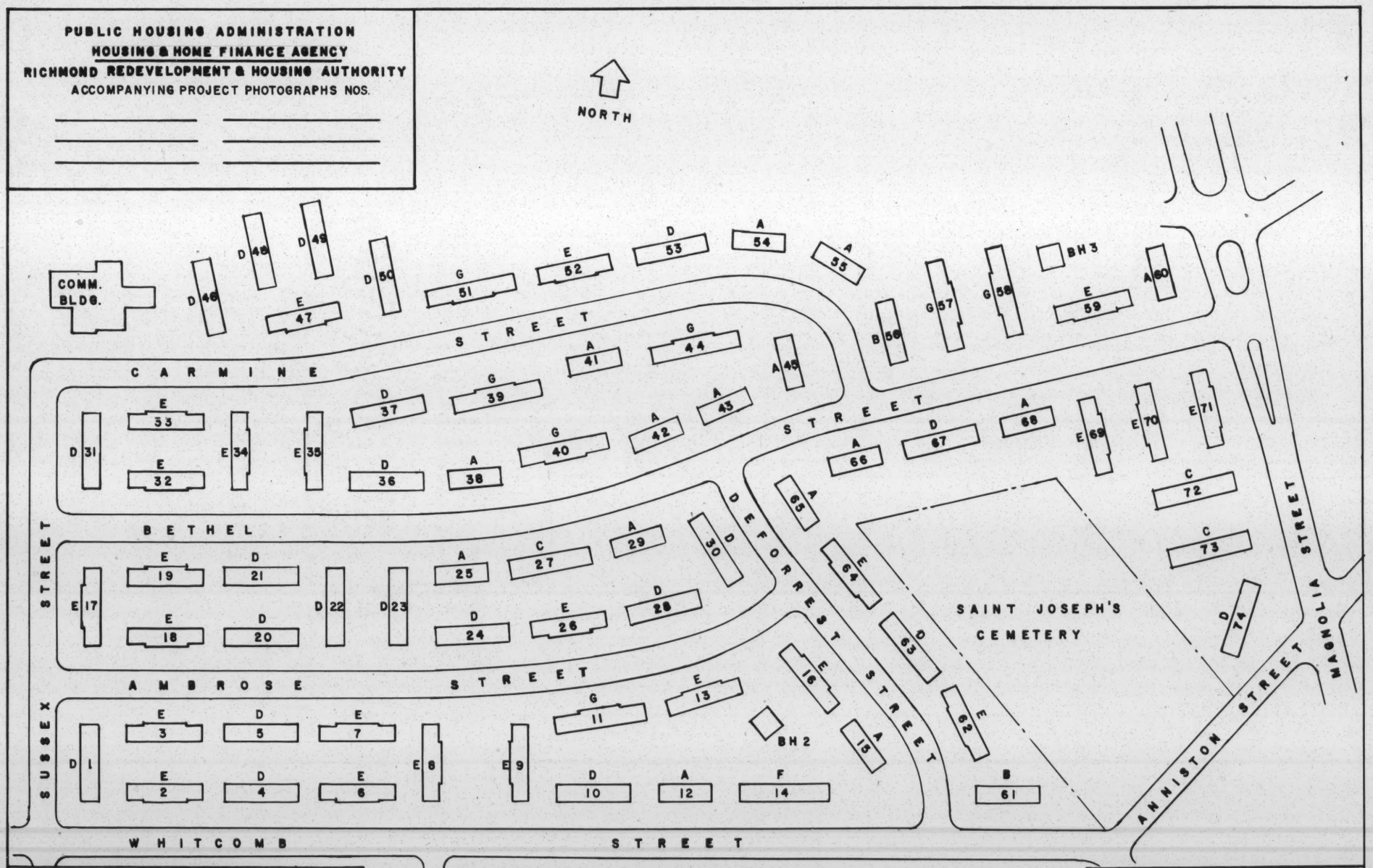

LEGEND FOR CONSTRUCTION
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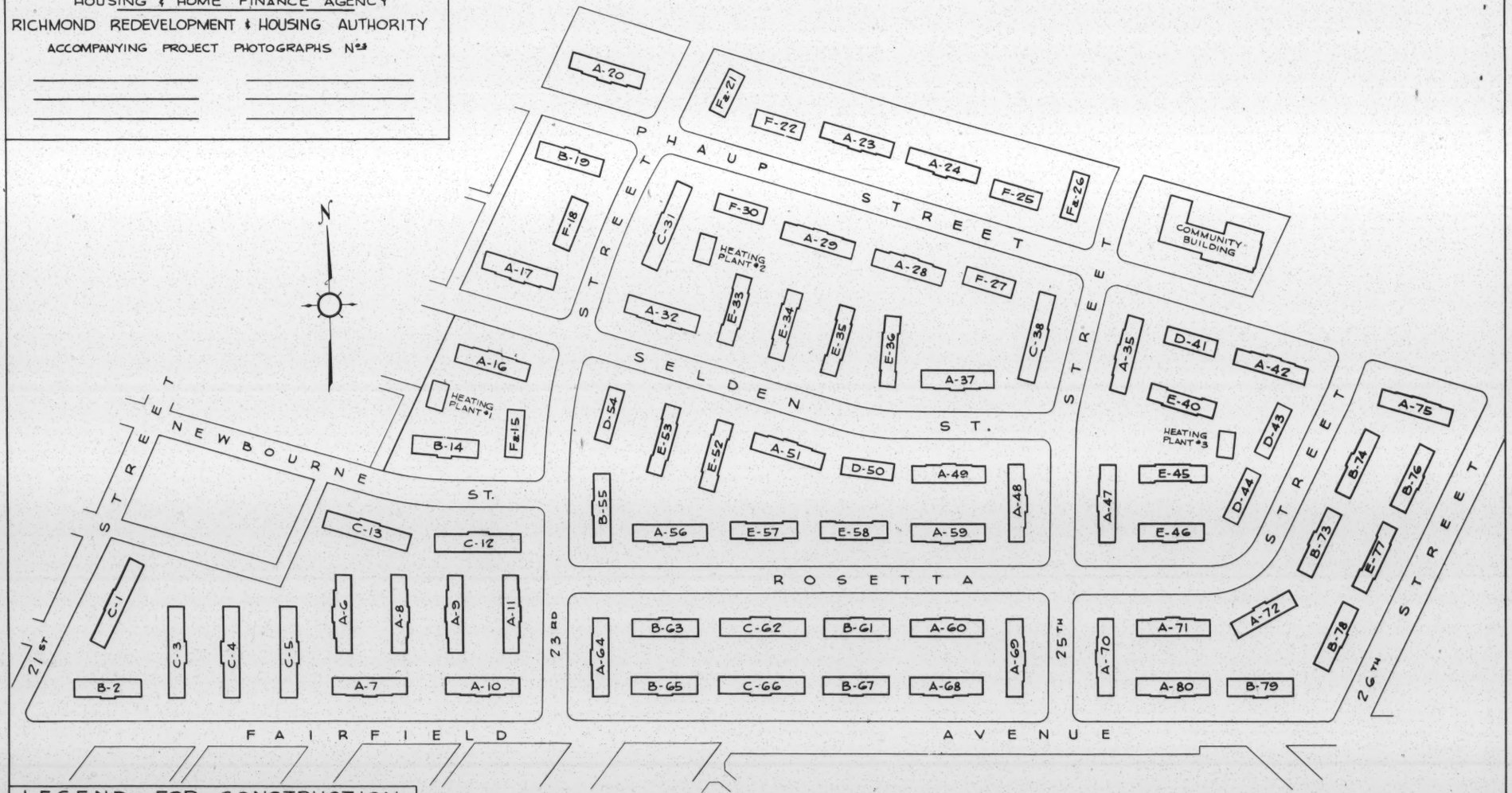
WALLS & FLOORS
MISC. WORK PREVIOUS TO PLASTERING
PLASTERING
MISC. WORK AFTER PLASTERING
PUNCH LIST ITEMS
LEGEND FOR LANDSCAPING
OUTLINED-IN PROGRESS
HATCHED (SAME COLOR) FINISHED
FINE GRADING
PLANTING TREES & SHRUBS
LAWN WORK

0' 100' 200' 300' 400' 500'
GRAPHIC SCALE

SITE PLAN DIAGRAM
WHITCOMB COURT
PROJECT VA 7-6
RICHMOND VIRGINIA
APRIL 24, 1957
E. TUCKER CARLTON, ARCHITECT
RICHMOND VIRGINIA

PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION
HOUSING & HOME FINANCE AGENCY
RICHMOND REDEVELOPMENT & HOUSING AUTHORITY
ACCOMPANYING PROJECT PHOTOGRAPHS Nos



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MISC. WORK PREVIOUS TO PLASTERING	GREEN
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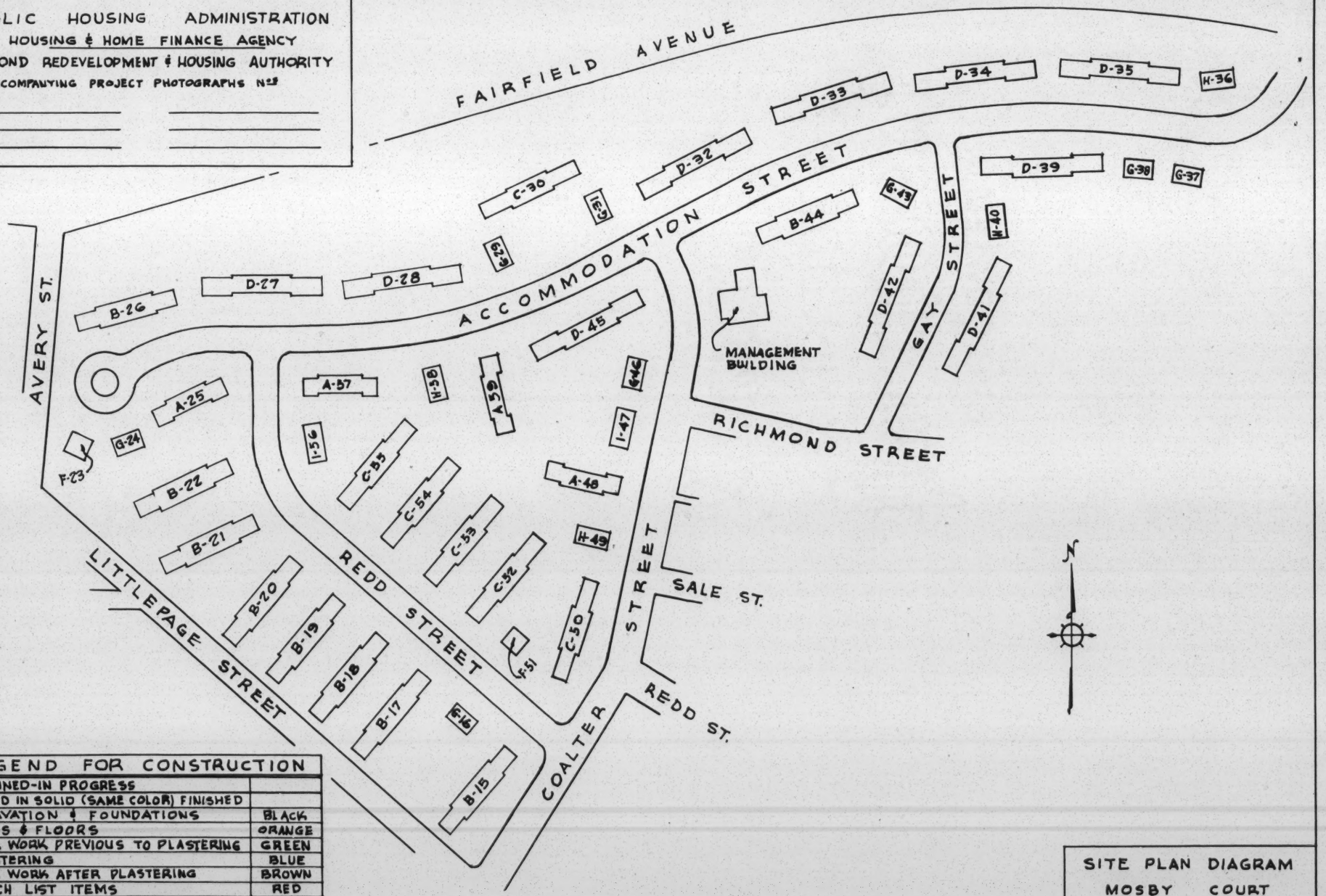
LEGEND FOR LANDSCAPING	
OUTLINED-IN PROGRESS	
HATCHED (SAME COLOR) FINISHED	
FINE GRADING	
PLANTING - TREES & SHRUBS	YELLOW
LAWN WORK	PURPLE

SITE PLAN DIAGRAM
FAIRFIELD COURT
PROJECT VA 7-7
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
DATE:

PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION
HOUSING & HOME FINANCE AGENCY
RICHMOND REDEVELOPMENT & HOUSING AUTHORITY
ACCOMPANYING PROJECT PHOTOGRAPHS Nos



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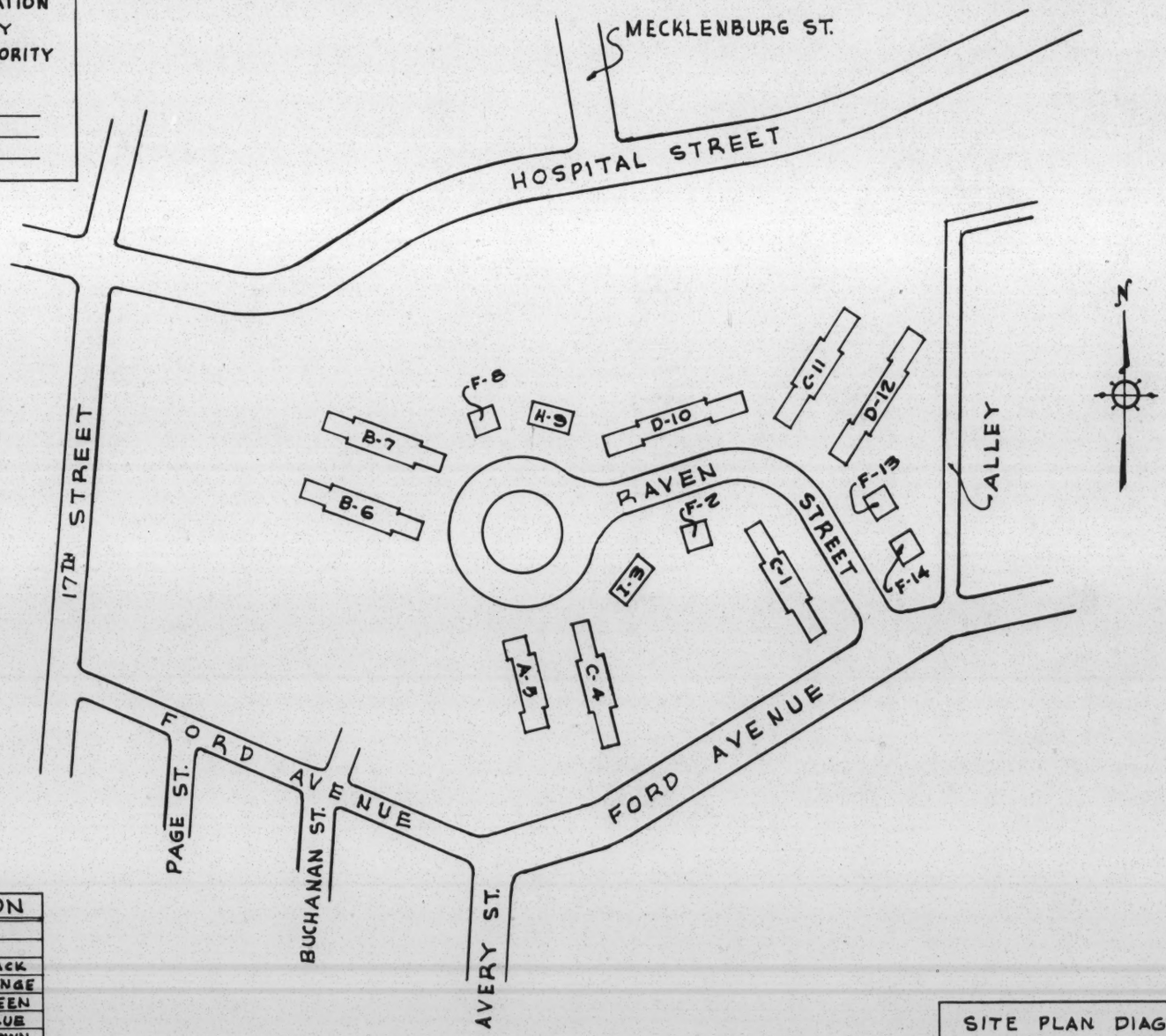
LEGEND FOR LANDSCAPING	
OUTLINED-IN PROGRESS	
HATCHED (SAME COLOR) FINISHED	
FINE GRADING	
PLANTING - TREES & SHRUBS	YELLOW
LAWN WORK	PURPLE

CENTRAL AREA

SITE PLAN DIAGRAM
MOSBY COURT
PROJECT VA 7-8
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
DATE:

PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION
HOUSING & HOME FINANCE AGENCY
RICHMOND REDEVELOPMENT & HOUSING AUTHORITY
ACCOMPANYING PROJECT PHOTOGRAPHS NEP



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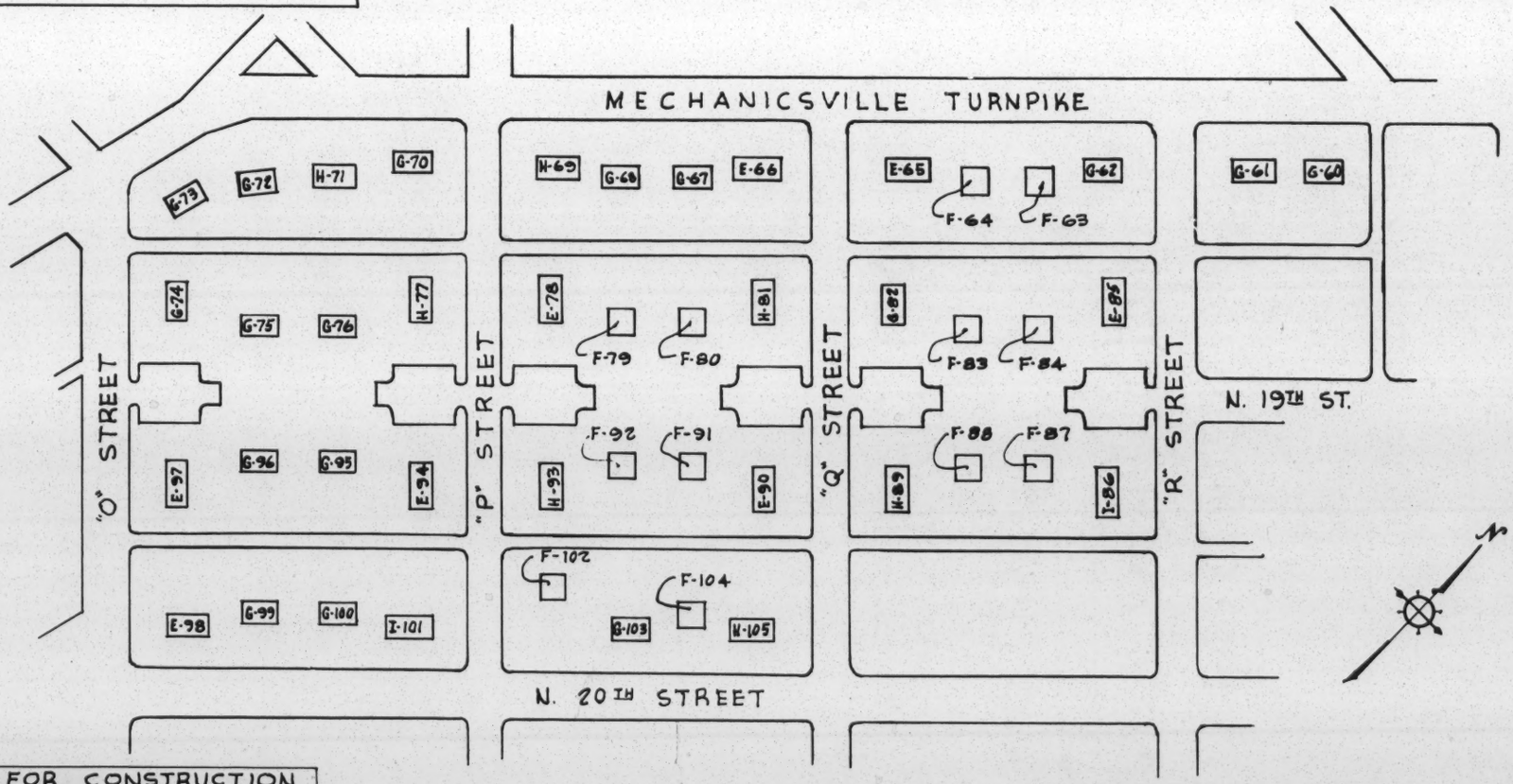
OUTLINED-IN PROGRESS	
HATCHED (SAME COLOR) FINISHED	
FINE GRADING	
PLANTING - TREES & SHRUBS	YELLOW
LAWN WORK	PURPLE

NORTH AREA

SITE PLAN DIAGRAM
MOSBY COURT
PROJECT VA 7-8
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
DATE:

PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION
HOUSING & HOME FINANCE AGENCY
RICHMOND REDEVELOPMENT & HOUSING AUTHORITY
ACCOMPANYING PROJECT PHOTOGRAPHS Nos



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LAWN WORK	PURPLE

SOUTH AREA

SITE PLAN DIAGRAM
MOSBY COURT
PROJECT VA 7-8
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
DATE:

Memo from **LLOYD ELLIOTT** Area 703

Pres. Local Council —
Fr. John J. McMahon
~~Fr. McMahon~~ Exec Dir. Catholic Childrens Charity
MI 8/5879
'64

Chm. Housing Committee

Rev. Robert Hare —
Presbyterian, all N. Congregation

1806 Peter Paul Drive 649-2790

LJE, SE, SRC

Study of Sou. Housing Patterns

mechanism of seg —

Prepared detailed outline - research design

Coop of RHRC + Hsng Comm?

Could send up design —

9th June, Mayor's Comm.

Head REB - want Jim +

1 Wis in Windsor farms

out of town week June 20 - McMahon

811 Floyd Ave

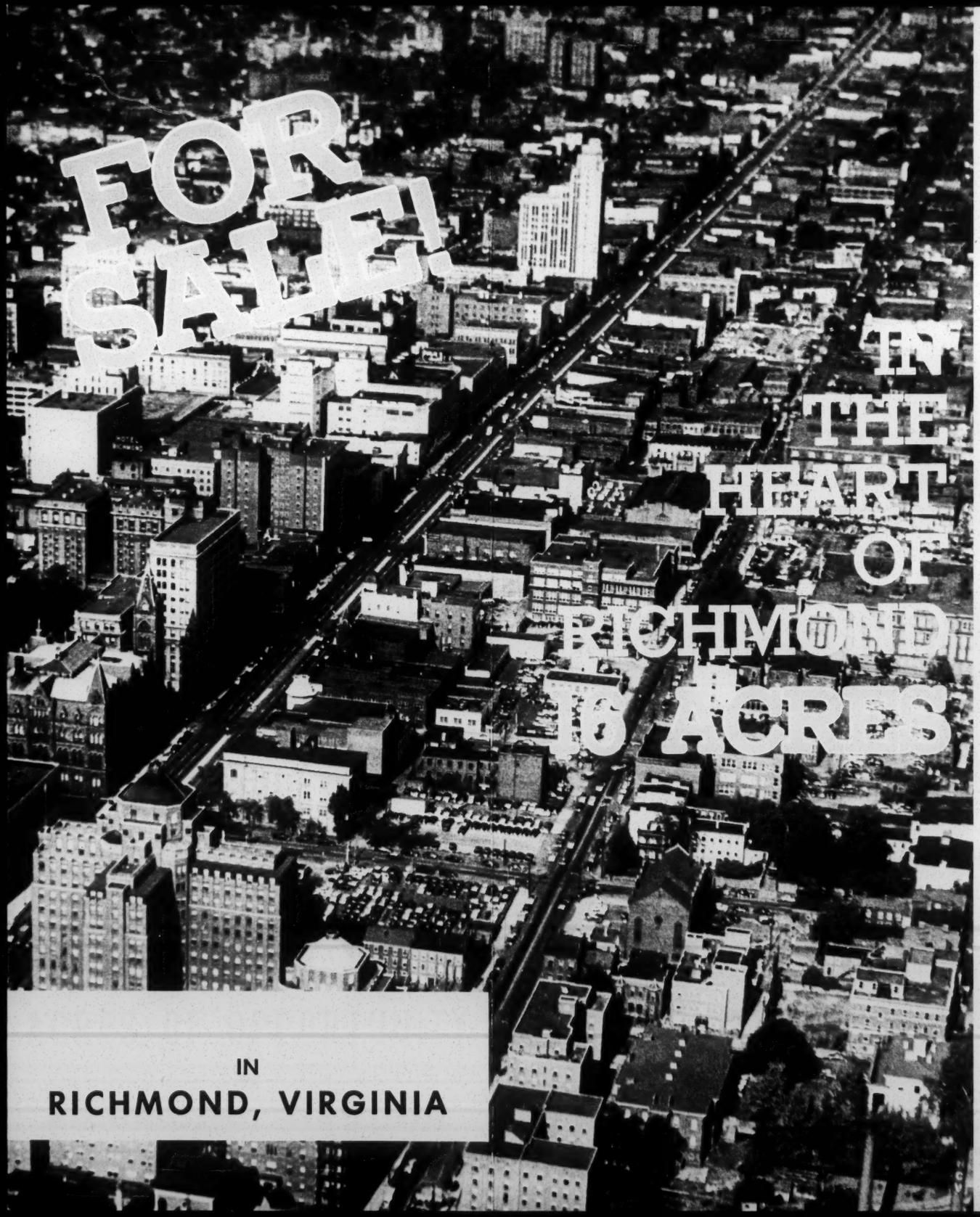
Richmond 23220.

Slumlord:
Dorsey - RE Man
519 N. 3rd.

Big Byrd man

Cephus - doesn't own much, has RE office is own City Council.
Talk to him.

Source: Roberta



FOR MULTI-FAMILY RESIDENTIAL AND LIGHT INDUSTRIAL USE!

An excellent Opportunity for

Just 4 blocks from Broad Street, Richmond's main East-West artery!

Seaboard Air Line Railroad right-of-way adjacent to project area!

Next to Exit No. 13 and entrances to the new Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike!

U. S. Route 1 and 301 pass edge of project!

Less than a mile from the Central Business Area!

Elementary school within project boundaries!

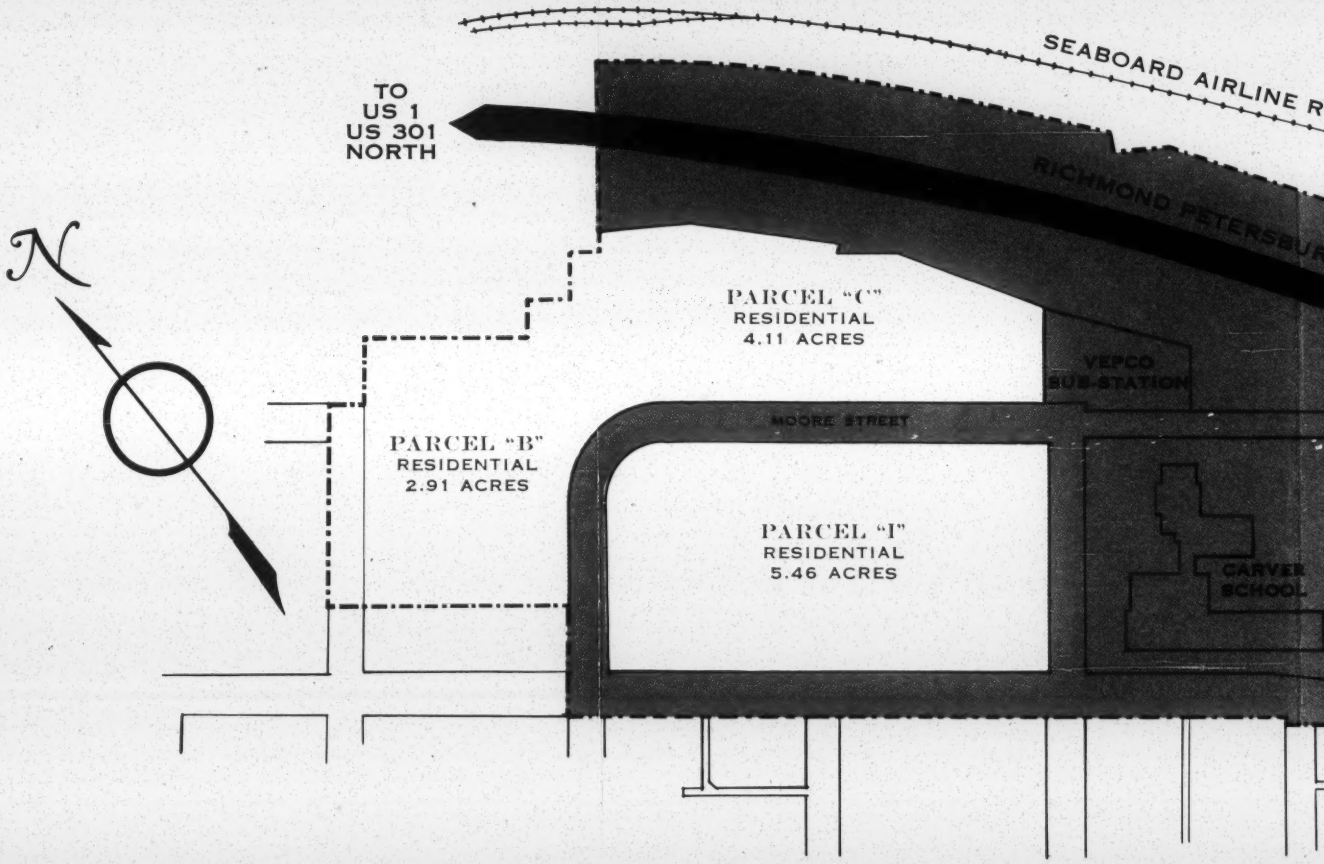
High School 2 blocks away!

4 blocks from Virginia Union University!

City of Richmond will make street and utility improvements necessary for the new uses!

100% cleared and rough graded!

See inside for area map!



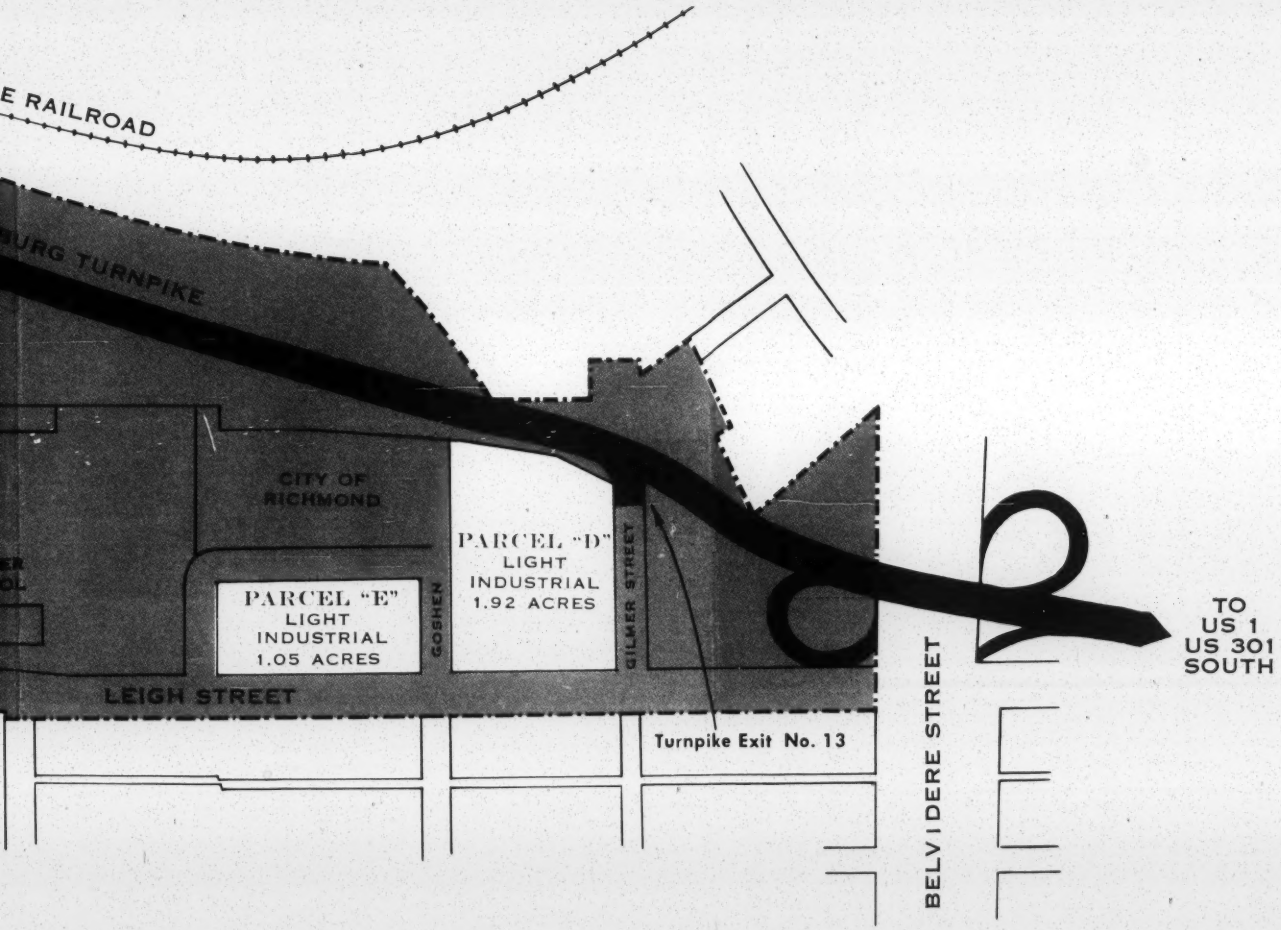
The Carver Redevelopment Project is part of an over-all long-range urban renewal plan being initiated by a growing and progressive city. Richmond, as a site location, has many advantages. It is headquarters city for the upper South, state capital, nerve center for communications, utilities, government, and sales and service activities.

Richmond is a transportation gateway with 6 trunkline railroads, 5 air lines, 6 inter-city bus lines, 50 motor freight carriers and water freight service at the deep water terminal on the James River.

All networks are represented in the three television and ten radio stations. Combined circulation of the two daily newspapers is 246,950.

City is governed by council, mayor and city manager. Real estate tax rate is $1.88 per $100.

Richmond is the center and headquarters of the 5th Federal Reserve District. There are 10 other banks and trust companies; 5 savings and loan companies; 34 insurance company home offices.



Corporate population is 242,000. Metropolitan area population is 411,000 with an increase of 148,000 since 1940.

Richmond has a well-balanced, year-round economy, with no one field of business dominating. Long range growth trend is consistently above that of the nation as a whole.

WRITE — WIRE — or VISIT

RICHMOND

Redevelopment and Housing Authority

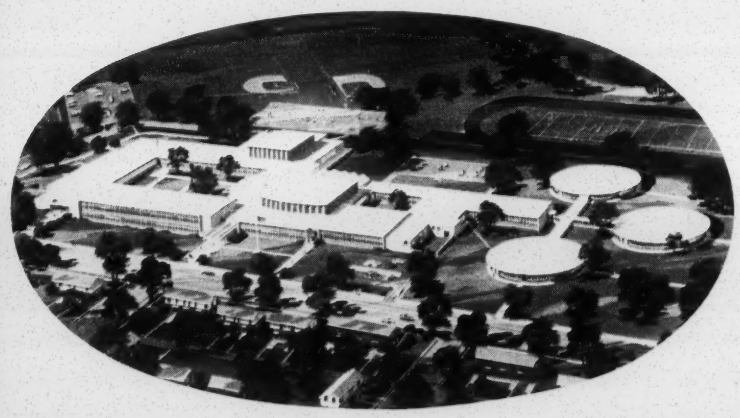
P. O. BOX 2-AF

RICHMOND 5, VIRGINIA

Frederic A. Fay, Executive Director

NEWLY CLEARED AREA ADJACENT TO DOWNTOWN

A BRIGHT SPOT IN A RAPIDLY GROWING AREA

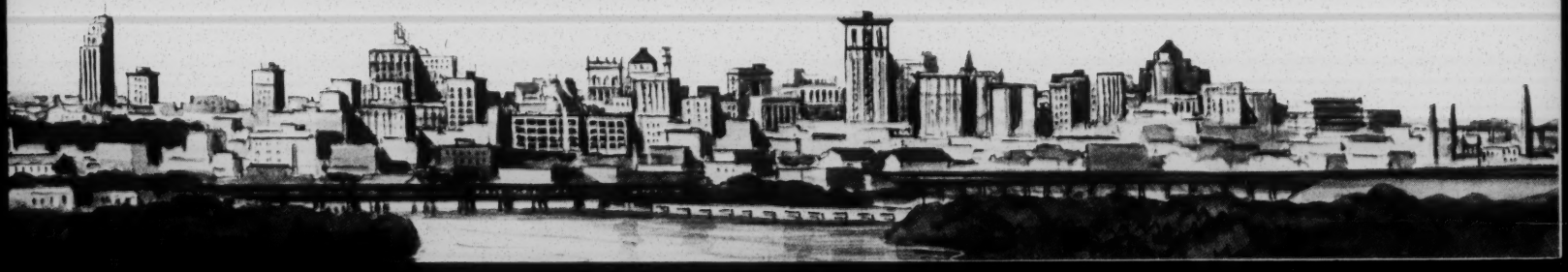


A NEW SCHOOL UNDERWAY in the center of the new residential community will accommodate 1500 junior high school students and 1000 elementary school pupils. The largest and newest school in Richmond, it is equipped with cafeteria, library, auditorium and gymnasium with an adjacent public playground. The school will open in the Fall of 1964.

AVAILABLE SITES for residential and industrial development in the 17th Street Redevelopment Project are now for sale within one-mile of busy Central Richmond. Major interchanges of Interstate 95, serving areas to the north and south of Richmond, and the proposed Interstate 64, extending to Tidewater and western Virginia are nearby.

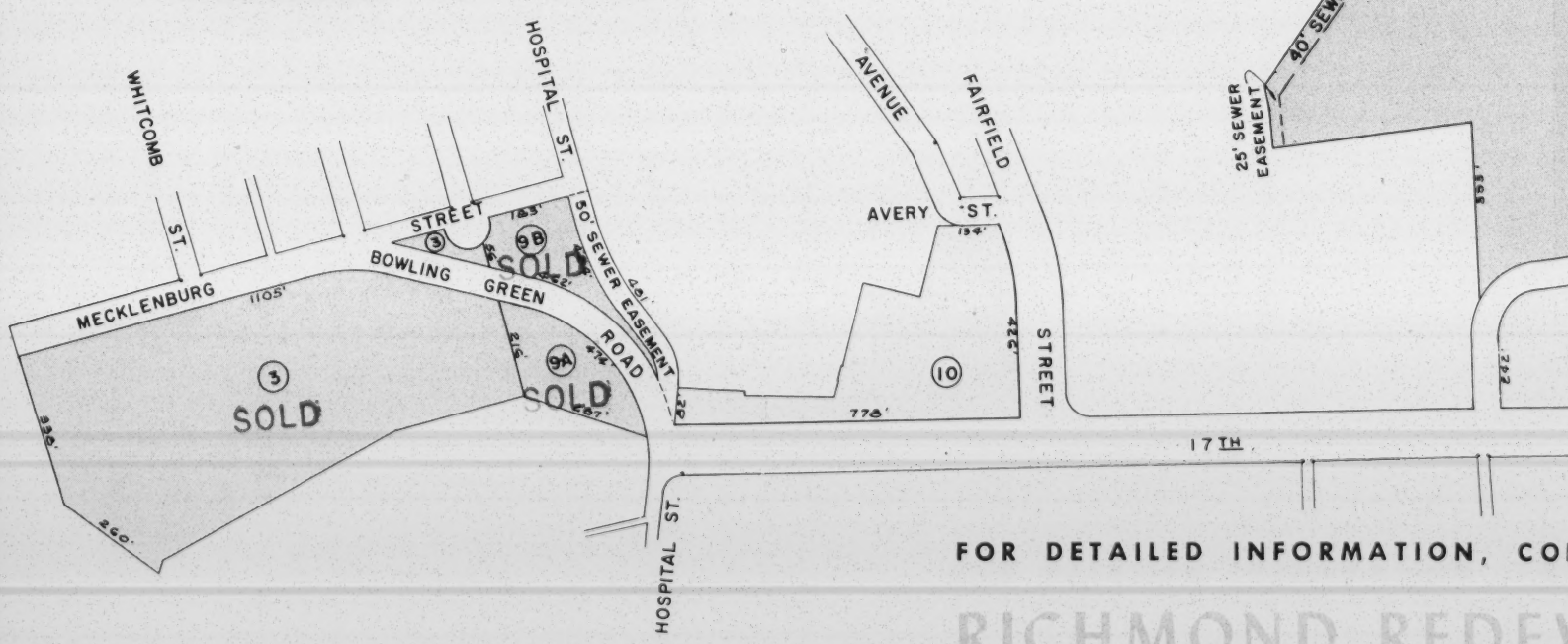
This sale of land in the heart of growing and prosperous Richmond provides a potential for industrial and residential growth which will merit specific details from either your broker or:

Frederic A. Fay, Executive Director
Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority
901 Chamberlayne Parkway
Post Office Box 2-AF
Richmond, Virginia 23205



PARCEL NO.	USE	ACREAGE	SQUARE FEET
SOLD		2.100	91,473.17
2A	PUBLIC	2.086	90,845.62
2B		29.919	1,303,286.32
3		9.940	432,985.79
4		2.063	89,853.17
5		13.519	588,880.61
6	RESIDENTIAL	15.504	675,349.01
7		4.658	202,891.98
8		1.988	86,618.66
9A		1.104	48,098.82
9B		0.893	38,908.57
10		3.641	158,957.48
11		2.230	97,138.46
12		1,477	64,320.00
13		1.756	76,495.24
14		1.918	83,531.65
15		1.723	75,040.00
16	LIGHT INDUSTRY	1.802	78,478.66
17		2.061	89,780.00
18		2,055	89,496.03
19		1.711	74,513.46
20		0.587	25,555.78
21		0.599	26,100.04
22		1.504	65,519.25
23		0.999	43,507.53
24	HEAVY INDUSTRY	0.201	8,755.85

Proper Zonin



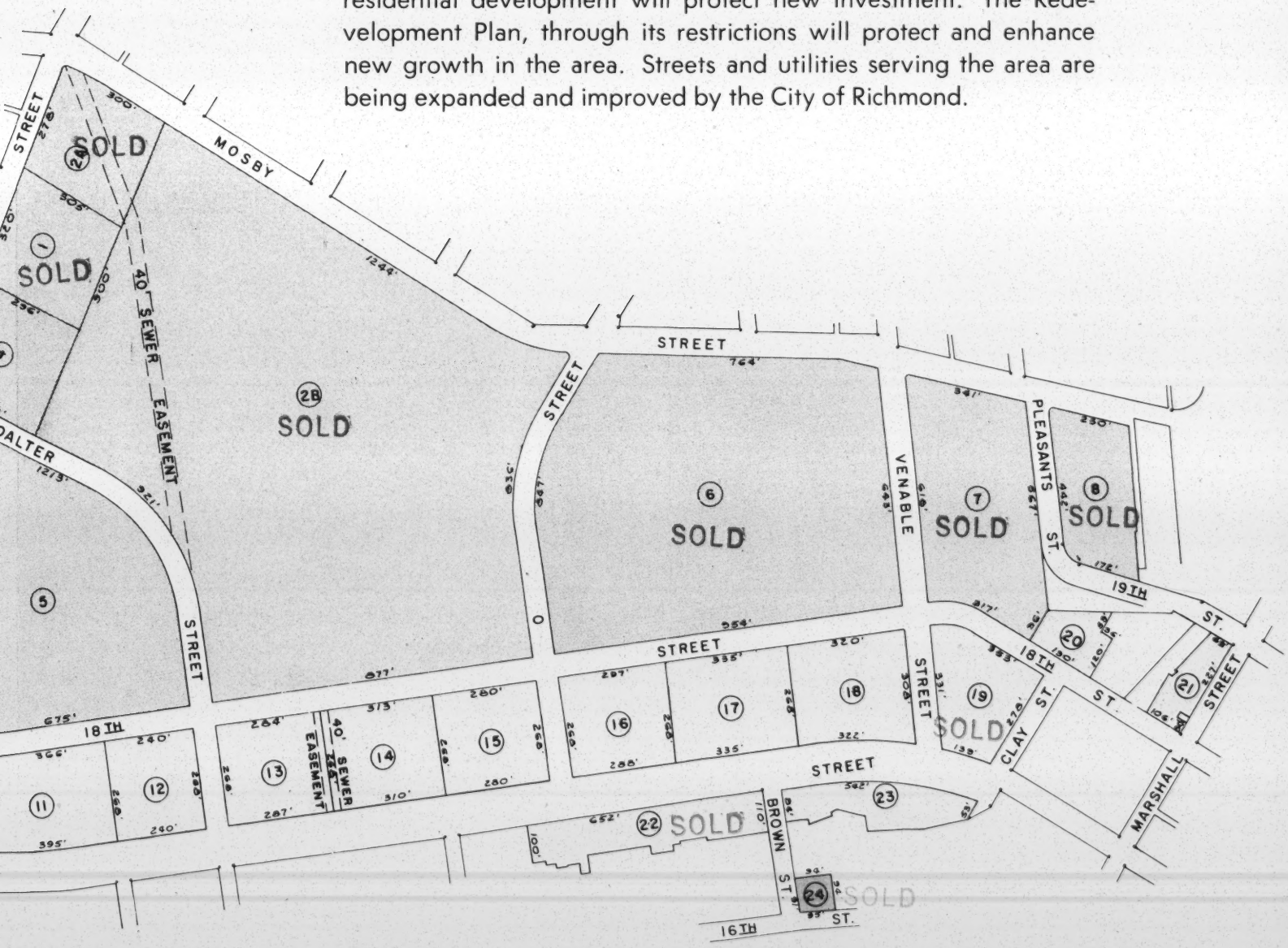
FOR DETAILED INFORMATION, CO

RICHMOND REDEV

P. O. BOX 2 A.F. . . . R

ng Lends Protection to All Sites

PROPER ZONING of land being offered for sale for industrial and residential development will protect new investment. The Redevelopment Plan, through its restrictions will protect and enhance new growth in the area. Streets and utilities serving the area are being expanded and improved by the City of Richmond.



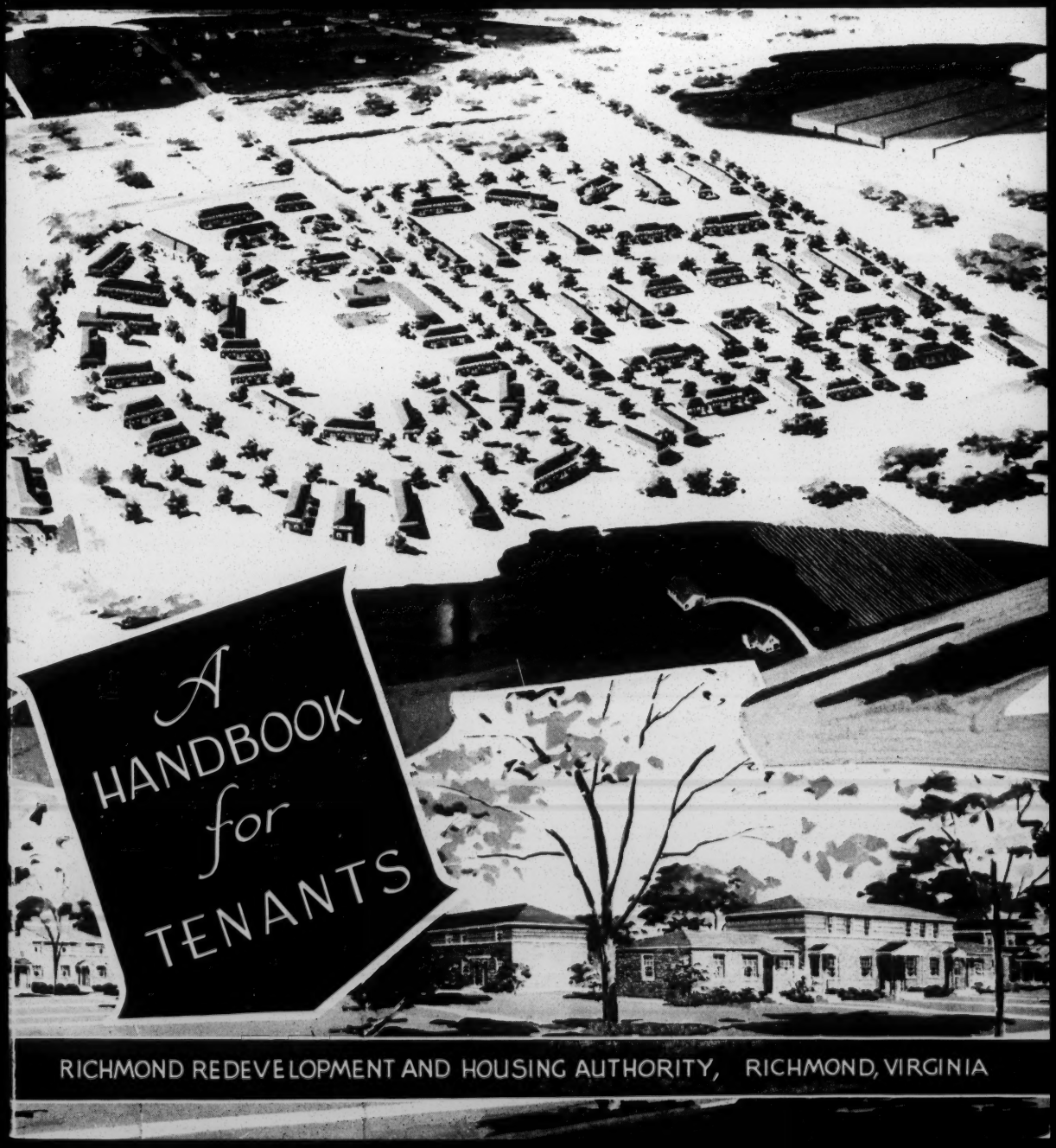
ONTACT:

EVELOPMENT AND HOUSING AUTHORITY

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23205

OR YOUR BROKER

Your New HOME



A HANDBOOK for TENANTS

RICHMOND REDEVELOPMENT AND HOUSING AUTHORITY, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

This Handbook is Presented to the Family of

_____

Residents of

_____

By

_____

Manager

RICHMOND REDEVELOPMENT AND HOUSING AUTHORITY

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

RICHMOND REDEVELOPMENT
AND HOUSING AUTHORITY

RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

CROZET HOUSE
100 EAST MAIN STREET

FREDERIC A. FAY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

DEAR TENANT:

The Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority takes this opportunity to welcome you to your new home and to wish you good health and happiness in one of our projects. It is our earnest hope that your residence here will mean a great deal to you and to your family.

This is your project. It is up to you to create the kind of community life of which you can be proud. The Authority is ready at any time to assist you in any way we can.

As a resident in this community you will undoubtedly have a great many questions to which you would like to have answers. This booklet is an attempt to explain what you can expect of us and what we consider your responsibilities to be. It is important that you read it carefully and that you understand it completely. If you have any questions do not hesitate to talk with your Manager. He is the Authority's representative on the project.

In order to make your association with us a pleasant one, it will be necessary that you comply with our project policies. At the same time we will welcome any ideas and suggestions as to how we might improve conditions in the project. We hope we may count on your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Frederic A. Fay

FREDERIC A. FAY,
Executive Director.

You and Your Manager

Your Manager is your contact with the Housing Authority. Feel free to come in and see him about your problems and those of the project. Maybe there's some family trouble or emergency on which you need advice. Maybe you want help over a period of time and would like to know which of the community agencies to contact. Whatever it is—his services are always at your disposal. He's willing and eager to help you in any way that he can.

Our Mutual Understanding

THE LEASE

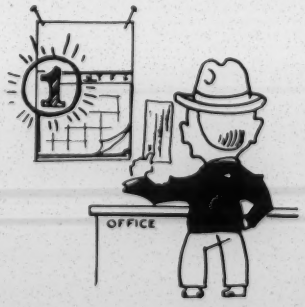
Your lease is the agreement between you and the Housing Authority. It's important for you to understand it thoroughly. When you signed your lease all of its provisions were explained to you. If you still have any questions, be sure to ask your Manager about any point that isn't clear. He will be glad to answer any of your questions.

PAYMENT OF RENT

Draw a circle around the first of the month; that's the day when rent is due. Remember please, that the only place authorized to accept your money is the Management Office. We can't run the projects without rent any more than you can wash without water. Therefore, anyone who has not paid by the sixth may lose his home. We don't like to take this kind of action, and we hope that your prompt rent payments will make it unnecessary.

Your lease states that if legal action to collect your rent is started *four* (4) times in any twelve (12) months period, your lease is cancelled. *No exceptions are made to this policy—do not ask for any!* If you pay your rent promptly this point will not affect you.

A full month's rent is due on the day that you move into the project. If you move in on any day other than the first, you pay a full month's rent at that time, plus a security deposit, and an adjustment is then made on the following month's rent. If you don't understand the necessity for this arrangement, your Manager will be glad to explain it to you.



SECURITY DEPOSIT

When you pay your first month's rent, you also pay a security deposit to cover anything that you may owe us when you leave. Don't say "good-bye, forever" to this money, because it will be refunded after

you move out IF:

1. You do not owe us any rent.
2. You have paid for all damages for which you were responsible.
3. You have cleaned your unit thoroughly enough, so that there is no extraordinary cleaning to be done after you leave that would involve unusual expense to the Authority.
4. You have given us fifteen days notice in writing that you intend to move, so that the Authority can rent the unit promptly, and not lose any money because you failed to let us know in time.

FAMILY CHANGES

When important family events occur, don't forget to tell us about them. A change in the size of your family can affect your rent or the size dwelling that you need. Marriages, births, deaths, and other happenings that make a difference in the size of your family must be reported to your Manager promptly.

CHANGES OF INCOME

If you change your job, if you get a raise in pay or if your income is changed in any way, you must let us know at once in order that your rent may be adjusted either up or down.

Failure to do so may mean cancellation of your lease.

TRANSFERS

As we mentioned above, a change in the size of your family may mean that you need a larger or smaller home, and the Management may then require you to transfer to another unit.

BOARDERS AND LODGERS

The dwelling unit into which you move

has been carefully selected to meet the space requirements of your family. Like a glove, it's a good fit, but snug. For this reason, our rule is "No boarders or lodgers."

SUBLETTING

You may not sublet or assign possession of your home to anyone else.

HALLS, ENTRANCES AND STAIRS

Halls, entrances and stairs are not safe parking places for toys, bicycles, and other wheeled vehicles. Please make certain that these much used spaces are kept clean and uncluttered at all times.

BUSINESSES AND ADVERTISING SIGNS

Because these houses were built to be your home, no one is permitted to operate a business in them. For the same reason we must ask you not to make billboards of your homes. No advertising signs, please.

KEYS AND LOCKOUTS

If you are one of those people who never forgets his key, don't read any further. Those of you who do read further, however, will want to know just what can be done to help you get into your homes in case you forget your key. *The Authority does not provide lockout service.* If you are locked out of your home during hours when the Management Office is open you may borrow a key after you sign a receipt for it. Keys will not be given to children.

We do not allow our maintenance men to let you into your home. They do not always know the tenants and we cannot afford to let just anyone into your house.

If you are locked out when the Management Office is not open you will have to get in the best way you can. You will be charged for any damage or repairs.

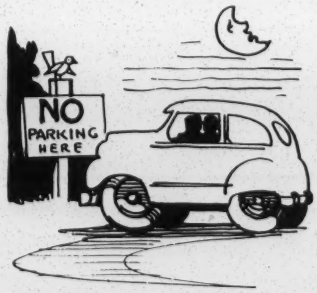
PETS

No pets are allowed under any circumstances.

REPAIRS

Your maintenance man is a good person to know. He's the person who makes the necessary repairs when something leaks, breaks, or otherwise needs repairs, so please request his services promptly by getting in touch with the Management Office. An early repair job often saves a lot of trouble and expense. When you make your request for repairs, be sure to give the date and hours during which some member of your family will be at home to admit the repair man. You will be charged for any damages to the home resulting from your negligence, or unusual wear and tear.

When placing request for repairs please remember that the maintenance men are kept busy with such requests and that, unless it is an emergency, your call might not be answered as promptly as you desire. It is the intent of the Authority to take care of your needed repairs as promptly as possible and you are requested to have patience—the repair man will be there as soon as he can.



AUTOMOBILES

No parking, please, on walks or lawns.

Automobile repair work will not be permitted on project streets.

If your car has outlived its usefulness, please don't leave it on the project.

OUTSIDE RADIO AND TELEVISION AERIALS

Outside aerials of any kind will not be permitted.

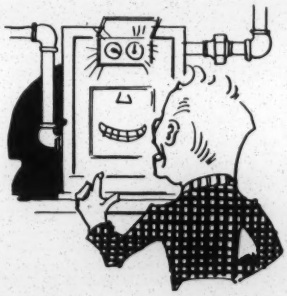
ACCIDENTS

Accidents that occur in your home, or anywhere in the project, should be reported to your Manager immediately.

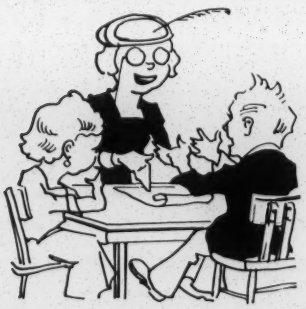
PAINTING OR ALTERATIONS

No repairs or alterations by tenants will be permitted. Painting will be done only under supervision of Management.

UTILITIES



When you move in, your Manager will tell you what utilities (gas, electricity, heat, and hot water) are included in your rent. A fixed amount for utilities has been set in establishing your rent. If you use more than the quantities specified in your lease, we must penalize you accordingly. Use what you need for comfort and convenience, but don't waste. We furnish the heat—therefore—electric heaters are an unnecessary expense, and are not permitted. Refrigerators and ranges are furnished and no substitutions will be permitted.



TELEPHONES

Telephones may be installed only in approved locations. If you plan to install a telephone, consult your Manager as to the proper location.

RE-EXAMINATION

Since your rent is based on the income and size of your family, the Housing Authority is required by law to review with you annually your family income and any other circumstances that might effect the status of your residence in the project. Once a year you will receive a new application for your unit from the Manager. You will be asked at that time to give us information on all the members of your family living with you and to declare all of their income. Although the information you give is con-

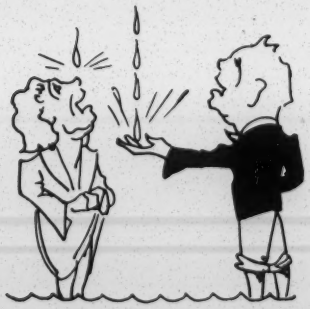
fidential between you and the Authority, it will be verified with your employer. It is necessary that you give us complete and accurate information. Failure to do so may result in your losing your home.

WHEN YOU VACATE

When you decide to move out, please come to the Management Office and notify the Manager in writing at least fifteen days in advance of your departure so that he may rent your home promptly to another family in need of housing. If you do not give us fifteen days' advance notice in writing, we'll have to charge you for fifteen days' rent, unless the unit is occupied in less than that time, in which case we charge you for the number of days for which the unit was vacant. When you leave, please clean your home thoroughly—leave it as clean as it was when you moved in. Return all keys to the Management Office.

EMERGENCIES

We all know that unforeseen things happen even in the most well-ordered households, and sometimes these situations can become emergencies. Real emergencies demand immediate attention for the protection of someone's life, health, or property, whereas at other times, when something's out of joint, it can wait awhile to be corrected. Certainly a fire, either in your home or in the project, is a real emergency. If a fire starts, don't wait any longer to call the Fire Department than the shortest time it takes you to get to the nearest telephone. Burglary, vandalism, and disturbances of the peace are situations for the police to handle, so they are the ones to call.



Maintenance emergencies require different handling, but, first of all, let's explain what they are: gas leaks, broken sewer pipes, serious damage to roofs, as a result of storm, and any failure of lights when it involves hazards to life, health, or property. If any of these situations arise, report it to the Management Office and a maintenance man will be sent as soon as possible to make repairs.

If you have a lighting panel in your unit, you may be able to restore service by resetting the switch. To reset the switch, press hard down to the "OFF" position for a few seconds—and then throw to the "ON" position.

CARE OF THE GROUNDS

Keeping up the appearance of the project is a job that you and the Management share. Management is responsible for the care of all grounds and walks used by the community as a whole. Your help is requested in seeing that your project never has that "after the picnic" look and that new grass is given a chance to grow. The Management will keep the grass cut and the shrubbery trimmed in order to keep the appearance of the project uniform and attractive. A small amount will be charged with your rent each month during the grass cutting season to take care of this work. We expect you to keep your walk clean, and clear of snow and ice during winter months.

GARDENS

Because of a lack of space and the need for maintaining a uniform appearance, we regret that it is not possible to allow flower and vegetable gardens on the project. If you would like to have a garden it may be possible for you to find some available vacant land nearby.

FENCES

No fences will be permitted. Temporary barriers for the protection of newly seeded areas will be erected and removed by project maintenance personnel.

TREES AND SHRUBBERY

Please try to preserve the trees. They may look small, but they're awfully expensive, and we would like to give them a chance to

grow into real shade trees. Explain to your children how important it is not to cut the bark, climb into or swing on the branches, or lop them off. Most children don't realize that young trees die and older trees are injured from this kind of treatment.

The shrubbery that is planted by the Authority, like the trees, is not one of your problems, except to see that it is well treated by everyone. Both shrubs and trees will be trimmed and pruned by specially trained people.

YOUR MAILING ADDRESS

Do the people who want to write to you know where you live? Be sure to give them your address by street, number and city zone. If you give only the name of the project as your address, your mail goes to the project office. The result is delay for you and trouble for the office.

Your mailing address is for the use of the people who live in your home. Please be certain that others do not use your address to receive their mail.

ABSENCE FROM HOME

To insure protection of dwellings and to prevent damage, you are asked to notify the Management whenever all members of your family are going to be away from home for more than two days. It is also wise to leave an address where you can be contacted in the event of an emergency. Be sure that all windows are closed and locked, and all water and electrical devices are shut off.

GARBAGE AND TRASH

Ugh, ugh, ugh! That's the way everybody feels about garbage oozing out of cans and trash spilling out of containers, so here are a few suggestions for getting rid of these

two menaces to good project appearance:

Be sure to close the lid of your garbage can securely.

Be sure to find out from your Manager the collection days for your project.

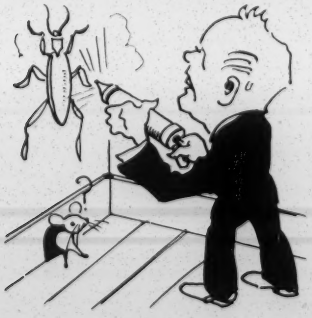
If you leave home for several days, put out your garbage and trash before you go and make arrangements to have your garbage can brought in after the collection.

You know the old saying, "Don't send a boy to do a man's work,"—that applies to sending small children to empty garbage and trash. They mean to do the right thing, but they're very likely to spill it in their efforts to reach the container.

If the project has a service drive behind your building there is a place for a garbage can in back of your home. If the project does not have a service drive, you are expected to place the garbage can at the curb on the morning of the collections days. As soon as the garbage has been collected, return the can to your apartment.

Your lease requires you to furnish a garbage can with a well-fitting top and in good condition. The Management will inspect the project from time to time to make certain that this requirement is followed. All garbage receptacles must be approved by the Manager.

We maintain a stock of garbage cans, of approved type and size, for your convenience. These cans may be purchased through the Management at a substantial saving.



EXTERMINATION AND INSPECTION

Your home will be turned over to you free from insects and vermin. With good housekeeping you can keep it that way.
If roaches, ants, bedbugs, etc., get in your home it is your responsibility to get rid of them. The Management will be glad to advise you on the best way to do this.

We will insist that you keep your home clean. Periodic inspections will be made by Management to make certain you are cooperating. Any bad conditions will be called to your attention and unless you remedy them promptly you may lose your home.

LAUNDRY

Of course you have the laundry problem, just like every other homemaker. Most project people do their wash in their kitchens or bathrooms. Certain types of washing machines may be used if approved by your Manager. If your clothesline is shared with other tenants, give the others who share it a break by removing your laundry just as soon as it is dry.

Homemaking Advice

FLOORS

Cleaning your floors regularly will keep them in good condition. Cement floors should be washed with a mild soap and water, then rinsed and wiped dry.

Never put paint or enamel on cement floors. Linoleum must not be glued to floors.

PAINTED SURFACES

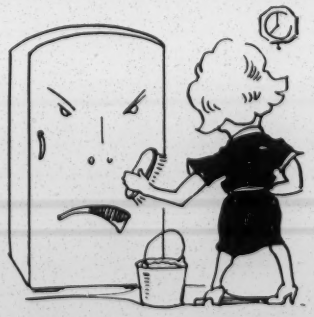
Painted surfaces may be washed with a solution of any reliable mild soap, soap flakes or powder. Do not use strong soaps or powders, or you'll suddenly find your nice finish has become a thing of the past.

STOVES

Top grating, burners and drip pans of the stoves should be cleaned frequently with soap and water. The enamel surfaces should never be washed while hot because the enamel will crack. *Always* light match and hold near burners before turning on the gas in order to keep from being burned.

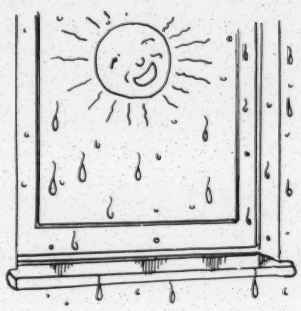
REFRIGERATORS

Your food will keep better if the inside of your refrigerator is cleaned at least once a week. Wash the food compartments with warm water to which two tablespoons of household ammonia, borax or baking soda have been added for each quart of water. Then wipe thoroughly dry with a soft cloth. Do not use gritty cleansers.



Defrost when the coils of your refrigerator are coated with frost more than one-half inch thick, don't wait until you need a snow plow. To defrost, open the door and

turn knob on freezing compartment to defrost position. Remove all food from the tray beneath the froster, since water will drip from compartment while defrosting goes on. When frost has completely melted, your box is again ready for use. Then turn knob back to freezing position.

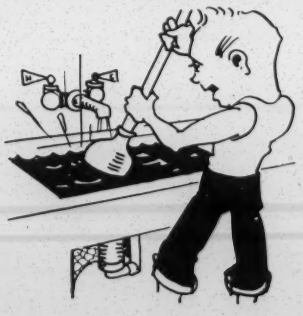


CONDENSATION

When you keep your windows closed tightly water may collect on them. This water should be wiped up before it has a chance to run down the wall onto the floors. Unless you keep your kitchen windows open when cooking or washing, water will collect on walls and will eventually ruin the paint. It is also a good plan to open your windows wide for a short period each day so that the fresh air can sweep away the stale air and odors.

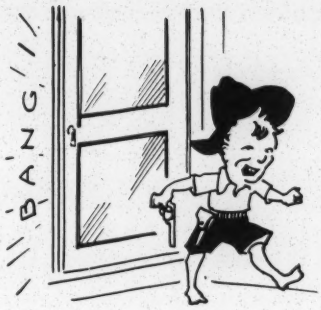
PLUMBING FIXTURES

A homemaker knows that the kitchen sink receives the hardest wear of any of the plumbing fixtures. Soap and hot water are the best cleansers for an enamel sink. If soap does not take off stains, use a light powder cleaner. A gritty powder will scratch the enamel and once scratched, it is very difficult to keep clean. Do not place acid foods (oranges, lemons, tomatoes) in your sink, for any of them may stain it. Put your leftover grease in cans for disposal. If you pour it down the drain, your drain pipe will become clogged and then you'll really have trouble. Be sure that faucets are shut off completely after each use, as dripping faucets waste water, and the faucet is damaged by the small stream of water.



The bathtub and bowl should be cleaned immediately after using. They are also enamel and should be cleaned the same as the sink.

The toilet is best cleaned with soap and water and a long brush. Do not pour hot water in your toilet, because this may crack the bowl. Please warn children not to drop any object (ball, soap, newspaper,



rags, etc.) into toilets which may stop them up.

The cost of removal of any object from the toilet will be charged to you.

Do not drop heavy or sharp objects on any of the plumbing fixtures. It will crack or chip the porcelain finish.

SHADES AND SCREEN DOORS

Be sure to close your windows when you are to be away from home. Also, keep your screen doors closed securely so that they will not break as they swing free in a high wind.

When pulling your window shades up or down, be sure to take hold of the shade pull. Do not raise or lower shades by the wooden slat in the hem at the bottom of the shade. You are apt to tear the shade so that we will have to charge you for a new one.

Brackets for curtain rods are in place at your windows. Do not try to drive nails for your own brackets into the wall.

When your windows are open, roll up your shades so that they will not flap and become damaged.

Tenant Activities

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Many of the neighborhoods in which our projects are located have what are known as community organizations. These are groups of residents who deal with needs that arise in the community. All of their undertakings—civic, educational, health, and recreational—help to make the community a better and more harmonious place in which to live. Each of you has talents or interests which would mean a great deal to a group of this kind.

The Authority is working for conditions throughout this community which will benefit all of the tenants. The Manager needs the assistance of interested groups who will work closely with him toward this end. Your Management Office will give you the names of tenant leaders in the project. Why not contact them so that you can take part in their activities? They will welcome your help and suggestions.

On all of the projects you will find activities which will be of interest to your children. They are warmly invited to participate.

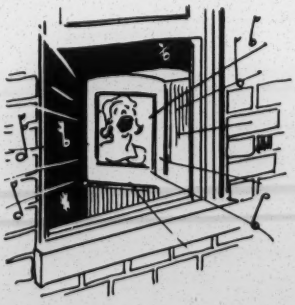
PLAY AREAS

Play areas have been provided within or adjacent to the projects for your children.

The playing of baseball, football, etc., by children or grownups in the building courts or around the buildings is dangerous and cannot be allowed. Have your children play at the playground.

YOUR NEIGHBORS

When people live close together, life for all is much more pleasant if they respect and try to understand each other.



Loud radios, over-time parties, shouting, and slamming of doors can be very annoying to your neighbors. With a little effort and good will on your part, all of these can be controlled.

Safety Don'ts

Don't delay in spotting your nearest fire alarm box when you move into the project. If no fire alarm box is nearby, find the nearest telephone from which you may report a fire in an emergency.

Don't ignore the ODOR OF GAS even for a moment. Immediately open all windows and put out all flames. If you have checked and found that all the jets are turned off, notify the Management Office, so that the leak can be repaired at once. Escaping gas has caused many bad explosions.

Don't let the children play in the streets. Get them into the habit of using the playgrounds, which have been provided for their safety.

Don't neglect the cords on your toasters, electric irons, radios and lamps. Check carefully for frayed covering, bent prongs on plugs, and loose wiring.

Don't store paint, oil, gasoline, cleaning fluid, oily rags, clothes with oil or paint on them or newspapers in your home or around it. These are first-class fire hazards and the law says they must be put out of the way.

Don't clutter up the space around ranges or refrigerators. Keep it clear at all times.

Don't let your children ride their bicycles on project walks.

Don't allow your children to throw glass, tin, nails, or other dangerous objects in the play area. Cut feet and other injuries can follow.

Don't put your faith in rumors. If you hear talk about some new regulations that affect you, go straight to your Manager. He can give you the true story.

A Few Facts About Public Housing in Richmond

What is public housing?

Homes built and partly supported by public funds for rent to low-income families at rents they can afford to pay.

Why is public housing necessary?

Because every family should have a decent home in a good neighborhood and because there are many families in Richmond whose incomes are too low for them to obtain decent homes in the private market.

How is public housing brought within the means of low-income families?

By the help of the Federal and local governments. The Federal Government gives the Housing Authority a certain amount of money each year to make up the difference between the low rents paid by the tenants and the actual cost of running the projects. The City of Richmond does not collect full taxes on Housing Authority property. However, the Authority makes a payment to the City each year for the services rendered by the City for the Project, such as providing schools, police and fire protection, trash and garbage collection, and other necessary public services.

Who is eligible to live in Richmond's low-rent public housing projects?

Families who are living in bad housing and whose incomes are too low for private business to build houses for them. They must have lived in the Richmond area for at least six months, and the family head must be a citizen of the United States. Families of veterans are given preference among applicants, as are families displaced by any slum clearance operation.

What fixes rents?

The combined income of all persons living in the unit.

The size of the unit is determined by the number, sex and age of the members of the family group.

For Your Convenience

EMERGENCY NUMBERS

Fire Department .....

Police Department .....

Ambulance .....

OTHERS

Housing Manager .....

....

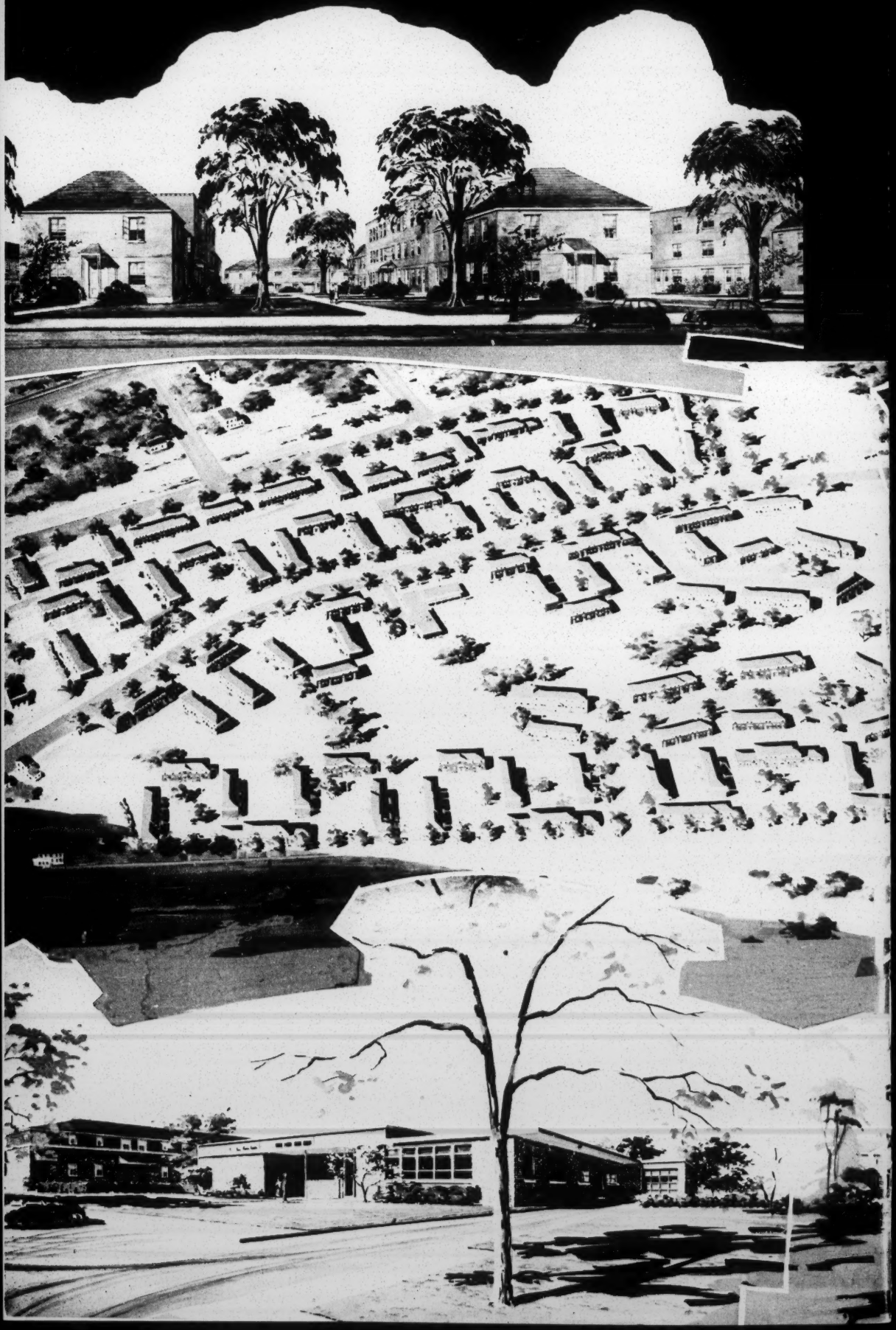
....

....

....

Garbage and Trash Collection Days

.....**and**.....



HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCILS IN THE SOUTH

The Southern Regional Council with a grant from the Fund for the Republic has been working on a special project to set up Human Relations Councils in these twelve Southern states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, N. Carolina,S. Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. Professional staff has been engaged in all but Florida and they plan to do so shortly.

The concept of work is this: in attempting to create self-sustaining, self-perpetuating, self-governing state organizations, SRC underwrites on a diminishing basis the salaries of staff and other expenses for a three year period. Something of a pump-priming effort. The state organizations must be responsible for raising an increasing amount of their budgets during that three year period and at the end of it are on their own.

Each state organization has a Board of Directors, composed of local people (the majority of whom are old SRC members) who set policy, guide the staff, raise funds, and work for improved human relations intheir area. All facets of the state's population are represented on the Board; they work as an integrated (not just bi-racial) group to consider local problems, to assess resources-- including their own, and the application of these resources to the problems at hand. They also seek to find new resources to fill unmet needs. They believe in working <u>with</u> people, not <u>on</u> nor <u>for</u> them.

Two patterns of staff composition and method-of-work have evolved. In the majority of states (all but two) an Executive Director has been selected and provision has been made for an Associate Director. Where one is white, the other is Negro and vice versa;they have equal status and equal pay. Efforts are being made to secure Associate Directors for only recently has money been available for

for two staff people on a full time basis.

In two states, Kentucky and Tennessee, the method of work is different; here some ten consultants are used on a part time basis. They are professional people who have other full time responsibilities in areas of specialization which would qualify them as consultants in the field of human relations. There is a state central office which serves as a coordinating device and communications center for the consultants.

The consultants have a dual role: one is as the eyes and ears, the observers an recorders for the state organization; the other is as professional consultants to the communities which they seek to serve. Thus far, the biggest part of the work has been as "eyes and ears".

The chief problem on which state organizations are concentrating is the challenge and opportunity presented by the Supreme Court decision declaring public school segregation unconstitutional; and the implementing decrees spelling out how it should be ended.

They recognize that the scope and intensity of the problem varies not only from state to state but from community to community. It seems logical then that approaches to the problem must be flexible. The Regional Office in Atlanta does not try to tell the state Councils how to work. It seeks to assist them in planning with local people what approach they will use; the one requesite is that all facets of the population consider the problems and the methods of solving them; that they consider it together in full democracy; and that the solution be aimed at ending segregation as quickly as practicable.

It is hoped that at the end of the three years there will exist in each of the twelve Southern States selfgoverning, self-sustaining, effective human relations agencies, working on a variety of problems, having gained the respect and support of many right-thinking Southerners of all races, all creeds, and all classes.

This might be a bit interesting. I thought so

The National Broadcasting Company Presents

Intergroup Org. Misc. Mat. 1963

MEET THE PRESS

America's Press Conference of the Air

Produced by LAWRENCE E. SPIVAK

Guest: DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Volume 4 SUNDAY, APRIL 17, 1960 Number 16

Merkle Press Inc. *Printers and Periodical Publishers*

810 Rhode Island Ave., N. E., Washington 18, D. C.

10 cents per copy

Panel: MAY CRAIG, *Portland* (Maine) *Press Herald*
ANTHONY LEWIS, *The New York Times*
FRANK VAN DER LINDEN, *Nashville Banner*
LAWRENCE E. SPIVAK, *Regular Panel Member*

Moderator: NED BROOKS

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MEET THE PRESS

ANNOUNCER: Now MEET THE PRESS, produced by Lawrence E. Spivak. Remember that the questions asked by the members of the panel do not necessarily reflect their point of view; it is their way of getting the story for you.

Now here is the Moderator of MEET THE PRESS, Mr. Ned Brooks.

MR. BROOKS: Welcome once again to MEET THE PRESS. For the past several months a new strategy to end racial segregation has been spreading through the South. It takes the form of sit-in demonstrations by Negro students against segregation in public eating places. It is part of a broader campaign of nonviolent resistance led by the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who is our guest today. Dr. King is a Baptist minister and head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which is spearheading the passive resistance movement. Dr. King first attracted nationwide attention in 1956 when he led the boycott against segregation in public buses in Montgomery, Alabama. His activities have resulted five times in his arrest, and his home

and church were bombed. Early this year Dr. King moved his base of operations from Montgomery, Alabama, to Atlanta, Georgia. He is 31 years old, born in the South and educated for the ministry in the North.

MR. SPIVAK: Dr. King, former President Harry Truman recently said this: "If anyone came to my store and sat down, I would throw him out. Private business has its own rights and can do what it wants." Former President Truman is an old friend of the Negro, I believe. Isn't this an indication that the sit-in strikes are doing the Negro race more harm than good?

DR. KING: No, I don't think so. First I should say that this was an unfortunate statement, and we were very disappointed to hear the former President of the United States make such a statement. In a sense a statement like this serves to aid and abet the violent forces in the South. Even if Mr. Truman disagreed with the sit-ins, he should certainly disagree with them on a higher level. Following his past record, it seems to me that Mr. Truman wouldn't have faced such a situation, because there wouldn't be a segregated store in the beginning, if he were running it, according to his statements in the past.

I do not think that this movement is setting us back or making enemies. It is causing numerous people all over the nation and in the South, in particular, to reevaluate the stereotypes that they have developed concerning Negroes, so that it has an educational value, and I think in the long run it will transform the whole of American society.

MR. SPIVAK: You yourself have said that the aim of your method of non-violent resistance is not to defeat or humiliate the white man, but to win his friendship and his understanding. How successful do you think you have been or are being in winning the friendship and understanding of the white men of the South?

DR. KING: I should say that this doesn't come overnight. The non-violent way does not bring about miracles, in a few hours, in a few days or in a few years, for that matter. The first reaction of the oppressor when oppressed people rise up against the system of injustice is an attitude of bitterness. But I do believe that if the non-violent resistors continue to follow the way of non-violence they eventually get over to the hearts and souls of the former oppressors, and I think it eventually brings about that redemption that we dream of. Of course, I can't estimate how many people we have touched so far. This is impossible because it is an inner

process, but I am sure something is stirring in the minds and the souls of people, and I am sure that many people are thinking anew on this basic problem of human relations.

MR. SPIVAK: You speak of your movement as a non-violent movement, and yet the end product of it has been violence. You have also called upon the white people, of the South particularly, to live up to the law as the Supreme Court has interpreted it. Don't you think you would have more standing in your fight if you, yourself, called upon your people to live up to the law rather than to break the law and to risk jail in these sit-ins?

DR. KING: I would say two things to that: First, the end result has not been a violent result. I would say that there has been some violence here and there, but the non-violent resistor does not go on with the idea that there will not be any violence inflicted upon him. In other words, he is always willing to be the recipient of violence but never to inflict it upon another. He goes on the idea that he must act now against injustice, with moral means. He feels that in acting against this injustice he must never inflict injury upon the opponent, but he is always prepared to absorb the violence which emerges, if such violence emerges in the process.

MR. SPIVAK: But aren't you urging him to break the local laws when you are asking the white people to live up to the laws, and is this a good method of procedure?

DR. KING: I think we will find that the law of the land is a law which calls for integration. This has been affirmed by the Supreme Court of the nation, mainly in the 1954 decision outlawing segregation in the public schools. It made it palpably clear that separate facilities are inherently unequal, so that in breaking local laws, we are really seeking to dignify the law and to affirm the real and positive meaning of the law of the land.

MR. LEWIS: In connection with the sit-in movement and other aspects of the racial question, there has certainly been an increase in tension in various parts of the South—what Mr. Spivak was speaking of—regardless of the motivation. During the last week The New York Times has run some stories about Birmingham, Alabama, suggesting that a kind of reign of terror is taking place there, with the officials on the side of those terrorizing those who believe in racial equality. My question is, what role do you see for the federal government in this situation? Do you think the federal government has a place to play, say, in Birmingham or in connection with your sit-in demonstrations?

DR. KING: Yes, I do. I think the federal government has the responsibility of protecting citizens of this nation as they protest against the injustices which they face. I also feel that the Executive branch of the government should do more in terms of moral persuasion. The Legislative branch should certainly do more in giving the proper legislation, so that the transition will be made in much smoother manner than we are facing now.

MR. LEWIS: We have just had a civil rights bill passed—you speak of the Legislative branch. I wonder what you think of that, and what more you would have had Congress do?

DR. KING: I must confess that I was disappointed with the final bill because so many things that I felt were basic happened to have been deleted or omitted. And the whole question of school integration—I am convinced that the nation, the federal government, will have to face it in a much more forthright and courageous manner than it has in the past, and by omitting this section of the bill, I think we face something very disappointing. Even in the area of voter registration, I think there is much more that can be done. The bill that we have, which is mainly in the area of voter registration, will help, particularly in some communities, but it is not at all a panacea. It has certain red tape complex qualities about it which will still make the process a long one, and I think ultimately the federal government should set forth a uniform pattern of registration and voting so that no citizen will have a problem at this point.

MR. LEWIS: You spoke of the Executive branch, also, and moral leadership being needed. What precisely would you have the President do—President Eisenhower or his successor?

DR. KING: I think there are several things. Certainly the President can do a great deal in the area of executive orders. He has certain executive powers, where orders can be made, and the country must follow it and comply with these orders. On the other hand, there is a great deal that a man as powerful as the President of the United States can do in the area of moral persuasion, by constantly speaking to the people on the moral values involved in integration and urging the people to comply with the law of the land.

MRS. CRAIG: There have been court decisions saying that a storekeeper can select his customers. Are you saying that the end justifies the means and you are apparently breaking local laws, hoping for a better conclusion?

DR. KING: I would say, first, that the Supreme Court has not rendered a decision at this point. It is true that there have been other decisions, but I think on the basis of the 1954 decision, if the Supreme Court follows what it set forth in 1954, it would have to uphold the law in this area—that segregation is wrong, even in lunch counters and public places—because that decision said in substance that segregation generates a feeling of inferiority within the segregated, and, thereby, it abridges the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. I am sure if we follow this through in this area, the same thing will follow.

On the other hand, if you are saying, are we breaking laws because we feel that the end justifies the means—we feel that there are moral laws in the universe just as valid and as basic as man-made laws, and whenever a man-made law is in conflict with what we consider the law of God, or the moral law of the universe, then we feel that we have a moral obligation to protest. This is an American tradition all the way from the Boston Tea Party, on down. We have praised individuals in America who stood up with creative initiative to revolt against an unjust system, so that this is all we are doing. In our institutions—we give the Boston Tea Party as an example of the initiative of Americans, and I think this is an example of the initiative and the great creative move of the young people of our nation.

MRS. CRAIG: But, Dr. King, this is a nation that lives under law. Above the Supreme Court is engraven "Equal Justice Under Law." Is each of us to decide when it is all right to break a law?

DR. KING: I would say that, as I said a few minutes ago, when the law of our nation stands in conflict with the higher moral law, and when a local law stands in conflict with the federal law. then we must resist that law in order to dignify and give meaning to the full out-pouring of the federal law and the moral law.

MRS. CRAIG: But, sir, we have Congress to change a law. We have the courts to interpret the law. Are you going beyond them?

DR. KING: We have discovered that in any non-violent movement you have a way of direct action. In many instances the courts have made for slow movement, so to speak As one Attorney General says, we are prepared for a century of litigation. We have observed the sometimes-hypocritical attitudes in Congress and the slow movements there and the apathy, so that this is a direct-action approach. The whole aim, the end result will

be to arouse the conscience of those who are using these stalling and delaying methods to block our advance.

MR. VAN DER LINDEN: Dr. King, in your own book "Stride Toward Freedom" you say you thoroughly studied the writings of Karl Marx and the teachings of communism, and you don't agree with everything that the father of communism said, but you do say this, and I quote from page 95 of your book: "Insofar as Marx pointed to the weaknesses of traditional capitalism and challenged the social conscience of the Christian churches," you responded with a definite, Yes. I would like to know just where does communism or collectivism fit into your program of resistance here?

DR. KING: It doesn't fit into this particular program of resistance at all. I have made it crystal clear on many occasions that I feel that communism is based on an ethical relativism and a metaphysical materialism that no Christian can accept. I do not feel that the end justifies the means, because the end is preexistent in the means, and I believe firmly that we must follow moral means to secure moral ends, so that that particular quotation does not apply to this particular struggle. I was referring to something else altogether.

MR. VAN DER LINDEN: You said also in your book at page 220 "Our ultimate goal is integration, which is genuine intergroup and inter-personal living." You also soft-pedal as so-called irrational fears that this program may lead to racial intermarriage. You say marriage is an individual matter. Is it correct to say that you don't oppose racial intermarriage?

DR. KING: I would certainly say, properly speaking, individuals marry and not races, and therefore, I would not at all say there should be laws prohibiting individuals of different races to marry, because this is an individual matter. It is not a matter of a group marrying another group, but an individual marrying an individual.

MR. VAN DER LINDEN: Would you then attack next the state laws against such intermarriage?

DR. KING: I haven't planned a particular attack on that, but I don't think America will ever come to its full maturity until every state does away with laws prohibiting individuals to marry on the basis of race. But I think basically this is an irrational fear because it is an individual matter, and I think the question here, at bottom, is a question of illicit miscegenation, and I think if you will follow the record there you will find that illicit misce-

genation has existed more in the South where you have rigid segregation laws than it has existed in the North where you don't have such barriers. It hasn't been the Negro who is the aggressor at this point. We just need to look around, and we can see that.

MR. SPIVAK: You say that the Negroes have a moral right to occupy the restaurant seats. You have had a Supreme Court edict on the school integration. Would you say that your children, the Negro children, have a right to occupy the seats in classrooms, too, and would you consider that form of non-violence?

DR. KING: I am sure that Negroes have this right on the basis of the Supreme Court to go into schools. I haven't gone into, I haven't thought through the strategy at this point, how non-violent resistence can apply in the school integration struggle. I do think it can apply, and I think we need to think through some of these methods. The main thing is that the methods must always be non-violent and they must always be based on the principle of love. But the specific application I am not prepared to say at this time. I do know that we have that right on the basis of the decision from the Supreme Court.

MR. SPIVAK: Wouldn't you be on better ground, both legal and moral, if you occupied school seats than by occupying a few restaurant seats?

DR. KING: I am not sure about that, because I think that we have an economic factor involved here, and even if one denied the legal aspect or the legal right to do it, there is a deeper moral right. As Governor Collins of Florida said, it is a blatant injustice to welcome individuals into a store at all of the counters but the eating counter. This is a blatant injustice, and it is very unfair. So that we have not only legal rights involved here, but also moral rights.

MR. SPIVAK: Wouldn't you be on stronger grounds, though, if you refused to buy at those stores, and if you called upon the white people of the country to follow you because of both your moral and your legal right not to buy?

DR. KING: I think, sometimes it is necessary to dramatize an issue because many people are not aware of what is happening. I think the sit-ins serve to dramatize the indignities and the injustices which Negro people are facing all over the nation. I think another reason why they are necessary and they are vitally important at this point is the fact that they give an eternal refutation to the idea that the Negro is satisfied with segregation. If

you didn't have the sit-ins, you wouldn't have this dramatic—not only this dramatic, but this mass demonstration—of the dissatisfatcion of the Negro with the whole system of segregation.

MR. LEWIS: You just had a strategy meeting in Raleigh, North Carolina, on this whole question, and I notice that one speaker was quite critical of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, speaking of it as too conservative and too slow-moving. Do you share that view, and just what was the feeling at this strategy meeting? What was the conclusion—that you have to move more quickly than you have been?

DR. KING: I should say first that I didn't hear a speaker make that particular point, so that I can't speak on that—whether the speaker said it or whether he didn't say it. I heard all of the speakers, and I didn't hear that. I didn't find any anti-NAACP attitude at the strategy meeting. All of the leaders from the Southern sit-in movement assembled there, and they assembled there with the awareness of the fact that the NAACP has given absolute support to the sit-ins. The NAACP has made it very clear that this is a good movement, a positive movement that it will support throughout. There was some criticism, not of the NAACP, but of the snail-like pace of the implementation process, the implementation of the Supreme Court's decision and dissatisfaction with the conniving methods and evasive schemes used to avoid following the law of the land. This isn't a criticism of the NAACP; it is a criticism of the agencies and the courts that will use the law to delay and get it bogged down in complex litigation processes.

MRS. CRAIG: I have been told that there are places in Harlem which refuse to serve white customers. Do you know if that is true? If so, do you justify it as either morally or legally right?

DR. KING: I am very sorry, I do not. I don't know of places in Harlem who will not serve white customers. If such places exist, I think it is a blatant injustice, and just redevelopment of the thing we are trying to get rid of, so I certainly wouldn't go along with that.

MR. VAN DER LINDEN: Dr. King, how many white people are members of your church in Atlanta?

DR. KING: I don't have any white members, Mr. van der Linden.

MR. VAN DER LINDEN: You said integration is the law of the land and it is morally right, whereas segregation is morally

wrong, and the President should do something about it. Do you mean the President should issue an order that the schools and the churches and the stores should all be integrated?

DR. KING: I think it is one of the shameful tragedies, of our nation that 11 o'clock on Sunday morning is one of the most segregated hours, if not the most segregated hour, in Christian America. I definitely think the Christian church should be integrated, and any church that stands against integration and that has a segregated body is standing against the spirit and the teachings of Jesus Christ, and it fails to be a true witness. But this is something that the church will have to do itself. I don't think church integration will come through legal processes. I might say that my church is not a segregating church. It is segregated but not segregating. It would welcome white members.

MR. BROOKS: I think at this point I will have to interrupt. I see that our time is up. Thank you very much, Dr. King, for being with us.

The Proceedings of

MEET THE PRESS

as broadcast nationwide by the National Broadcasting Company, Inc., are printed and made available to the public to further interest in impartial discussions of questions affecting the public welfare. Transcripts may be obtained by sending a stamped, self addressed envelope and ten cents for each copy to:

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MEET THE PRESS is telecast every Sunday over the NBC Television Network. This program originated from NBC Studios in Washington, D. C.

Television Broadcast 6:00 P.M. EST
Radio Broadcast 6:30 P.M. EST

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Beaufort County - 1960

This study is designed to provide a statistical outline of Beaufort County and to help locate problems warranting special attention.

Since Penn Community Services works primarily with the Negro community, this study is focused specifically on Negro, or non-white, statistics. We realize that these problems are not limited to the Negro community. While the responsibility of improvement lies partially with the Negro community, significant changes must necessarily involve total community cooperation.

Some figures stand out in the following tables:

Population: During the decade 1950-1960, Beaufort changed from a predominantly Negro County (57%) to predominantly white (62%). The county experienced the highest percentage increase (64%) of the state -- primarily white persons, through establishment of the Marine Corps Air Station.

Education: 81% of Negro students enrolling in 1950 ~~at the St. Helena School~~ dropped out before graduation; 46% of the Negro population over twenty-five years old are functionally illiterate, yet the public schools spend per Negro pupil only 70% of the funds that it spends for each white student.

Farm: Negroes comprise 74% of the farm operators but farm only 8% of the land; only 3% are tenants.

Employment: Almost one-third of the Negro families earn less than $1,000 annually, and over one-half earn less than $2,000. More than one-half the workers hold unskilled jobs.

Rural Housing: One-third of the total homes in the county either have an outdoor privy or no facility whatsoever. 15% of the homes do not have flues for heating, while one-third are without piped water.

Health: 55% of Negro babies are delivered by a midwife, and 3[illegible]% of Negro births are illegitimate.

Registration: Negroes comprise about one-third of registered persons for voting, yet only 17% of those eligible are registered.

Several terms should be defined: The definition of farm was changed in 1960, to include farms that have at least 10 acres or sell $250 worth of products annually; earlier the figures were 3 acres and $150. The new definition partially accounts for the large decrease in number of farms.

Figures for the Beaufort Division include those of Beaufort city. The city statistics are listed because of their significance.

Courtney Siceloff
Director, Penn Community Services

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Population

Total and Nonwhite Population 1900-1960

	Total	Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite
1900	35,495	32,146	90.6
1910	30,355	26,392	86.9
1920	22,269	17,468	78.4
1930	21,815	15,572	71.4
1940	22,037	14,781	67.1
1950	26,993	15,521	57.5
1960	44,187	17,104	38.7

During the decade 1950-60, Beaufort County had the largest percentage of increase in the state: 63.7%.
The population per square mile in 1950 was 40.2; in 1960, 75.1. The County has 588 square miles (see map).
The 1960 rural population totalled 37,889 of which 22,834 were white, 14,929 (40%) were Negro, 126 of other races.
The rural non-farm population is 81.9% of the total (the state is 44.1%). The rural farm population is 3.8% (the state is 14.7%).
The median age in the County in 1950 was 20.9; in 1960, 19.1 (South Carolina: 23.4; United States: 29.5).

Education

School Attendance 1959-60 (ten day)

	Total	Negro
Enrollment	9,118	5,214
Daily average attendance	7,857	4,547
Percent attendance	86.17	87.21
State average	87.1	84.6
Teachers		
Elementary	183	104 (56% of total)
High School	115	64 (55%)
Total	298	168 (56%)
Average Teaching Load (daily)		
Elementary	27	28
High School	25	25
Total Number Schools (not buildings)		
Elementary	15	8
High School	8	5
Drop-outs 1950 to 1962		
1950-51 enrollment in 1st grade	1,025	800
1962 High School graduates	290	150
Drop-outs	735	650
Percent of 1950-51 enrollment	72%	81%

Costs per child 1956-57 Season

	White	Negro	Percent of White
Elementary	$199	$136	68%
High School	237	171	72%

Amount Spent on Current Operations of County Schools 1959-60

Total	County	State	Federal
$1,495,981	$303,447	$962,403	$230,131 (15%)

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Education - continued

Years of School Completed 1960

	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Persons, 25 and over	15,741	6,514	41	100
No school years completed	809	752	92	12
Elementary, 1-4 "	2,415	2,198	91	34
" 5-8 "	3,806	2,335	61	36
High School, 1-3 "	2,778	598	21	9
" " 4 "	3,667	331	9	5
College, 1-3 "	1,154	112	9	2
" 4 or more "	1,112	188	16	3
Median school years "	9.9	5.5		
	(1950: 6.3)			

Functional Illiteracy 1960

Total adults, 25 and over 15,741

Functional illiterates, " " " 3,224 (20.4%; state: 20.3%)

Farm

Farms in Beaufort County are decreasing in number, growing in size. Approximate land area 1959: 376,320 acres, 28% of which is in farms; the state proportion is 47%.

Average Size of Farms

	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total
Acreage 1959	181.7 (state 117.0)	20.4 (state 39.8)	11
" 1954	110.5 (" 89.1)	21.8 (" 35.9)	20

Average age of all farm operators

1959: 53.6 1954: 51.7

Number of Farms

	1959	1954
Under 10 acres	61	433
10 to 49 "	401	616
50 or more "	117	152

Off-farm Work and Economic Class

Off-farm Work and Other Income

Farm operators, working off their farms 1959 337

100 or more days 257

Farms by Economic Class

Commercial farms 125

Other farms, part-time 330

" " part-retirement 100 (includes "residential, subsistence, or marginal farms")

Farms and Acreage by Color and Tenure

Farm Operators	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total
Number 1959	579	430	74
Acreage "	105,230	8,780	8
Number 1954	1,201	1,018	85
Acreage "	132,763	22,219	17
Full Owners			
Number 1959	365	274	75
Acreage "	38,480	5,563	14
Number 1954	843	724	86
Acreage "	66,030	13,104	20
Managers			
Number 1959	15	-	-
" 1954	9	1	11

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Farms - continued

Farms and Acreage by Color and Tenure

All Tenants	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total
Number 1959	23	15	65
" 1954	57	48	84

Proportion of Tenancy

Percentage 1959	4.0 (state 31.8)	3.5 (state 53.7)
" 1954	4.7 (" 40.3)	4.7 (" 62.8)

Truck Crop Labor

	Migratory Labor	Commuting Labor
1950	201	850
1955	941	1,310

The annual average temperature is 66.5°; the January average is 50.9°; the July average is 81.5°.
The annual rainfall average is 46.0 inches; the monthly high average in July is 5.7 inches.
The average number of growing days is 284.

Employment

Family Income in 1959

	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
All families	8,030	3,002	37	100
Under $1,000	1,145	975	85	32
1,000-1,999	1,029	723	70	24
2,000-2,999	1,193	613	51	20
3,000-3,999	1,085	306	28	10
4,000-4,999	1,074	209	19	7
5,000-5,999	806	90	11	3
6,000-6,999	471	37	7	1
7,000-7,999	402	12	2	*
8,000-8,999	269	12	4	*
9,000-9,999	176	21	11	*
10,000 & over	380	4	1	*
Median Income				
Families	$3,597	$1,728	48	
Families and unrelated individuals	$1,864	$1,294	69	

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Employment - continued

Industry of Employed ("Total" and "Nonwhite" columns differ slightly in designation of industries)

Total and Percent of Total Employed		
Employed	8,377	100%
Agriculture	1,270	15
Construction	636	8
Manufacturing	443	5
Food and kindred prod.	229	3
Railroad and other transportation	188	2
Community, utilities, and sanitary services	110	1
Wholesale trade, eating and drinking places, other retail trade	1,626	19
Private households	862	10
Other personal services	397	5
Educational services	537	6
Other professional and related services, public administration	1,172	14
Other industries and not reported	1,136	14

Nonwhite and Percent of Nonwhite Employed		
Employed	4,421	100%
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	1,205	27
Construction	402	9
Manufacturing	295	7
Transportation and kindred services	122	3
Wholesale and retail trade	444	10
Finance, Insurance and real estate	32	*
Business and repair services	20	*
Personal services	1,046	24
Entertainment and recreation services	41	1
Professional and related services	325	7
Public administration	358	8
Industry not reported	131	3

Occupation and Industry	MALE				FEMALE			
			Percent				Percent	
	Total	Nonwhite	Total	Nonwhite	Total	Nonwhite	Total	Nonwhite
Employed	4,830	2,390	49%	100%	3,547	2,031	57%	100%
Professional, technical and kind.workers	272	52	19	2	420	147	35	7
Farmers and farm managers	145	81	55	3	25	25	100	1
Managers, proprietors (except farm) clerical, sales	930	85	9	4	941	58	6	3
Craftsmen, foremen, kindred workers	979	344	35	14	33	13	39	*
Operatives, kind.	707	451	63	19	342	279	81	14
Private household	18	18	100	*	773	744	96	37
Service workers (except priv.h'held)	270	120	44	5	393	210	53	10
Farm laborers,f'men	518	454	87	19	491	491	100	24
Laborers (nonfarm)	800	700	87	29	13	13	100	*
Occupation not reported	191	85	44	4	116	51	43	3
Employment Status								
Persons, 14 over	18,056	4,706	26	100	11,474	4,996	43	100
Labor force	15,885	3,389	21	72	4,118	2,187	53	44
Percent of total	88%	72%			36%	44%		
Civilian lab.for.	5,073	2,592	51	55	-	-		
Employed	4,830	2,390	49	51	3,547	2,031	57	41
Unemployed	243	202	83	4	240	148	61	3

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Housing

Housing Units	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Occupied	8,973	3,513	39	100
Nonfarm	8,170	2,773	33	79
Farm	377	214	56	6
Owner occupied	5,308	2,716	51	77
Nonfarm	3,962	2,239	56	64
Farm	290	186	64	5
Renter occupied	3,665	797	21	23
Nonfarm	2,824	1,331	47	38
Farm	87	28	32	*
Year Structure Built				
Number	10,747	4,363	41	100
1950 to Mar.1960	5,354	850	15	19
1940 to 1949	2,090	1,643	78	38
1939 or earlier	3,303	1,870	56	43
Value				
Owner occupied	4,196	2,248	53	100
Less than $5,000	1,822	1,700	93	76
5,000 to 9,900	1,026	431	42	19
10,000 to 14,900	886	89	10	4
15,000 or more	462	28	6	1
Median	$6,200	$5,000-	80	
Gross Rent				
Renter occupied	3,578	501	14	100
Less than $20	150	138	92	28
20 to 39	135	103	76	21
40 to 59	484	118	24	24
60 to 79	921	100	10	20
80 to 99	1,063	38	3	8
100 or more	825	4	*	*
Median	$78			
No cash rent		268		
Residence in 1955				
Persons 5 years old in 1960	37,730	14,408	38	100
Same house as in 1960	12,706	9,556	75	66
Same county as in 1960	5,889	3,289	55	23
Same state as in 1960	1,875	246	13	2
Moved, residence in 1955 not rep'd	397	75	18	*

Persons per Household

1950: 3.8 1960: 3.95

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Housing - continued (separate "Nonwhite" figures not available)

TOTAL	
Bathing Facilities	
Bathtub or shower, exclusive use	7,541
Bathtub or shower, shared	36
No bathtub or shower	3,170
Toilet Facilities	
Flush toilet, exclusive use	7,634
Flush toilet, shared	49
Other toilet facilities or none	3,064
Heating Equipment	
Steam, hot water; warm air, floor, wall or pipeless furnace; built-in electric units	3,673
Other means with flue	5,300
" " without "	1,607
None	167

RURAL NONFARM

Housing units: 8,170 Occupied: 6,786

Owner occupied: 3,962

Nonwhite owner occupied: 2,239

Percent: 56

Renter occupied: 2,824

Nonwhite renter occupied: 534

Percent: 18

Toilet Facilities	
Flush toilet, exclusive use	5,372
Flush toilet, shared	4
Other toilet facilities or none	2,794
Heating Equipment	
Steam, hot air; warm air furnace, or built-in room units	2,913
Other means with flue	3,928
" " without "	1,189
None	140
Water Supply	
Hot and cold piped water inside structure	5,256
Only cold piped water inside structure	212
Piped water outside	80
No piped water	2,622
Source of Water	
Public system or private company	3,548
Individual well	3,066
Other	1,556
Sewage Disposal	
Public sewer	1,940
Septic tank or cesspool	3,725
Other or none	2,505
Year Structure Built	
1955 to March 1960	3,449
1950 to 1954	1,066
1940 to 1949	1,546
1939 or earlier	2,109

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Health

Physicians, Dentists, Nurses - 1959

	Number	Rate per 10,000 population County	Rate per 10,000 population State	Ratio per 100 square miles County	Ratio per 100 square miles State
Physicians, surgeons (including Resident Physicians, Health Officers)	10	2.4 (3 counties have less)	6.8	1.5	5.2
Dentists	3	0.7 (3 counties have less)	2.1	0.4	1.6
Nurses	48	11.4 (8 counties have less)	28.9	7.1	22.0

Births 1959

	Total	Negro	Percent of Total	Percent of Negro
Number	1,442	552	38	100
Agency				
Hospital	1,130	240	21	43
Physician	7	7	100	1
Midwife	304	304	100	55
Illegitimate				
Number	199	192	96	35

Death Rate per 1,000 Population 1960

Total	White	Nonwhite
6.6 (lowest in state) (state: 8.3)	4.0 (lowest in state) (state: 7.4)	10.6 (20 counties lower) (state: 9.3)

Nonwhite Marital Status 1960

		Percent
Male		
Number, 14 and over	4,816	100
Single	2,080	43
Married	2,526	52
Separated	166	3
Widowed	197	4
Divorced	13	*
Female		
Number, 14 and over	5,015	100
Single	1,369	27
Married	2,688	54
Separated	289	6
Widowed	938	19
Divorced	20	*

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Registration

Total adults, 21 and over 19,345

Number Registered

	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
1958	4,240	1,234	29
1960	5,471	1,588	29
1962	6,744	2,091	31

Number of Voters

1958 June primary	3,044
1960 general election	3,821
1962 June primary	3,415

	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
Population 1957	30,466	18,209	60
Registered 1958	4,240	1,234	29

Percent of Negroes over 21 registered	17
" " Whites " " "	50

BEAUFORT COUNTY: BEAUFORT DIVISION

Population	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Beaufort Division	16,686	4,922	29	100
Education				
Persons under 18	4,925	1,778	36	36
Living with both parents	4,163	1,166	28	24
Years of School Completed				
Persons 25 and over	3,851	1,050	27	100
No school years completed	129	105	81	10
Elementary 1-4 "	367	339	92	32
" 5-7 "	510	347	68	33
" 8 "	210	49	23	5
High School 1-3 "	887	129	14	12
" " 4 "	1,251	73	5	7
College 1-3 "	292	-	-	-
" 4 or more "	205	8	3	*
Median school years "	11.4	5.7		

Employment	MALE				FEMALE			
	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Persons 14 and over	3,592	788	21	100	2,644	799	30	100
Labor force	3,232	597	18	76	729	374	51	47
Percent of total	90.0	75.8			27.6	46.8		
Civilian labor force	806	492	61	62				
Employed	768	458	59	58	692	365	52	46
Unemployed	38	34	89	4	29			
Occupation and Industry								
Employed	768	458	59	100	692	365	52	100
Professional, technical and kindred workers	16	-	-	-	40	4	10	1
Farmers & farm managers	12	-	-	-	4	4	100	1
Managers, proprietors (except farm), clerical and sales workers	131	17	12	4	237	27	11	7
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	124	52	41	11	12	8	67	2
Operatives, and kindred workers	157	109	69	24	62	53	85	15
Private household wkrs.	-	-	-	-	127	123	96	34
Service workers (except private household)	42	26	61	6	84	44	52	12
Farm laborers and farm foremen	120	100	83	22	98	98	100	27
Laborers (except farm)	139	135	97	29	-	-	-	-
Occupation not reported	27	19	70	4	28	4	14	1

Registration

Burton	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
1958	346	112	32
1960	494	148	29
1962	616	196	31

BEAUFORT COUNTY: BEAUFORT DIVISION - continued

Total Employed	
Number	1,460
Nonwhite	823
(56% of total; breakdown not available)	
Private wage and salary workers	1,056
Government workers	292
Self-employed "	95
Unpaid family "	17
Industries	
Agriculture	243
Construction	142
Manufacturing	64
Feed and kindred prod.	24
Railroad and other transportation	29
Community, utilities, and sanitary services	17
Wholesale trade, eating and drinking places, other retail trade	322
Private households	136
Other personal services	93
Educational services	44
Other professional and related services, public administration	205
Other industries and not reported	165
Heating Equipment - all units	
Steam, hot water, warm air furnace, built-in units	1,594
Other means with flue	630
" " without "	123
None	29
Source of Water - all units	
Public system or private company	1,648
Individual well	408
Other	309
Sewage Disposal - all units	
Public sewer	1,256
Septic tank or cesspool	657
Other or none	452

*Less than 1%.

Family Income in 1959	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
All families	2,172	476	21	100
Under $1,000	134	85	63	18
1,000-1,999	222	138	62	29
2,000-2,999	241	140	58	29
3,000-3,999	336	69	20	14
4,000-4,999	440	28	6	6
5,000-5,999	300	8	3	2
6,000-6,999	173	-	-	-
7,000-7,999	133	4	3	*
8,000-8,999	76	4	5	*
9,000-9,999	36	-	-	-
10,000 and over	81	-	-	-
Median Income				
Families	$4,348	$2,107	48	
Families and unrel.indiv.	$3,151	$1,790	56	
All Housing Units				
Number	2,376	520	21	100
Nonfarm	2,331	499	21	96
Farm (occupied)	45	21	46	4
Owner occupied	850	446	52	86
Nonfarm	809	425	52	82
Farm	41	21	51	4
Renter occupied	1,383	74	5	14
Nonfarm	1,379	74	5	14
Farm	4	-	-	-
Value of House				
Owner occupied	620	388	62	100
Less than $5,000	329	312	94	81
5,000-9,900	176	71	40	18
10,000-14,900	90	5	6	1
15,000 or more	25	-	-	-
Gross Rent				
Renter occupied	1,379	51	4	100
Less than $20	4	4	100	8
20-39	12	4	33	8
40-59	60	5	8	10
60 or more	1,268	38	3	74
No cash rent	35	23	66	
Median	$93	-	-	
Year Structure Built				
All units	2,376	520	22	100
1950-March 1960	1,962	228	12	44
1940 to 1949	183	123	67	24
1939 or earlier	231	169	73	32
Residence in 1955				
Persons 5 years old 1960	8,393	2,448	29	100
Same house as 1960	1,762	1,437	82	59
Same county	1,327	760	57	31
" state	366	17	5	*
Moved, residence in 1955 not rep'd	21	-	-	-

BEAUFORT COUNTY: BLUFFTON DIVISION

Population	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Bluffton Division	3,135	2,049	65	100
Education				
Persons under 18	1,095	867	79	42
Living with both parents	724	515	71	25
Years of School Completed				
Persons 25 and over	1,325	751	57	100
No school years completed	130	125	96	17
Elementary 1-4 "	330	295	89	39
" 5-7 "	284	187	66	25
" 8 "	78	14	18	2
High School 1-3 "	130	58	45	8
" " 4 "	157	4	3	*
College 1-3 "	93	21	23	3
" 4 or more "	123	47	38	6
Median school years "	7.1	4.4		

Employment	MALE				FEMALE			
	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Persons 14 and over	850	485	57	100	931	583	63	100
Labor force	503	266	53	55	313	208	66	36
Percent of total	59.2	54.8			33.6	35.7		
Civilian labor force	503	266	53	55				
Employed	469	232	49	48	273	168	62	29
Unemployed	34	34	100	7	40			
Occupation and Industry								
Employed	469	232	49	100	273	168	62	100
Professional, technical, kind.	45	5	11	2	69	33	48	20
Farmers & farm managers	12	8	67	3	-	-	-	-
Managers, proprietors (except farm), clerical, sales wkrs.	85	8	9	3	52	-	-	-
Craftsmen, foremen, & kind.	65	17	26	7	-	-	-	-
Operatives, and kind. workers	49	25	50	11	43	39	91	23
Private household workers	-	-	-	-	51	51	100	30
Service wkrs. (exc. h'hold)	20	8	40	3	12	4	33	2
Farm laborers & farm foremen	45	33	73	14	41	41	100	24
Laborers (except farm)	140	124	89	53	-	-	-	-
Occupation not reported	8	4	50	2	5	-	-	-

Registration

	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
Hilton Head			
1958	130	92	70
1960	185	104	56
1962	301	163	54
Daufuskie			
1958	13	7	53
1960	23	12	52
1962	23	12	52
Barrell Landing			
1958	89	3	3
1960	95	3	3
1962	110	8	7
Bluffton			
1958	321	46	14
1960	407	57	14
1962	519	103	19

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY: BLUFFTON DIVISION - continued

Total Employed	
Number	742
Private wage and salary workers	513
Government workers	106
Self-employed "	102
Unpaid family "	21
Industries	
Agriculture	118
Construction	66
Manufacturing	116
Food and kind.prod.	75
Railroad and other transportation	45
Community, utilities, & sanitary services	12
Wholesale trade, eating and drinking places, other retail trade	82
Private households	60
Other personal services	28
Educational services	70
Other professional and related services, public administration	61
Other industries and not reported	84

Heating Equipment - all units	
Steam, hot water, warm air furnace, built-in units	136
Other means with flue	798
" " without "	387
None	14

Source of Water - all units	
Public system or private company	160
Individual well	819
Other	384

Sewage Disposal - all units	
Public sewer	5
Septic tank or cesspool	845
Other or none	513

*Less than 1%.

Family Income in 1959	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
All families	633	372	59	100
Under $1,000	163	135	83	36
1,000-1,999	134	114	85	31
2,000-2,999	100	84	84	23
3,000-3,999	61	29	48	8
4,000-4,999	46	10	22	3
5,000-5,999	40	-	-	-
6,000-6,999	28	-	-	-
7,000-7,999	12	-	-	-
8,000-8,999	4	-	-	-
9,000-9,999	8	-	-	-
10,000 and over	37	-	-	-
Median Income				
Families	$2,195	$1,447	66	
Families and unrel.indiv.	$1,815	$1,248	69	
All Housing Units				
Number	1,335	423	32	100
Nonfarm	1,267	406	32	96
Farm (occupied)	68	17	25	4
Owner occupied	530	316	60	75
Nonfarm	470	299	64	71
Farm	60	17	28	4
Renter occupied	220	107	49	25
Nonfarm	212	107	50	25
Farm	8	-	-	-
Value of House				
Owner occupied	375	237	63	100
Less than $5,000	215	182	85	77
5,000 to 9,900	81	43	53	18
10,000 to 14,900	58	8	14	3
15,000 or more	21	4	19	2
Gross Rent				
Renter occupied	212	61	29	100
Less than $20	52	48	92	79
20-39	12	8	67	13
40-59	24	5	21	8
60 or more	23	-	-	-
No cash rent	101	46	46	
Year Structure Built				
All units	1,335	423	32	100
1950-March 1960	566	98	17	23
1940 to 1949	211	60	28	14
1939 or earlier	558	265	47	63
Residence in 1955				
Persons 5 yrs old 1960	2,285	1,483	65	100
Same house as "	1,401	1,051	75	71
" county " "	490	366	75	25
" state " "	144	8	6	*
Moved, residence in 1955 not rep'd	29	17	59	1

BEAUFORT COUNTY: PORT ROYAL DIVISION

Population	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Port Royal Division	15,025	2,328	15	100
Education				
Persons under 18	5,541	1,069	19	46
Living with both parents	3,066	687	22	30
Years of School Completed				
Persons 25 and over	3,626	704	19	100
No school years completed	91	75	82	11
Elementary 1-4 "	229	173	76	25
" 5-7 "	388	183	47	26
" 8 "	307	79	26	11
High School 1-3 "	884	115	13	16
" " 4 "	1,145	62	5	9
College 1-3 "	275	13	5	2
" 4 or more "	307	4	1	*
Median school years "	11.7			

Employment	MALE Total	MALE Nonwhite	MALE Percent of Total	MALE Percent of Nonwhite	FEMALE Total	FEMALE Nonwhite	FEMALE Percent of Total	FEMALE Percent of Nonwhite
Persons 14 and over	9,362	1,044	11	100	2,732	511	19	100
Labor force	9,044	918	10	88	1,076	284	26	56
Percent of total	96.6	87.9			39.4	55.6		
Civilian labor force	897	269	30	26				
Employed	868	260	30	25	688	258	38	50
Unemployed	29	9	31	*	74			
Occupation and Industry								
Employed	868	260	30	100	688	258	38	100
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	55	8	15	3	60	4	7	2
Farmers and farm managers	33	9	27	3	-	-	-	-
Managers, proprietors (except farm), clerical, sales workers	232	4	2	2	257	4	2	2
Craftsmen, foremen, kind. wkrs.	179	38	21	15	4	-	-	-
Operatives, and kind. workers	99	43	43	17	68	40	59	16
Private household workers	-	-	-	-	160	152	95	59
Service workers (except private household)	70	14	20	5	91	30	33	12
Farm laborers & farm foremen	36	36	100	14	16	16	100	6
Laborers (except farm)	119	99	83	38	8	8	100	3
Occupation not reported	45	9	20	3	24	4	17	2

Registration

Port Royal	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
1958	267	68	25
1960	379	86	22
1962	436	97	22

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY: PORT ROYAL DIVISION - continued

Total Employed	
Number	1,556
Private wage and salary workers	1,008
Government workers	458
Self-employed "	82
Unpaid family "	8
Industries	
Agriculture	89
Construction	92
Manufacturing	71
Food and kind. prod.	38
Railroad and other transportation	28
Community, utilities, & sanitary services	16
Wholesale trade, eating and drinking places, other retail trade	328
Private households	173
Other personal services	83
Educational services	82
Other professional and related services, public administration	338
Other industries and not reported	256

Heating Equipment - all units	
Steam, hot water, warm air furnace, built-in units	1,032
Other means with flue	1,096
" " without "	183
None	17

Source of Water - all units	
Public system or private company	1,684
Individual well	484
Other	143

Sewage Disposal - all units	
Public sewer	679
Septic tank or cesspool	1,288
Other or none	344

Family Income in 1959	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
All families	1,934	335	17	100
Under $1,000	105	69	66	21
1,000-1,999	135	63	47	19
2,000-2,999	367	86	23	26
3,000-3,999	289	43	15	13
4,000-4,999	248	36	15	11
5,000-5,999	252	22	9	7
6,000-6,999	124	4	3	1
7,000-7,999	144	-	-	-
8,000-8,999	105	4	4	1
9,000-9,999	69	8	12	2
10,000 and over	96	-	-	-
Median Income				
Families	$4,286	$2,413	56	
Families and unrelated indiv'ls	$1,430	$1,024	72	
All Housing Units				
Number	2,328	385	17	100
Nonfarm	2,292	372	16	97
Farm (occupied)	36	13	36	3
Owner occupied	1,211	296	24	77
Nonfarm	1,186	287	24	75
Farm	25	9	36	2
Renter occupied	870	89	10	23
Nonfarm	859	85	10	22
Farm	11	4	36	1
Value of House				
Owner occupied	925	253	27	100
Less than $5,000	176	145	82	57
5,000 to 9,900	257	79	31	31
10,000 to 14,900	338	25	7	10
15,000 or more	154	4	3	2
Gross Rent				
Renter occupied	859	67	8	100
Less than $20	15	15	100	22
20-39	17	9	53	13
40-59	207	23	11	34
60 or more	598	20	3	30
No cash rent	22	18	82	27
Year Structure Built				
All units	2,328	385	17	100
1950-March 1960	1,367	119	9	31
1940 to 1949	587	115	20	30
1939 or earlier	374	151	40	39
Residence in 1955				
Persons 5 years old 1960	13,677	2,066	15	100
Same house as 1960	1,550	888	57	43
" county " "	1,079	445	41	22
" state " "	496	42	8	2
Moved, residence in 1955 not reported	241	33	14	1

BEAUFORT COUNTY: ST. HELENA DIVISION

Population	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
St. Helena Division	6,048	4,996	83	100
Education				
Persons under 18	3,193	2,767	87	55
Living with both parents	1,952	1,557	80	31
Years of School Completed				
Persons 25 and over	2,553	2,027	79	100
No school years completed	231	227	98	11
Elementary 1-4 "	776	756	97	37
" 5-7 "	748	660	88	33
" 8 "	164	124	76	6
High School 1-3 "	232	134	58	7
" " 4 "	201	50	25	2
College 1-3 "	67	18	27	*
" 4 or more "	134	58	43	3
Median school years "	6.1	5.1		

Employment	MALE Total	MALE Nonwhite	MALE Percent of Total	MALE Percent of Nonwhite	FEMALE Total	FEMALE Nonwhite	FEMALE Percent of Total	FEMALE Percent of Nonwhite
Persons 14 and over	1,576	1,240	79	100	1,928	1,606	83	100
Labor force	1,059	803	76	65	720	642	89	40
Percent of total	67.2	64.8			37.3	40.0		
Civilian labor force	1,051	803	76	65				
Employed	980	745	76	60	682	604	89	38
Unemployed	71	58	82	5	38			
Occupation and Industry								
Employed	980	745	76	100	682	604	89	100
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	26	18	69	2	38	30	79	5
Farmers and farm managers	30	22	73	3	8	8	100	1
Managers, proprietors (except farm), clerical, sales wkrs.	68	18	26	2	76	18	24	3
Craftsmen, foremen, kind. wkrs.	165	88	53	12	-	-	-	-
Operatives, and kindred wkrs.	175	139	79	19	104	104	100	17
Private household workers	18	18	100	2	177	173	98	29
Service workers (except private household)	43	23	53	3	42	34	81	6
Farm laborers & farm foremen	157	149	95	20	207	207	100	34
Laborers (except farm)	257	237	92	32	5	5	100	*
Occupation not reported	41	33	80	4	25	25	100	4

Registration

Lady's Island	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
1958	220	60	27
1960	298	69	23
1962	452	103	22
St. Helena			
1958	437	325	74
1960	629	462	73
1962	860	662	76

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY: ST. HELENA DIVISION - continued

Total Employed	
Number	1,662
Private wage and salary workers	1,179
Government workers	349
Self-employed "	126
Unpaid family "	8
Industries	
Agriculture	406
Construction	114
Manufacturing	92
Food and kind. prod.	63
Railroad and other transportation	26
Community, utilities, and sanitary services	22
Wholesale trade, eating and drinking places, other retail trade	217
Private households	215
Other personal services	31
Educational services	78
Other professional and related services, public administration	223
Other industries and not reported	238

Heating Equipment - all units	
Steam, hot water, warm air furnace, built-in units	195
Other means with flue	1,035
" " without "	404
None	59

Source of Water - all units	
Public system or private company	69
Individual well	1,146
Other	501

Sewage Disposal - all units	
Public sewer	-
Septic tank or cesspool	913
Other or none	803

Family Income in 1959	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
All families	1,208	945	78	100
Under $1,000	386	386	100	41
1,000-1,999	219	199	91	21
2,000-2,999	191	142	74	15
3,000-3,999	164	112	68	12
4,000-4,999	98	58	59	6
5,000-5,999	39	18	46	2
6,000-6,999	41	13	32	1
7,000-7,999	4	-	-	-
8,000-8,999	16	-	-	-
9,000-9,999	21	13	62	1
10,000 and over	29	4	14	*
Median Income				
Families	$1,995	$1,435	72	
Families and unrelated indiv'ls	$1,696	$1,078	64	
All Housing Units				
Number	1,693	1,091	64	100
Nonfarm	1,633	1,043	64	96
Farm (occupied)	60	48	80	4
Owner occupied	1,165	938	81	86
Nonfarm	1,118	895	80	82
Farm	47	43	91	4
Renter occupied	240	153	64	14
Nonfarm	227	148	65	14
Farm	13	5	38	*
Value of House				
Owner occupied	975	823	84	100
Less than $5,000	695	682	98	83
5,000 to 9,900	166	112	67	14
10,000 to 14,900	54	21	39	3
15,000 or more	60	8	13	1
Gross Rent				
Renter occupied	227	51	22	100
Less than $20	14	14	100	27
20-39	18	10	56	20
40-59	29	13	45	25
60 or more	53	14	26	27
No cash rent	113	97	86	
Year Structure Built				
All units	1,693	1,091	64	100
1950-March 1960	599	271	45	25
1940 to 1949	399	278	70	25
1939 or earlier	695	542	78	50
Residence in 1955				
Persons 5 yrs.old 1960	5,162	4,290	83	100
Same house as "	3,578	3,269	91	76
" county " "	1,080	842	78	20
" state " "	177	61	34	1
Moved, residence in 1955 not rep'd	21	21	100	*

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY: SHELDON DIVISION

Population	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Sheldon Division	3,293	2,809	85	100
Education				
Persons under 18	1,755	1,558	89	55
Living with both parents	1,130	945	84	34
Years of School Completed				
Persons 25 and over	1,256	1,031	82	100
No school years completed	175	171	98	17
Elementary 1-4 "	423	407	96	39
" 5-7 "	293	264	90	26
" 8 "	86	78	91	8
High School 1-3 "	106	50	47	5
" " 4 "	75	28	37	3
College 1-3 "	70	17	24	2
" 4 or more "	28	16	57	2
Median school years "	5.3	4.4		

Employment	MALE				FEMALE			
	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Persons 14 and over	759	602	79	100	925	785	85	100
Labor force	498	377	76	63	349	298	85	38
Percent of total	65.6	62.6			37.7	38.0		
Civilian labor force	498	377	76	63				
Employed	457	336	74	56	310	263	85	34
Unemployed	41	41	100	9	39			
Occupation and Industry								
Employed	457	336	74	100	310	263	85	100
Professional, technical and kindred workers	8	-	-	-	24	12	50	5
Farmers and farm managers	54	42	78	13	13	13	100	5
Managers, proprietors (except farm), clerical, sales wkrs.	53	20	38	6	15	-	-	-
Craftsmen, foremen, kind. wkrs.	66	42	64	13	4	-	-	-
Operatives, and kindred wkrs.	46	38	83	11	28	24	86	9
Private household workers	-	-	-	-	49	49	100	19
Service workers (except private household)	9	9	100	3	48	36	75	14
Farm laborers & farm foremen	151	127	84	38	129	129	100	49
Laborers (except farm)	66	58	88	17	-	-	-	-
Occupation not reported	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Registration

Sheldon	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
1958	152	56	36
1960	197	81	41
1962	232	103	44
Lebeco-Dale			
1958	158	75	47
1960	188	91	48
1962	248	125	50

BEAUFORT COUNTY: SHELDON DIVISION - continued

Total Employed	
Number	767
Private wage and salary workers	562
Government workers	82
Self-employed "	103
Unpaid family "	20
Industries	
Agriculture	384
Construction	46
Manufacturing	34
Food and kindred prod.	5
Railroad and other transportation	20
Community, utilities, and sanitary services	8
Wholesale trade, eating and drinking places, other retail trade	60
Private households	53
Other personal services	71
Educational services	20
Other professional and related services, public administration	34
Other industries and not reported	37

Heating Equipment - all units	
Steam, hot water, warm air furnace, built-in units	30
Other means with flue	626
" " without "	134
None	25

Source of Water - all units	
Public system or private company	25
Individual well	476
Other	291

Sewage Disposal - all units	
Public sewer	-
Septic tank or cesspool	227
Other or none	565

Family Income in 1959	Total
All families	583
Under $1,000	208
1,000-1,999	148
2,000-2,999	91
3,000-3,999	40
4,000-4,999	50
5,000-5,999	22
6,000-6,999	20
7,000-7,999	-
8,000-8,999	-
9,000-9,999	4
10,000 and over	-
Median Income	
Families	$1,56
Families and unrelated indiv'ls	$1,21
All Housing Units	
Number	815
Nonfarm	647
Farm (occupied)	168
Owner occupied	496
Nonfarm	379
Farm	117
Renter occupied	198
Nonfarm	147
Farm	51
Value of House	
Owner occupied	284
Less than $5,000	250
5,000 to 9,900	25
10,000 to 14,900	4
15,000 or more	5
Gross Rent	
Renter occupied	147
Less than $20	38
20-39	4
40-59	10
60 or more	4
No cash rent	91
Year Structure Built	
All units	815
1950-March 1960	120
1940 to 1949	264
1939 or earlier	431
Residence in 1955	
Persons 5 yrs old 1960	2,74
Same house as 1960	2,27
" county " "	27
" state " "	7
Moved, residence in 1955 not rep'd	

BEAUFORT COUNTY: BEAUFORT CITY

Population	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Beaufort City	6,298	2,048	33	100
Education				
Persons under 18	2,530	935	37	46
Living with both parents	1,900	589	31	29
Years of School Completed				
Persons 25 and over	3,130	951	30	100
No school years completed	53	49	92	5
Elementary 1-4 "	290	228	79	24
" 5-7 "	513	301	59	32
" 8 "	225	49	22	5
High School 1-3 "	539	112	21	12
" " 4 "	838	114	14	12
College 1-3 "	357	43	12	5
" 4 or more "	315	55	17	6
Median school years "	11.7	7.0		

Employment	MALE Total	MALE Non-white	MALE Percent of Total	MALE Percent of Nonwhite	FEMALE Total	FEMALE Non-white	FEMALE Percent of Total	FEMALE Percent of Nonwhite
Persons 14 and over	1,917	547	29	100	2,314	712	31	100
Labor force	1,549	428	28	78	931	381	41	54
Percent of total	80.8	78.2			40.2	53.5		
Civilian labor force	1,318	385	29	70				
Employed	1,288	359	28	66	902	373	41	52
Unemployed	30	26	87	5	20			
Occupation and Industry								
Employed	1,288	359	28	100	902	373	41	100
Professional, technical and kindred workers	122	21	17	6	189	64	34	17
Farmers and farm managers	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Managers, proprietors (except farm), clerical, sales wkrs.	361	18	5	5	304	9	3	2
Craftsmen, foremen, kind. wkrs.	380	107	28	30	13	5	38	1
Operatives, and kindred wkrs.	181	97	54	27	37	19	51	5
Private household workers	-	-	-	-	209	196	94	53
Service workers (except private household)	86	40	47	11	116	62	53	17
Farm laborers & farm foremen	9	9	100	3	-	-	-	-
Laborers (except farm)	79	47	59	13	-	-	-	-
Occupation not reported	66	20	30	6	34	18	53	5

Registration

Beaufort City	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
1958	2,107	390	19
1960	2,576	475	18
1962	2,947	519	18

BEAUFORT COUNTY: BEAUFORT CITY - continued

Total Employed	
Number	2,190
Private wage and salary workers	1,382
Government workers	577
Self-employed "	204
Unpaid family "	27
Industries	
Agriculture	30
Construction	176
Manufacturing	66
Food and kindred prod.	24
Railroad and other transportation	40
Community, utilities, and sanitary services	35
Wholesale trade, eating and drinking places, other retail trade	617
Private households	225
Other personal services	91
Educational services	243
Other professional and related services, public administration	311
Other industries and not reported	356

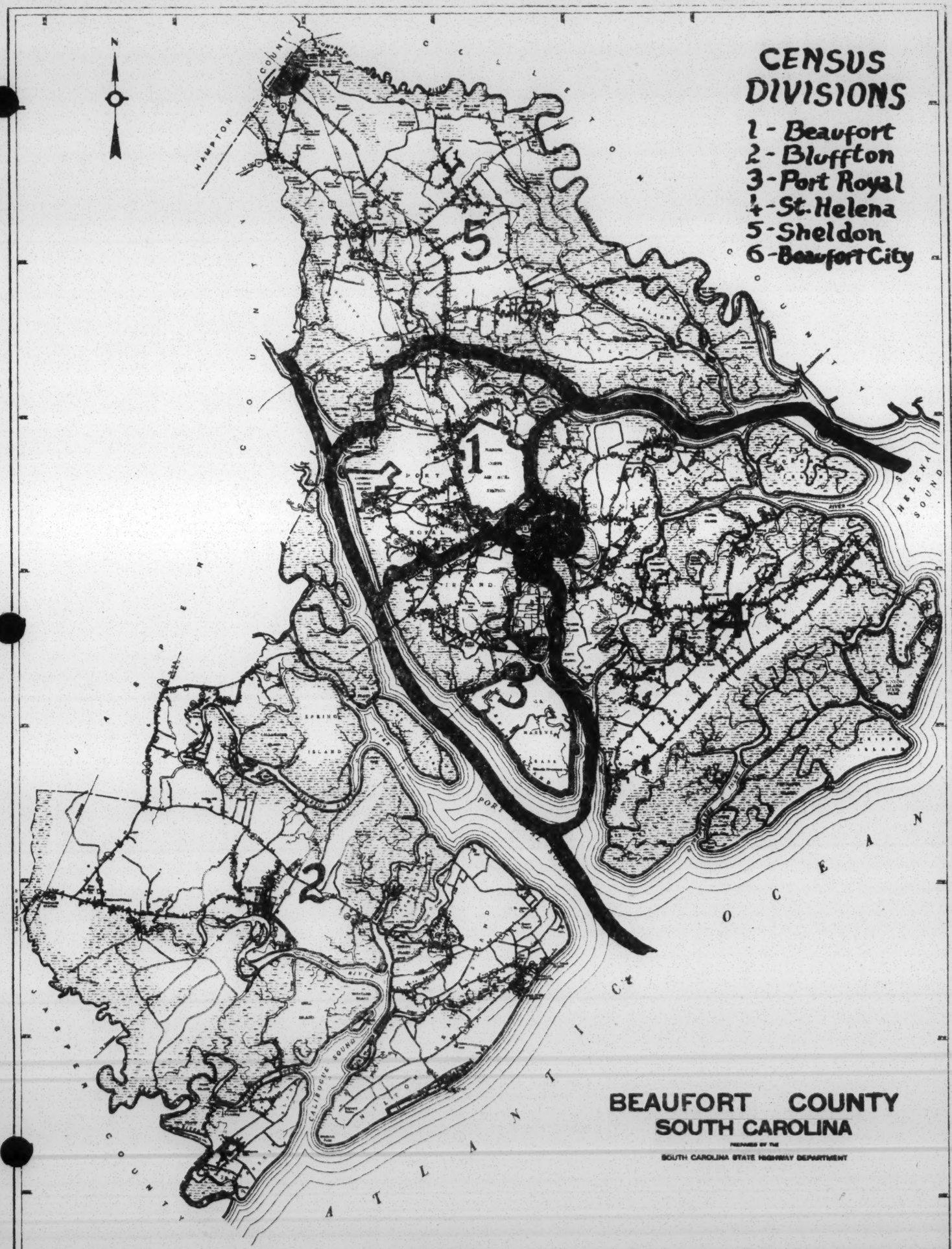
Heating Equipment - all units	
Steam, hot water, warm air furnace, built-in units	686
Other means with flue	1,115
" " without "	376
None	23

Source of Water - all units	
Public system or private company	2,174
Individual well	14
Other	12

Sewage Disposal - all units	
Public sewer	1,123
Septic tank or cesspool	1,041
Other or none	36

*Less than 1%.

Family Income in 1959	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
All families	1,500	400	27	100
Under $1,000	149	92	62	23
1,000-1,999	171	81	47	20
2,000-2,999	203	86	42	22
3,000-3,999	195	37	19	9
4,000-4,999	192	55	29	14
5,000-5,999	153	29	19	7
6,000-6,999	85	8	9	2
7,000-7,999	109	8	7	2
8,000-8,999	68	4	7	1
9,000-9,999	38	-	-	-
10,000 and over	137	-	-	-
Median Income				
Families	$4,167	$2,314	56	
Families and unrelated indiv'ls	$3,618	$1,773	49	
All Housing Units				
Number	2,200	526	24	100
Nonfarm	-	-	-	-
Farm (occupied)	-	-	-	-
Owner occupied	1,056	291	28	55
Nonfarm	-	-	-	-
Farm	-	-	-	-
Renter occupied	754	235	31	45
Nonfarm	-	-	-	-
Farm	-	-	-	-
Value of House				
Owner occupied	1,017	284	28	100
Less than $5,000	157	137	87	48
5,000 to 9,900	321	105	33	37
10,000 to 14,900	342	30	9	11
15,000 or more	197	12	6	4
Gross Rent				
Renter occupied	754	226	30	100
Less than $20	22	22	100	10
20-39	77	72	94	32
40-59	154	62	40	27
60 or more	461	70	15	31
No cash rent	40	9	23	4
Year Structure Built				
All units	2,200	526	24	100
1950-March 1960	740	68	9	13
1940 to 1949	446	65	15	12
1939 or earlier	1,014	393	39	75
Residence in 1955				
Persons 5 years old in 1960	5,467	1,800	33	100
Same house as 1960	2,143	925	43	51
" county " "	1,635	651	40	36
" state " "	613	80	13	4
Moved, residence in 1955 not reported	85	4	5	*


CENSUS DIVISIONS
1 - Beaufort
2 - Bluffton
3 - Port Royal
4 - St. Helena
5 - Sheldon
6 - Beaufort City
N
HAMPTON COUNTY
CALHOUN COUNTY
JASPER COUNTY
CHARLESTON COUNTY
COLLETON COUNTY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ST. HELENA SOUND
PORT ROYAL SOUND
CALIBOGUE SOUND
SPRING ISLAND
BEAUFORT COUNTY
SOUTH CAROLINA
PREPARED BY THE
SOUTH CAROLINA STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT

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BEAUFORT COUNTY STATISTICS
1960

Prepared by

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.
Frogmore, South Carolina

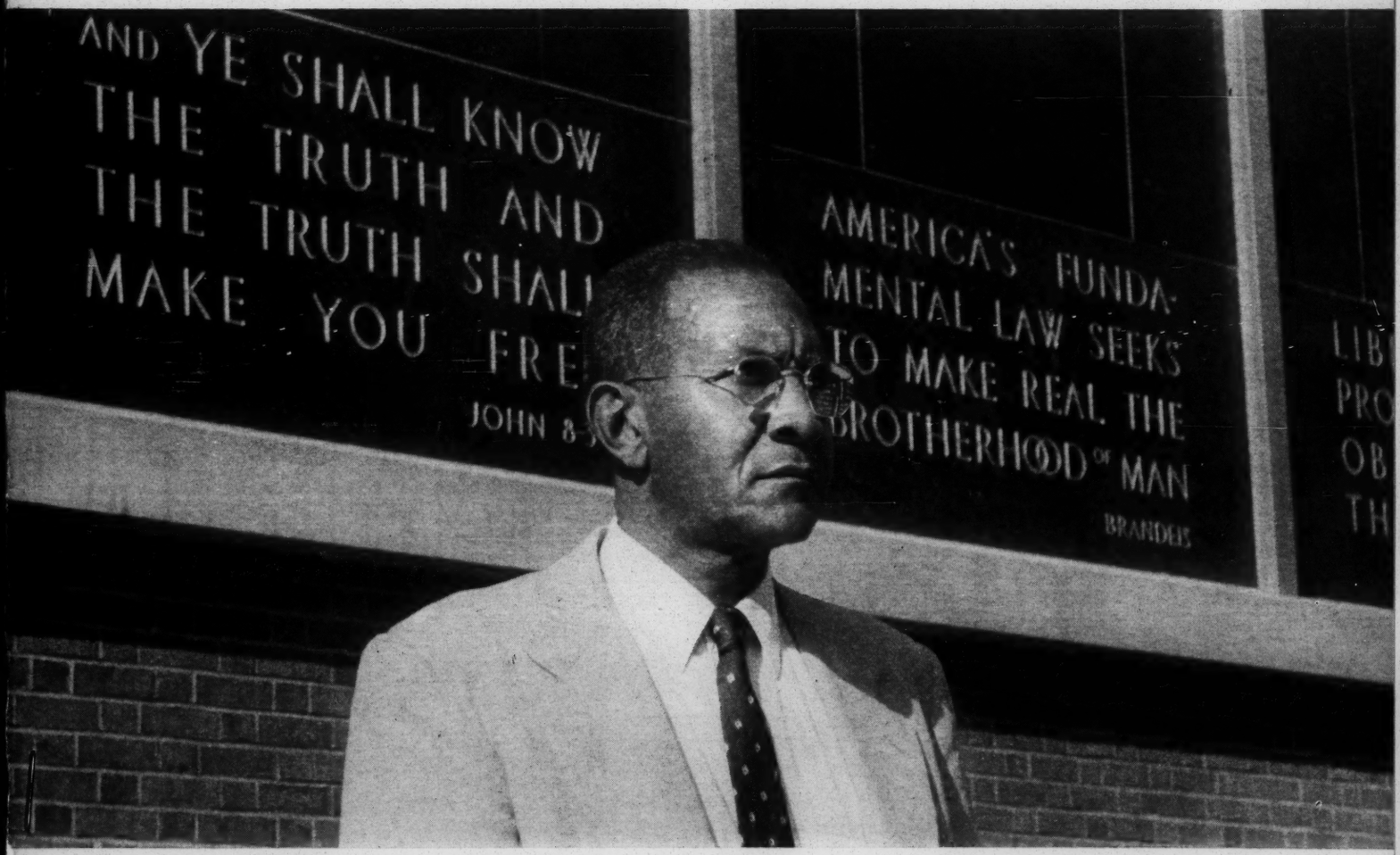
Intergroup org. Misc.

TUSKEGEE CIVIC ASSOCIATION

Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Annual Report

1962



Dr. Charles G. Gomillion, President of the Tuskegee Civic Association, standing before the Law School at Ohio State University

Rendered at

MOUNT OLIVE MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH

Sunday, December 9, 1962---3:30 p. m.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT
1962

The Tuskegee Civic Association considers itself primarily a civic education organization. Its major effort is to enlighten its members, its followers, public officials, and other community leaders and civic-minded citizens. The Association attempts to perform this service through public meetings, publication of significant policies and other civic data, and through letters and telephone conversations. During the year, the Association has followed its usual program of monthly meetings on Sunday, and semi-monthly meetings on Tuesday evenings. Four special programs have been rendered. In February, the Association observed Race Relations Sunday and Negro History Week. The guest speaker on Race Relations Sunday was Mrs. E. Robert Ashworth. The feature of the program in observance of Negro History Week was the report on"Negro Women in Government" by Mrs Mary H Gresham, a teacher in the Macon County Public School System. The program in observance of Negro History Week was under the sponsorship of the Beta Xi Omega and the Gamma Kappa Chapters of the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority. The guest speaker at the Fifth Anniversary program in June was Mrs. Amelia C Tucker, a member of the Kentucky Legislature. The program in November in observance of American Education Week was presented under the sponsorship of Iota Omega and Lambda Epsilon Chapters of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity. The guest speaker on this occasion was Mr. Emory O. Jackson, managing editor of the Birmingham World.

In addition to the four special programs, the Association presented a series of programs of political issues and the records of political candidates who offered themselves to the electors in Democratic primaries in May and in the general election in November. During the past two months, the Association has presented a series of programs under the general title "The Structure and Personnel of Government in Tuskegee and in Macon County". This series of programs will extend through April, 1963.

As in the past, the Association through its president and some other officials and members has cooperated with other civic education and civic action agencies, among which have been the Alabama Democratic Conference, the Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting, the Highlander Research Center, the National Sharecroppers Fund, the Penn Community Services, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the Southern Democratic Conference, and the voter registration project of the Southern Regional Council.

The Association, as usual, has encouraged its members and other citizens to vote as intelligently as possible in the several elections, and to spend their earnings as effectively as possible. It has specifically encouraged the citizens in Macon County to trade with their friends.

The Association is not unmindful of the fact that its success during the year has been due largely to the support of a large number of persons and agencies within the County. Special thanks are due its supporters. Among those who have contributed significantly to the work of the Association have been the following: citizens who encouraged and facilitated the registration of Negroes, citizens who have appeared on the various programs of the Association on Sundays and Tuesdays, the Negro Digest and Freedomways for having published articles dealing with the political situation in Macon County, the article "Minority Politics in Black Belt Alabama" by C.V. Hamilton and published by the Eagleton Institute of Politics, other periodicals which published stories concerning the difficulties and experiences of Negroes in Macon County in their effort to participate as first-class citizens, and the U. S. Supreme Court for upholding the decision of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals that the names of fifty-four (54) Negroes placed on the registration roll by Judge Frank M Johnson should remain there.

Again, the president of the Association thanks the executive secretary for the many hours which he has devoted to the Association in the effort to carry out as effectively as possible the program of the Association. The work of other officers is also appreciated.

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. GOMILLION
President

REPORT OF THE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

This office endeavored during the year, to assist in the study and interpretation of local and national trends and problems; in the collection and dissemination of useful civic and political data; and in encouraging intelligent and courageous civic action.

Increasingly, we are called upon to assist other civic organizations in our neighboring counties. Some of us have gone into Russell, Lee and Bullock Counties to lend whatever assistance we could, to developing effective civic education and civic actions. In addition, we have conducted correspondences with leaders in other Alabama counties, suggesting to them, the best we know how, how best to promote and conduct civic education programs, voter registration campaigns and how best to be an instrument for good in their communities. In the process of interchanging ideas and information with these people, we learned from them.

We have made our facilities, copies of reports and materials available to others in an effort to help in our area and in the state. In addition, we have regularly paid our $300.00 yearly assessment to the Alabama Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting to assist that organization in conducting voter registration campaigns in the state. And, where we could be of service, have offered and given our talent to this Association.

During the year, we have continued to perform those duties and commit those acts which fell within the purview of this office. We have tried, to the extent of our abilities, to make an accurate, honest and correct accounting of the funds entrusted to our keeping.

We have assisted in conducting membership campaigns, with special emphasis on life memberships. As a result of our effort in this endeavor, we have the largest membership during this reporting period than ever. While our life membership increment during the year is not as spectacular as in previous years, it is substantial. We have $8,215.51 in the Life Membership Account - an increase of $1,757.67 over the last year report.

William P. Mitchell

WILLIAM P MITCHELL
Executive Secretary

REPORT OF THE
MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

The Chairman and Co-Chairman take this opportunity to thank all who gave so willingly of their time and money in making the annual membership drive a success for 1962.

We more than realized our goal of 1200 regular members. This we are proud of and wish to thank all who participated. At the beginning of our campaign we had a total of 466 fully and partially paid life memberships. We added 55 life members during our drive and took in a total of 1341 regular annual memberships. Thus, we had a grand total of 1862 members of all types during the year - the largest in the history of the Association. In addition, 66 persons who are paying their $25.00-life membership on the installment plan, either paid on their obligation or paid out in full. A total of $2,214 were collected during the campaign.

One hundred fifty persons were authorized to solicit memberships during the campaign. One hundred ten responded in varying degrees. Thirty-seven failed to assist us and did not return the material sent them. Three solicitors did not work but returned their material.

Nettie B. Jones
NETTIE B. JONES, Chairman

Della D. Sullins
DELLA D. SULLINS, Co-Chairman

REPORT OF THE
VOTER FRANCHISE COMMITTEE

Period: December 1, 1961 - November 30, 1962

We continued, during this reporting period, to direct our efforts toward the registration of all eligibles in Macon County. We have encouraged registration through notices to churches, which announced voter registration clinics as well as registration days and hours, and through personal contacts. In the latter, we were assisted by the Tuskegee Woman's Club. Personnel of the committee have conducted clinics on the Sundays preceding the first and third Mondays in the TCA office, in churches, lodge halls, homes and even in cars. We have been compelled to direct more attention to encouraging registration than has been true in previous years. We recognize that much of this is due to apathy on the parts of non-registered Negroes, while some of our difficulties stem from a history of erratic and sometimes non-existing registration by the Macon County Boards of Registrars. It is a fact that for years it has been next to impossible for Negroes to become registered to vote in this county. It is understandable then, that some Negroes are not quite sure that the court injunction now makes it considerably easier for them to become registered voters.

Even so, 1581 applications were made by Negroes during this 12-month period, and 1188, or 75%, were registered. We are pleased with the turn out by Negroes at the polls. Particularly were we gratified with their showing at the May 1st. Democratic Primary, when approximately 2500 Negroes voted.

During the year, more people and organizations evidenced an interest in encouraging Negroes to register. We shall need even more assistance in the years ahead if we are to bring Negro registration more in line with its relationship to the population.

We shall always be grateful to the U.S. Justice Department and the Federal Courts for their parts in causing the uninterrupted registration of citizens of our county during the past 20 months. Without assistance from these media, we could not have realized the degree of progress in the registration of Negroes in Macon County.

The month-by-month schedule of registration follows on next page.

William P. Mitchell

WILLIAM P MITCHELL, Chairman
Voter Franchise Committee

	MADE APPL.	REC'D CERT.	PER CENT		MADE APPL.	REC'D CERT.	PER CENT
Dec. 13, 1961	126	96	76	April 16, 1962	77	61	79
Dec. 14, 1961	117	103	89	May 7, 1962	39	34	87
Dec. 18, 1961	127	87	69	May 21, 1962	20	16	80
Jan. 15, 1962	29	21	70	June 4, 1962	47	34	72
Jan. 16, 1962	35	33	94	June 18, 1962	30	28	93
Jan. 17, 1962	25	22	90	July 2, 1962	44	25	57
Jan. 18, 1962	25	23	92	July (Precinct)	42	34	80
Jan. 19, 1962	24	22	92	July 16, 1962	37	29	78
Jan. 22, 1962	12	9	75	Aug. 6, 1962	26	15	58
Jan. 23, 1962	10	10	100	Aug. 20, 1962	27	17	54
Jan. 25, 1962	13	7	54	Sept. 3, 1962	40	36	90
Feb. 5, 1962	99	71	76	Sept. 16, 1962	21	9	43
Feb. 19, 1962	126	88	70	Oct. 1, 1962	25	18	76
March 5, 1962	109	72	66	Oct. 15, 1962	18	17	94
Mar. 19, 1962	79	54	68	Nov. 19, 1962	34	24	70
April 2, 1962	92	70	76	Nov. 20, 1962	6	3	50
				TOTAL, BOTH COLUMNS -	1581	1188	75%

REPORT OF THE
PUBLIC EDUCATION COMMITTEE

Primary focus was placed this year on a specific evaluation of the three Negro High Schools in Macon County. The purpose of this evaluation was to determine whether or not curricular or other offerings meet the needs of the changing and increasingly complex society in which our children will function. Documentary evidence of this is the first step to any constructive remedial approach. This analysis is still in progress.

At the same time, the committee has been working with certain persons interested in the immediate availability of improved educational opportunities for their children. As a result, certain plans have been made which, it is hoped, will accomplish this objective. It is the feeling of the committee that these proposed plans will be beneficial to other members of the community and to the American society at large.

Stanley H. Smith

STANLEY H. SMITH, Chairman
Public Education Committee

REPORT OF THE
COMMUNITY WELFARE COMMITTEE

December 1, 1961 - November 30, 1962

Notable gains have been made during the year in the area of community welfare. Although much remains to be achieved, more progress was noted during this period than in previous years. To point out these achievements, we list the followings:

1. Conferences were held with city officials and petitions were sent to them.

2. Paving of South Church and South Wright Streets.

3. Providing recreational facilities in a centrally located part of the community.

4. Extending of garbage collection services.

(*)5. Laying the ground work for delivery of mail in the Greenwood and Carver Court areas by placing street markers, thus activating the delivery of mail.

(**)6. Keeping our streets in better condition.

Although cooperation from city officials has improved, we have not received the support of the Macon County Board of Revenue. Outside the City Limits remains the responsibility of the Macon County Board of Revenue to pave, improve and maintain the streets and roads. A large segment of our people live outside the Tuskegee City Limits, and therefore do not reap the benefits enjoyed by city residents.

As stated in this report, we must realize that much remains to be accomplished. To realize our desires, we must channel our requests through a single committee. While we may have our own particular interest or needs, and while we may differ in opinion, we must stand as a united people. To insure this unity within ourselves and to disseminate the impression of unity among others, demand that we submit our petitions as a group and not as individuals. We should remember at all times, that in community living, a man supported by others attains far more than he would attain alone.

K. L. Buford

REV. K. L. BUFORD, Chairman
Community Welfare Committee

(*) This was realized through the cooperative effort of the late Postmaster, Mr. Larry Robinson.
(**)With the purchase of new equipment we expect better service in this area.

LWD ✓
SOB ✓
Intergrp Org-Mine

QUARTERLY REPORT

January 1963 Number 6

Res

PILOT PROJECT OF PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, S. C.

Thomas C. Barnwell, Jr.
Field Director
Pilot Project

Courtney P. Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.

The Pilot Project moved into an important phase during this past quarter. Following an initial visit by Mrs. Mary Lou Skinner, Health Educational Consultant for the Regional Office of Health, Education and Welfare in Atlanta, and Miss Betty Ficquett, Consultant Nurse for the Division of Maternal and Child Health, South Carolina State Board of Health, a meeting was set up to include other agency personnel. The purpose of the meeting was to find how the various agencies could cooperate in the program in community development in Beaufort County. In addition to Mrs. Skinner and Miss Ficquett those present for a meeting in early December included: Miss Maisie Bookhardt, Supervisor of Health Education for the South Carolina Department of Education; Miss Helen L. Woods, Public Health Nurse with the South Carolina Department of Health; Mrs. Lutitia Anderson, Supervisor of Adult Education, South Carolina Department of Education; Mr. Somers Pringle, the Beaufort County Health Officer, and teachers from School District I and II.

It was decided at this meeting that one section of the Beaufort County should be selected for an area of concentration, rather than carrying out the program in the entire county. The Bluffton area, where there has been a serious incidence of infestation of internal parasites and where both Negro and white members of the community were quite concerned about this problem, was selected as the area. Following the meeting which was held at Penn, these persons went into Bluffton to talk with the local doctor, county nurse, and the school superintendent. Likewise it was decided that the Field Director would work more closely in Bluffton and has met with the Negro PTA to find out if there is interest for work in that area. In additiom to the officials from Atlanta and Columbia, the school superintendents of Districts I and II will be invited to a follow-up meeting to be held in February.

PORT ROYAL INDUSTRIES, INC.

Last spring it was announced that through the efforts of the Beaufort Development Board, the first industry, a sweater knitting mill, would locate in Beaufort. The financial arrangements for this factory would include a loan from the Area Redevelopment Administration as well as money raised in the local community. The Penn director approached the chairman of the Development Board, the manager of the sweater factory, and officials of

the Area Redevelopment Administration toward making jobs available on a non-discriminatory basis. Since it was discovered that there were no provisions with the ARA loan for hiring according to merit, the decision rested with the manager. When the manager agreed to test Negro applicants, the Field Director advised a number of persons of these jobs. At present the Port Royal Industries has an integrated work staff without any segregated facilities.

The field director likewise has made known Civil Service job openings at the three Federal installations in Beaufort County. A sign letterer is one of the most recent to be hired.

COMMUNITIES ON ST. HELENA

Coffins Point

The activities of the community were centered around the Praise House this quarter. The ground work has not begun, but the committee has agreed on the size of the building, and a few pieces of materials have been brought from the river banks. These materials were observed by a community man while he was fishing, and were brought to the community by a committee. Because the shrimp season is closed, employment is low in the community; this creates the problem of securing adequate financing for the material.

Mary Jenkins Community Center

Progress in the center is slow, but the men of the center have begun to put up the rafters of the new building. They hope to encourage the participation of the high school boys that the work may be done faster. The building is now at a point where people can work on it in groups. It is hoped that it will be nearly finished before the farming season begins.

HIGH SCHOOL SEMINAR

The American Friends Service Committee Regional High School Director conducted a seminar at Penn Community Services for High School students in December. The theme of the seminar was "What Will the World Be Like Twenty Years from Today?" Most of the students attending this integrated seminar were from Beaufort County, recruited by the Field Director.

ALUMNI MEETING

The approximately twenty persons in South Carolina who have attended the Bethel, Maine, National Training Laboratory, sponsored by the National Education Association, have been meeting regularly. Considering the background and training received by these persons, this bi-racial group

could be an important force in the state. It is primarily concerned now with how to carry out the principles of the workshop within the separate agencies rather than undertaking group action. However, there is a possibility that this group could sponsor such a workshop here in South Carolina.

EMANCIPATION CELEBRATION

The Field Director was elected co-chairman of the four-county Emancipation Proclamation Centennial Committee. Through intensive efforts, a large meeting was held honoring a New York lawyer, formerly from Port Royal. Approximately $1,000 was raised at this time for efforts toward further emancipating the Negro today.

BEAUFORT COUNTY STATISTICS - 1960

The enclosed booklet is a culmination of several months work in compiling what seem to be the most significant statistics regarding Beaufort County and its sub-divisions. It is felt that by the marshalling of such information local communities can identify some of their needs more readily. This should prove valuable in the planning of community goals. Copies of this booklet are being sent to most county officials, in the expectation that there will be public awareness and action on these problems as well.

Meetings attended - - - - - -	19
Persons interviewed - - - - -	24
Mileage in county - - - - -	6,650
Trips out of county - - - - -	4
Mileage out of county - - - -	1,131

Intergroup Org. Misc.

LWDV
PA
SB
BP

HIGHLANDER CENTER

1625 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
KNOXVILLE 15, TENNESSEE

MYLES HORTON, Director

PA ✓
WB ✓

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Mrs. Rosa Parks
Dr. Fred D. Patterson
Gifford Phillips
Clarence E. Pickett
Dr. Royce S. Pitkin
Hon. Justine Wise Polier
George D. Pratt, Jr.
A. Philip Randolph
Jackie Robinson
Rev. James H. Robinson
Rev. Roger L. Shinn
Hilda Smith
William Stix, Atty.
Dr. Harold Taylor
Rev. Everett Tilson
John R. Tunis
Dr. Ralph W. Tyler
Gerhard Van Arkel, Atty.
Olive O. Van Horn
Prof. William Van Til
Mary Heaton Vorse
Prof. Colston E. Warne
Prof. Goodwin Watson
Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein
Mrs. Louis S. Weiss
Asha Devi Aryanayakam, India
Prof. Oscar Guermonprez, The Netherlands
Prof. Kwa O. Hagan, Ghana, West Africa
Prof. Frank Jessup, England

May 15, 1963

Dear Friend:

You will be interested in our new programs. In the words of Board of Directors Chairman, Dr. B. R. Brazeal, "The Highlander idea, like a Phoenix rising from the ashes, has truly been born again in the Highlander Center."

The summer program includes a South-Wide Voter Education Internship Project designed to broaden and deepen the new Negro voter's concept of his rights and responsibilities. Need for this program became clear as we developed the Citizenship Schools now being spread throughout the South by Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and student civil rights organizations. Other Highlander activities to be carried on in Mississippi, the South Carolina Sea Islands, and the Knoxville area are listed in the enclosed schedule.

We are glad to inform you that the Internal Revenue Service has declared contributions deductible for income tax purposes in a ruling retroactive to the date of incorporation. The Highlander Center is now a recognized educational institution with government approval.

Thanks to the loyalty of our contributors and sponsors, Highlander is preparing for a challenging future. We have also made new friends. A university professor writes: "The entire community has benefited from your work and let us add our names to those Knoxvillians who are happy to have you with us."

We hope to hear that you would like to enroll in a workshop, or to make a contribution to help a brave Mississippi Delta leader praticipate.

Cordially,

Myles Horton

Myles Horton

MISSISSIPPI DELTA HIGHLANDER EXTENSION REPORT
(GREENWOOD - SHAW - RULEVILLE)

I returned to Mississippi on April 3, 1963. At this time, eight of the leaders in the voter-registration movement in Greenwood were still in jail. On April 2, nineteen others were jailed for marching to the Court House to register.

On April 4, a training session was started with canvassers on techniques of canvassing, after which some 15 workers went out canvassing. From this session, I went into another session with 30 people who were waiting to walk down to the Court House to register. We went over the registration application question by question, explaining the meaning of each. These 30 people then took off for the Court House with Rev. Tucker (who had been bitten by the police dog a week earlier) leading the march and Dick Gregory bringing up the rear.

Everyday thereafter at 7 a.m., I met with canvassers to discuss their rights and responsibilities, to check reports of the previous day's canvassing, to study areas to be canvassed, etc. At 9 a.m., I conducted a session with the transportation committee. 10 a.m.--an instruction session with those who are going down to register. 2 p.m.--a session with canvassers and follow-up teams on Mississippi Government. We discussed the screening and selection of candidates, the elected laws, etc., using the Handbook on Mississippi Politics. 4 p.m.--a role-playing session of situations met in the voter registration campaigns and a public speaking session. There were always 20 or more at each of these sessions.

Each night a Citizenship Class is held in Shaw, Mississippi, where the enrollment is now up to 41. Since the class began on March 25, nine persons have attempted to register.

On Sunday, April 7, I met with a group in Ruleville, Mississippi, at which time they organized themselved to reactivate their voter-registration drive. The two weeks since our meeting, 63 persons have been contacted, and 33 have attempted to register. Citizenship classes are being held here by a Dorchester trained person.

On Saturday, April 20, at 11 a.m., we took 20 workers from Greenwood to Ruleville and met with 15 local workers, held a short briefing session, and sent them out canvassing. 2:30 p.m.--we met at the home of Mr. and Mrs. McDonald (this is the couple who last October sat in the bathtub when shots were fired into their home). There in the front yeard, we held a training session on the questions on the registration form, role-playing, and reviewed fundamental parts of Mississippi laws they needed to answer questions that might be asked by the people of the community.

I note with pride, how former students of Highlander workshops, are heading up committees and taking over sessions, with little help from me.

Bernice Robinson, Extension Director
May 6, 1963

SUMMER PROGRAM, 1963

Highlander Research and Education Center

RESIDENTIAL WORKSHOPS

June 3-8 — Voter Education and Community Development Workshop, Sea Islands Center, Johns Island, South Carolina

Director: Mrs. Septima Clark, Citizenship Education Program, Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Participants: Volunteer leaders from Southern communities who are helping others to gain the vote and improve community and family living

Cost: For all workshops is $50 per week. However, full and partial scholarships for room, board, and travel are being made available.

June 10-15
" 17-22
" 24-29

Mississippi Delta Voter Education Workshop, Director Bernice Robinson, Highlander Center Extension Director

Location: To be announced

Participants: Workers in the voter registration campaign from Delta communities

June-August — North-South Workcamp, near Knoxville in the Smoky Mountains. The workcamp is planned for 4 two-week periods: June 10-23; June 24-July 7; July 8-21; August 19-31.

Overall Directors: Mr. and Mrs. Robert Gustafson, Putney Graduate School of Teacher Education, Putney, Vermont

Participants: College students and high school graduates from the North and South and members of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee who will build a camp and conference site for use by Highlander and other integrated groups as well as participating in week-end education programs.

Cost: $25 for a two-week period

June-August week-ends — Workcamp Education Programs on the Changing South
June 15-16; June 22-23; June 29-30; July 6-7; July 20-21; August 24/25

Participants: Students and others from the Knoxville-East Tennessee area are invited to take part in these Saturday and Sunday programs which will include speakers, discussions, films, and folk singing.

July 29-August 25 — Southwide Voter Education Internship Program, Sea Islands Center, Johns Island, South Carolina

Overall Program Staff: Esau Jenkins, Director, Sea Islands Center--Coordinator

Bernice Robinson, Educational Director

Guy Carawan, Song Leader

Participants: Thirty leaders from rural and urban communities over the South who will learn first-hand from the activities of other politically-conscious Negro and white leadership in the rural Sea Islands and metropolitan Charleston.

(over)

(Southwide Voter Education Internship Program continued)

During the month-long Internship Program, the following workshops are open to adults from the Charleston area and elsewhere unless otherwise indicated.

July 29, 5:00 p.m., August 3, 2:00 p.m. — Voter Education Workshop (for interns only)

Director: Mrs. Septima Clark; Conrad Brown, Highlander Center, Assistant

August 9, 10:00 a.m., August 10, 2:00 p.m. — Workshop on Developing Political Effectiveness

Director: Prof. Vivian Henderson, Fisk University

August 16-17 — Civic Responsibilities in the Changing South Workshop

Director: Dean Charles Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute

August 22, 10:00 a.m., August 23, 2:00 p.m. — Evaluation and Planning Workshop (for interns only)

Director: Myles Horton, Highlander Center

August 24, 10:00 a.m., August 25, 5:00 p.m. — Sea Islands Music Festival

Festival Director: Guy Carawan

Throughout the Internship Program, there will be demonstration Citizenship School classes twice weekly on several of the Sea Islands.

Also, during this period (and throughout the year) there will be local Political Education Classes meeting:

First Monday on Johns Islands; Third Monday on Wadmalaw Island; First Sunday on Edisto Island; Fourth Tuesday in Awendow, South Carolina

KNOXVILLE AREA PROGRAMS

June-August — Workcamp Week-End Education Programs (see page 1)

June-August — Fridays, 8:00 p.m., College Student Evening

Friday evenings will be reserved for discussions, films speakers, and music programs to be planned by college students in cooperation with the Highlander staff.

June-August — Tuesdays, 8:00 p.m., Discussion Group on Problems of a Free Society

Successive Tuesday evenings will be reserved for an adult discussion group which will define the problems for discussion. The Highlander staff will cooperate in securing resource persons and materials.

There will be occasional Lecture-Discussion evenings at the Highlander Center with speakers from various parts of the country and the world. Time to be announced.

In addition, the Highlander Center stands ready to provide educational services to institutions and organizations in the Knoxville area requesting them.

**Additional information and workshop application blanks will be sent on request:

HIGHLANDER CENTER
1625 Riverside Drive
Knoxville 15, Tennessee

WB
JM
RB
PA
SB

Interoffice

PENN NEWS

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES

St. Helena Island — Frogmore, S.C.

Spring, 1963

WORKSHOP ON RURAL PROGRAMS

"Good players are being benched because the people who are calling the signals in their communities have not yet awakened to the full meaning of democracy." This charge was made by John A. Baker, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, at a workshop on rural development and re-training programs, which was held at Penn in mid-February. In his speech to the workshop, he also stated that prejudice is a primary problem in making effective the federal government's Rural Areas Development program.

Over 200 Negro farmers from across the state attended the three-day workshop and heard speakers from the U. S. Departments of Agriculture, Commerce and Labor, as well as representatives from the S. C. Departments of Education, Agriculture Extension and Employment Security. The speakers explained the functions of each program, what funds were available to farmers and for what purposes, and suggested means whereby Negroes could take advantage of the financial resources available to them. Questions from the audience were perceptive and indicated several major problems concerning the need for adequate information about the programs, and the difficulties encountered by Negroes seeking access to federally supported re-training programs for underemployed workers.

The principal address of the workshop was Mr. Baker's, which was delivered by Dr. L. A. Potts, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture, after Mr. Baker was unexpectedly detained in Washington. The workshop was sponsored jointly by Penn and the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. We have enclosed a copy of the program.

VOTER EDUCATION WORKSHOP

In January and early February, Penn held two of three scheduled voter education workshops for the residents of Beaufort County. The workshops were designed to supplement voter registration drives by explaining to voters how their votes can be used more effectively. For a voting right to be a truly democratic instrument, citizens must understand their government, their responsibilities and how voting is related to community improvement. Thus, the first two workshops provided a basic introduction to the government of the county and state. Leaders in local communities conducted the two days of discussions for each workshop, which covered such topics as government and party organizations, the functions of elected and appointed officials, and agricultural committees. In addition, speakers analyzed Negro registration and voting, and briefly discussed techniques of voting and campaigning.

Attendance at the workshops was much better than we had anticipated, and we feel that the enthusiasm of the participants is a healthy sign. Throughout the workshops, audience participation was vigorous and pointed, with questions and suggestions concerning problems which might be solved through more effective voting. At the first workshop, Frank D. Reeves, National Democratic Committeeman for the District of Columbia, addressed a ~~standing-room-only~~ crowd.

In the third and final workshop, which is in the planning stages, we expect to bring into focus the major problems of Negro voters in the county, as well as their potential voting strength, in the hope that it

will provide a basis for more concerted and effective participation in future elections. Senator Leroy Johnson, Georgia's new Negro senator, has agreed to deliver the major address to this workshop.

BEAUFORT COUNTY STATISTICS

In January, we published a brochure of statistics on various aspects of Beaufort County which we felt would be important to our Pilot Project. Based on 1960 census reports and county records, the statistics covered population changes, educational levels, farm characteristics, employment, income, housing conditions and voter registration. Whenever possible, the figures were broken down into white and non-white categories to help give a perspective to the problems with which the Pilot Project is specifically concerned. The data was also divided according to the county's six census divisions, in order to help identify the most pressing problems in each community.

Hale Chamberlain spent a full year combing records and compiling the data, and we feel that the result has been an especially comprehensive study. The twenty-page brochure was sent to all public officials in the county and is being provided to individuals associated with the Pilot Project.

Among the problems concerning Negroes which stood out most dramatically were these: 81% of the Negro students enrolling in 1950 dropped out before graduation; 46% of the Negro population over twenty-five years old is functionally illiterate, yet the public schools spend per Negro pupil only 70% of the funds that it spends for each white student; Negroes comprise 74% of the farm operators but cultivate only 8% of the total farm land;almost one-third of Negro families earns less than $1,000 annually, and over one-half earns less than $2,000; one-third of the total homes in rural areas have either an outdoor privy or no sanitary facility whatsoever, and one third lack piped water.

PILOT PROJECT

The Beaufort County Pilot Project moved into an important phase in early December. A meeting was held at Penn, attended by representatives of state and local health departments, the state department of education, and the regional office of the U. S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, as well as Courtney Siceloff and Thomas Barnwell, the Pilot Project Field Director. The objective of the meeting was to discuss where the health and education agencies and the Field Director might work simultaneously on common problems. It is thought that community development efforts can be substantially expedited through inter-agency cooperation, especially since the involved agencies approach similar problems at various levels. The group was particularly interested in Bluffton, where several community improvement projects are underway; Bluffton also has a high incidence of infectation by internal parasites, a serious health problem. In connection with this inter-agency cooperation, Tom will spend additional time in Bluffton. The group plans to continue meeting, in order to share information about what each is doing.

The Coffins Point Improvement Committee, organized as a result of Tom's work in this St. Helena community, has begun construction of a praise house. The building will also be used for Sunday School classes and general community meetings. Although the thirty members of the committee are contributing to the construction, a financial problem has arisen as a result of the shrimp season's being closed and many community residents temporarily unemployed.

Tom has also been working closely with young people in Beaufort County. He contacted approximately fifteen high school students, who attended a bi-racial conference at Penn entitled, "What Will the World Be Like Twenty Years From Today?" The conference was sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee. (see CONFERENCES) Tom also secured a scholarship for a week-long seminar in Greensboro, N. C., for Samuel Burke, a high school student from Sheldon. The seminar was also sponsored by the AFSC and was called, "The Courageous Generation."

COURTNEY AND TOM VISIT
PUERTO RICO AND JAMAICA

Courtney Siceloff and Tom Barnwell left Penn on March 16, for a ten-day observation of community development projects in Puerto Rico and Jamaica. The projects, sponsored by the governments of each country, encompass many of the same problems we have found through our Pilot Project, and by studying their techniques, we can develop methods for making our own programs more effective. Courtney and Tom will interview administrators of the projects, and then will be individually assigned to field workers, in order to directly observe their methods. In our next newsletter, we will have a report of their findings.

$5000 LIBRARY AWARD

The Beaufort County library system, consisting of the Beaufort Township Library and the Laura M. Towne Library at Penn, has received a national, first prize award of $5000 from the Book-of-the-Month Club. The annual award, given in memory of Dorothy Canfield Fisher, was presented to the county system on the basis of its efforts to bring adequate library services to rural areas. John Mason Brown, a member of the editorial board of the Book-of-the-Month Club, will speak at the presentation ceremony, which will be held at the Beaufort Chamber of Commerce Building on April 21 at 3 P.M. Several representatives of the Club will be present, as well as state library officials. The ceremony will be open to the public.

CONFERENCES

Among recent conference groups at Penn have been two highschool seminars, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee's regional office at High Point, N. C. The seminars were led by Bill Dreyer, the highschool secretary for the region. Norman Whitney, consultant in peace education for the AFSC, participated in the second seminar, March 15 - 17.

The SC Student Council on Human Relations a bi-racial group of college students, met here in early December, and will return in April for another three-day conference

Thirteen students from the Meeting School in New Hampshire, spent two days here in January, on a return trip from Jamaica.

Students from the new Arthur Morgan School in the Celo Community (Burnsville, N. C.) visited us for a week in March, touring the islands and meeting local residents and students.

The Guilford College A Capella Choir will give a concert in Frissell Community House on March 30th. The concert will be sponsored by the Penn Nursery School.

STAFF

Hale Chamberlain and Jimmy Hazelton, two of our short-term staff members, left us in December. Hale, from Brevard, N. C., is now living in New York, and Jimmy , who was raised in Paraguay, is living on a dairy farm in Connecticut. Dave Habercom, from Antioch College, arrived in September and will be here until the end of the summer. Margo Martin, a sophmore at Oberlin College, will join our staff in June for two months.

- 0 -

Our Sales House, which provides used, but servicable, clothing to local families for nominal prices, is in dire need of children's clothing. If you have second-hand children's apparel which is still useable please consider a donation to the Sales House. Packages may be mailed directly to Penn, or sent by express to Beaufort.

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Published quarterly by
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Courtney Siceloff, Director
David Habercom, Newsletter Editor

Intergroup Org. Misc. ML

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

May, 1963

RALEIGH SPEAKS

We believe the following resolution, approved by the Directors of the Raleigh Merchants' Bureau on May 13, is of tremendous significance:

"God-fearing people, as responsible citizens, and all people of good will, must face the fact that peace in human relations is essential.

"Being charged with the responsibility of offering leadership to business in the community of Raleigh, we are convinced we should, without further delay, remove all policies in both government and business which deny rights and services because of race.

"The overriding challenge now confronting every Raleigh business person is to do these things that would further human relations and the continued economic growth of Raleigh."

-Directors of The Merchants' Bureau of Raleigh, N.C.

Charlotte Chamber of Commerce

222 South Church Street • Charlotte 2, North Carolina • Telephone 375-5536

Office of the
Executive Vice President

May 31, 1963

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Research Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street,NW
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Blackford:

The resolution which was passed by our Board of Directors reads as follows:

> We the directors of the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce recommend that all businesses in this community catering to the general public be opened immediately to all customers without regard to race, creed or color.

This resolution was adopted by our Board unanimously at a called meeting on Thursday, May 23.

Thank you for your inquiry.

Kindest regards.

Cordially,

Charles Crawford
Executive Vice President

CC:jo

The Board of Directors of the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce endorses the principle of equal treatment for all persons, without regard to race, color or religion and urges business firms to begin immediately serving all persons of the community.

The Board also recommends cooperation of community organizations to muster support of Greensboro citizens for the principle endorsed by this resolution.

Further, in the interest of public safety and to encourage the continued development of good community relationships, the Board urges that gatherings of large masses of people, which endanger public safety and disrupt the orderly movement of people and traffic, be discontinued along with unlawful activities of any kind.

Knoxville Chamber of Commerce

HOTEL ANDREW JOHNSON
KNOXVILLE 2, TENNESSEE

June 3, 1963

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Research Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is a copy of the statement circulated for voluntary signatures in Knoxville as requested in your letter of May 30.

To date, such forms include a total of about 3,500 names.

Yours very truly,

William M. Nash

William M. Nash, Director
Business Development Department

WMN:ald
Enclosure

COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL AND ORDERLY DESEGREGATION

* * *

Believing in the equal rights of all people...

And, believing that what is morally right is economically sound...

And, believing in observing the law of the land...

We, the undersigned, pledge ourselves to work peacefully for the prompt and orderly desegregation of all public facilities in our community.

(Signature authorizes publication of name)

NAME	ADDRESS

(USE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADDITIONAL SIGNATURES)

N. C. Council on Human Relations
121 East 3rd Street, Charlotte, N. C.

Resolution passed by the directors of the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce on Thursday, May 23, 1963:

> "We the directors of the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, recommend that all businesses in this community catering to the general public be opened immediately to all customers without regard to race, creed or color."

An AP dispatch from Greensboro on Friday, May 17, contained the following:

> In a surprise meeting Thursday, directors of the Greensboro Merchants Association recommended that "all policies be removed in both government and business facilities within the city of Greensboro which deny rights or services to any citizens." A spokesman said this meant a recommendation for the end of segregated service for all business establishments.
>
> Meeting separately, directors of the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce urged business firms to "begin immediately serving all persons of the community." The resolution endorsed "the principle of equal treatment of all persons, without regard to race, color or religion."

PA ✓
LWD ✓
V ✓
WB
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file SRC - JT

Intergroup Org. Misc.

PRESS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY
June 25, 1963

JUN 28 1963

The U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce national convention in Louisville has been asked by its group of Ten Outstanding Young Men of 1962 to take five steps aimed at resolving the current crisis in race relations in America.

The TOYM awards are presented annually by the JayCees as proof of their dedication to the belief that the American way of life presents unlimited opportunities to all young men of faith, vision and courage...and to reaffirm that part of the JayCee Creed which says, "service to humanity is the best work of life."

For perhaps the first time since the awards came into being a quarter of a century ago, the ten 1962 recipients have taken a public stand on a controversial issue. In a three-page petition presented to the National JayCee President, Doug Blankenship, the group notes that the JayCees have risen to meet many challenges in the past. The challenge posed now by the controversy over civil rights, the petition states, spells opportunity as well as danger.

The danger lies in the certainty that our ideals will wither if we apply them sporadically or selectively. The opportunity presented is to demonstrate anew that social problems are best solved within the framework of a free and democratic society.

In recognizing these facts, and in recognizing the need for dynamic business leadership in this as in all other challenges to our society, the TOYM call upon the officers and members of the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce to take the following five steps:

1. Remind the business community that racial discrimination is incompatible with a free enterprise system;

2. Urge employers to hire, train and promote regardless of race or color;

3. Impress businessmen serving the public that racial discrimination is a slur on America;

4. Stimulate businessmen to actively participate on biracial committees to alleviate current racial tensions;

5. Encourage businessmen to assure Negroes free choice in the housing market as part of a community-wide effort to build stable and prosperous neighborhoods.

The TOYM of 1962 also offer their assistance to advance the stated objectives in any manner which the JayCees deem appropriate.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY
JUNE 25, 1963

PETITION

TO: United States Junior Chamber of Commerce
Annual Convention
Louisville, Kentucky

FROM: Your Ten Outstanding Young Men of 1962

We were greatly honored when you selected us as America's Ten Outstanding Young Men of 1962. You urged us to continue to work for the betterment of America and to take this responsibility seriously. It is in this vein, and for this reason, that we feel impelled to make the following statement. What we say, we say with the JAYCEES Creed in mind:

> That the brotherhood of man transcends the sovereignty of nations; ....That earth's great treasure lies in human personality; And that service to humanity is the best work of life.

The JAYCEES have risen to meet many challenges, have contributed immeasurably to the improvement of our communities, and have never turned away from a task because of its difficulty.

The current crisis in race relations in America is only the latest in a series of challenges to our Nation's basic principles. It is one to which the President and other high government officials of both parties have frequently and urgently addressed themselves in recent weeks. It is a crisis which is neither sectional nor partisan.

As in the past, the challenge spells opportunity as well as danger. The danger lies in the certainty that our ideals will wither if we apply them sporadically or selectively. We pride ourselves that the American society holds individual dignity inviolate and that it imposes no restraints on the lawful ambitions of any citizens. This conviction is the heart of our vaunted liberty, and the secret of the success of our free enterprise system. America is what it is because our ancestors fled from societies in which men were judged by birth and not by ability. Yet, in 1963, there is within our society a group of persons to whom, in large measure, we deny equal opportunity because of the color of their skin. The President has pointed out that no Negro baby born in America today can hope to have an even chance unless we awaken to the violation of our most sacred principles.

The challenge we now face presents an opportunity to demonstrate anew that social problems are best solved within the framework of a free and democratic society. We who like to teach by example cannot hope to convince the world's overwhelming non-Caucasian majority of the validity of our political and economic system until we can prove that it assures to all persons, regardless of race or color, equality of opportunity. Moreover, the economy of our country, as well as its spirit, is bound to benefit from the entry of 20 million citizens into the mainstream of American life.

Recognizing these facts, and recognizing the need for dynamic business leadership in this as in all other challenges to our society, we call upon the officers and members of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce to take the following steps:

1. Remind the business community that racial discrimination is incompatible with a free enterprise system founded on the premise that both persons and products should compete on their merits.

2. Urge employers in their hiring, training and promotion policies affirmatively to seek out persons with talent and potential regardless of race or color.

3. Impress on businessmen who serve the public that refusal to serve persons because of race is a slur on America as well as on the individual victim and perpetuates the exclusion of Negro Americans from the American way of life.

4. Stimulate businessmen to make a long range commitment of time and energy to work on biracial committees, and other agencies, to find ways to alleviate current racial tensions and make Negroes full participants in the life of our communities.

5. Encourage businessmen to assure Negroes a free choice in the housing market as part of a community-wide effort to build stable and prosperous neighborhoods.

We offer you our assistance to advance these objectives in any manner which you deem appropriate.

Curtiss M. Anderson
Former Editor of Ladies' Home Journal;
Contributing Editor McCalls' Magazine; Writer
New York City, N.Y.

James T. Beatty
President, Los Angeles Track Club
Los Angeles, California

Jules Bergman
Science Editor, American Broadcasting Company
New York City, N.Y.

Hon. Berl I. Bernhard
Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C.

Congressman John Brademas
U.S. Representative
South Bend, Indiana

Guido Calabresi
Professor of Law
Yale University Law School
New Haven, Connecticut

Rev. Robert W. Castle, Jr.
Rector, St. John's Episcopal Church
Jersey City, New Jersey

Hugh S. Haynie
Editorial Cartoonist
Louisville Courier - Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

James R. Jude, M.D.
Assistant Professor of Surgery
John Hopkins University
Baltimore, Maryland

James Wesley Turpin, M.D.
Director, Project Concern
Kowloon, Hong Kong

Integroup org. misc

VT
PA
SBI

Cincinnati Pastor Named As Head Of 'Red Front'

CINCINNATI ENQUIRER

June, 1963

To help its readers keep on guard against propaganda, the Cincinnati Enquirer brings you this authoritative weekly report.

BY JACK LOTTO

One of the top leaders of the integration movement in the South has been named head of a big pro-Communist front.

He is the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, (965 Dana Ave., pastor of the Revelation Baptist Church, 1556 John St.

The post he was elected to is President of the ""Southern Conference Educational Fund," with headquarters in New Orleans, and active in 17 southern states.

Both the Senate internal security subcommittee and the House Committee on Un-American Activities have described the SCEF as an organization set up to "promote Communism" throughout the South.

This group has a long history of activity in the South. It originally was known as the "Southern Conference for Human Welfare." One of its founders was a veteran Communist, the late Louis E. Burnham.

When the SCHW was cited as a Communist front in 1947 by the House committee, it ostensibly went out of business.

It quickly reopened at the same New Orleans address, under the new name and and with the same telephone number.

According to the Senate subcommittee, the Southern Conference Educational Fund was "operating with substantially the same leadership and purposes" of its predecessor.

Said the House report on the SCHW:

"It seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South. Its professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist party in the U. S."

The field secretary for the SCEF, and editor of its publication, "The Southern Patriot," is Carl Braden, of Louisville, Ky. Braden, identified in sworn testimony as a member of the Communist party, recently finished serving a one-year prison term for contempt of Congress.

New additions to the Board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund included the Rev. James A. Zellner, Methodist minister in Panama, City, Fla. He is the father of Bob Zellner, the "freedom-walker" active in the "student nonviolence committee," and now serving a jail term in Alabama.

ANOTHER BOARD member is Mrs. Diane Bevel, of Cleveland, Miss., active in Nashville student demonstrations, and currently working in Alabama and Mississippi.

She is jailed in Gadsden, Ala., for taking part with Zellner in a pro-integration march, following in the steps of William Moore, the postman shot and killed during a one-man protest march.

Communists and pro-Communists are moving into the South to provoke friction between whites and Negroes. On the scene is James E. Jackson, a member of the four-man ruling secretariat of the U. S. Communist party.

Jackson, who is propaganda boss in the U. S. for the Reds, is also the party's secretary for southern and Negro affairs—a polite term for chief racial troublemaker.

This Moscow-trained Negro has been in the forefront of Communist organizational and agitational work in the South for years.

In 1959, he went to Russia as the representative of the U. S. Communist party, at the 21st World Congress of Communist parties. There, he hailed the Soviet Union and denounced the United States.

Won't Answer Charges, Accused Minister Says

Rev. Mr. Shuttlesworth, contacted in Birmingham, Ala., where he has been a leader in demonstrations there, gave the following statement:

"I do not intend to become involved in verbal gymnastics with those, who for years, have prided themselves and made themselves famous for slandering the character of others without proof and for making a mockery of the democratic process which says a man is innocent until proven guilty.

"I have the highest regard for this organization (SCEF), for the work it has done since I have been a member of the board, and I have seen nothing on the part of any persons, with whom I have been associated, to give any substantiation to these charges.

"Generally, the House committees are governed by Southerners who will label any organization subversive or communistic that seeks to further the American aims of integration, justice and fair-play.

"To a segregationist, integration means Communism. I can think of nothing more un-American than the House Committee of Un-American Activities."

Carl Braden, a former Cincinnati newspaperman, touched off a heated UC faculty controversy with his March 7 appearance at the university

Readers' Views

'Rev. Shuttlesworth: A Great American'

TO THE EDITOR: I know Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth personally, and I am familiar with the Southern Conference Education Fund, of which he is president, and the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, which he founded. These are peaceful, patriotic, American organizations, working for the equality Negroes deserve and have waited for so patiently and so long. Rev. Mr. Shuttlesworth is an intelligent, courageous, great American, and we should all be proud to have him and his family as residents of Cincinnati.

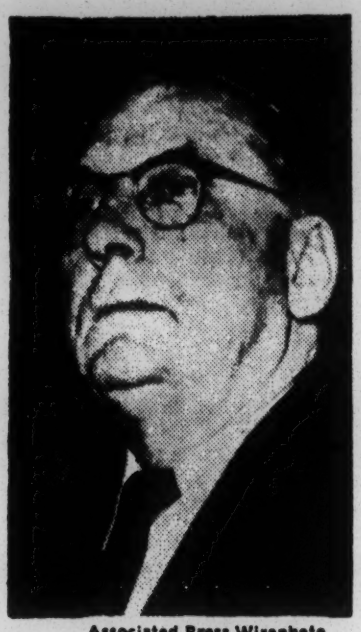
The column by Jack Lotto which was in The Enquirer on Sunday, June 9, was a disgrace to the field of journalism and was completely untrue and slanderous. Mr. Lotto appears to be one of those people who enjoy shouting "Communist," whenever anyone disagrees with his way of thinking. It's easy for the cowardly segregationists who have no facts to claim all people who work peacefully for integration are Communists. The McCarthy era is not over. There are still Jack Lottos around who use hate and ignorance as the only weapons they know. The Enquirer has stooped to a new low by publishing such an unfactual column of malicious, ignorant propaganda, which poisons unlearned minds and ruins the reputations of innocent people.

Rev. Mr. Shuttlesworth is not associated with any Communist movement and is a great American. I am proud to live in the same neighborhood as his family.

MRS. WM. BERLINER, 3964 Ledgewood Dr.

The attack on Highlander Folk School is part of a witch hunt against all civil-rights groups in U.S.

COURIER-JOURNAL, LOUISVILLE, KY., SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 13, 1963



Associated Press Wirephoto

ROSS BARNETT
Testifying yesterday

Barnett Says JFK Aids Reds

By E. W. KENWORTHY
© New York Times News Service

Washington, July 12.—Governor Ross R. Barnett of Mississippi charged Friday that President John F. Kennedy and his brother, Robert, the Attorney General, had "encouraged" civil-rights demonstrations and thus aided a "world Communist conspiracy to divide and conquer" the United States by fomenting racial strife.

Barnett, who lost a battle last fall to keep his state's university segregated, began 3 hours of testimony before the Senate Commerce Committee by saying:

"The President and the Attorney General have encouraged demonstrations, freedom rides, sit-ins, picketing, and actual violation of local laws. What is happening in our nation today fits the pattern of what has been happening throughout the world insofar as the Communist activity is concerned."

Appeals To Congress

He wound up his 16-page formal statement with an appeal to Congress to defeat the President's civil-rights legislation.

He said:

"The President and the Attorney General are sowing the seeds of hate and violence. The nation could reap a bloody harvest, which we certainly do not want.

"Gentlemen, if you pass this

Col. 1, back page, this section

Barnett Declares Kennedys Aid Reds

Continued from First Page

civil-rights legislation, you are passing it under the threat of mob action and violence on the part of Negro groups and under various types of intimidation from the executive branch of this Government.

"This legislation must be defeated if this nation is to survive as a constitutional republic of sovereign states.

"The decision is yours. May God have mercy on your souls."

Barnett said it was "obvious to many" that "racial agitation, strife, and conflict" has been "largely Communist-inspired."

However, he declared, those holding high the banner of the civil-rights issue "fail to read some of the writing on the banner" and "fail to realize that the Communist Party hopes to incite civil insurrection in the South with the purpose of then fanning the flames into a holocaust in the Northern racial strife areas."

Several senators protested these statements. Senator A. S. Mike Monroney (D., Okla.) said the President and Attorney General had been trying to discourage violence, and he asked Barnett for some instances of encouragement.

The Governor said the President had stated in his speech to the nation that "the Negro is not being treated fairly and not getting his just due, and what else can he do but resort to the streets."

"Since then," Barnett said, "we have had more demonstrations."

Monroney then asked the Governor what evidence he had that demonstrations were Communist-inspired and not merely protests by "American citizens seeking rights they are entitled to."

Called 'Red School'

Barnett said the Rev. Martin Luther King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, had been "a leader of the agitators."

He then pulled from his briefcase a leaflet printed by the "Georgia Commission on Education," which he identified as a branch of the Georgia State Government.

* A group picture on the leaflet was described in a caption as a "Communist training school." Barnett pointed out that the group included Mr. King; Aubrey Williams, president of the Southern Conference Education Fund and onetime New Deal official, and Abner W. Berry, identified by Barnett as "a member of the central committee of the Communist Party."

He said the picture was taken at the Highland Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn., before the school was closed as subversive by the State of Tennessee. In the picture also was Myles Horton, a former director of the school.

The Southern Conference Education Fund, founded in 1938 in New Orleans, is an interracial group from 17 Southern and Border states and the District of Columbia. Its stated aim is "to eliminate through education and action all forms of racial discrimination and segregation."

Later a spokesman for the House Committe on Un-American activities said records show that neither the education fund nor the school has been cited as subversive by any federal agency.

He also said Horton had never been identified as a Communist. Williams he said, had been identified as a Communist by two former party members before the Senate internal security subcommittee, but they were unable to say that he carried a card. Later, the spokesman said, Williams denied before the same committee that he was a party member, and his denial was never challenged in court.

Monroney inquired whether, in view of the Governor's statement that the F.B.I. was concerned about "the real motivation" of the civil-rights leaders, he had asked J. Edgar Hoover to verify any "communist association."

No Data From Hoover

The Governor said he had no evidence from Hoover but thought "we should ask if any of those in the picture were Communists." Monroney said he wanted more evidence than "one picture."

Later Senator E. L. Bartlett (D., Alaska) asked Barnett, "Do you have any information that (the F.B.I.) believes the demonstrations are Communist-inspired?"

"I don't have anything with me that is sufficient," the Governor said.

Senator Philip A. Hart (D., Mich), noted that "the witness said he didn't know whether Martin Luther King or Aubrey Williams was a Communist."

He continued with a reference to the McCarthy era of the 1950's:

"I would hate to think that this meeting today would create an atmosphere we all experienced within our memory. It was a tragic period when it happened. I would walk with Martin Luther King. I hope that doesn't make me suspect."

*On July 11 pickets marching in front of Southern Conference Educational Fund headquarters in New Orleans, carried signs attacking the Fund. On the back of each sign was a blown-up group picture, evidently the same one displayed by Ross Barnett, with the caption, "Martin Luther King....At Communist Training School."

way to keep the shippers going, no doubt, would be to order the various international "conferences" which set rates in and out of the US to peg these rates high enough for US firms to show a profit. If the Europeans didn't go along, we could follow the airline pattern and close our ports to rate busters. Exporters and importers would, however, raise hell if this were attempted. So instead Congress simply gives the shippers $200 million a year in operating subsidies and $120 million a year for new construction. If the Europeans want to run inefficient airlines, they ought to do it in this same above-board way. But it is unlikely that they will.

The New Republic 7/13/63

Students and Rebels

Intergroup Org. Misc.

Food for Greenwood

I was surprised by the activity roaring around Local 28, the United Packinghouse Workers Center. Chicago friends of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee were loading food and clothing on a truck bound for Greenwood, Mississippi, where a voter registration drive is going on. Last-minute phone calls had not been promising; the SNCC undergraduate labor force was taking final exams. I was prepared for a long night of work.

Instead I found an army of Negro boys lined up from the basement, along the narrow stairway and into the trailer. They were the Rebels and Rebels Junior, a local gang contacted by an enterprising SNCC member.

I climbed into the trailer and joined one of the two lines passing boxes. They were clapping in rhythm as they worked, making a game of it, going as fast as they could. Whenever there was a break in the flow of boxes they shouted, "Keep them coming, keep them coming," as they danced or sparred with each other – all Listons, no Pattersons.

Some girls came to keep tally and tie up broken boxes. Instantly the Rebels had their shirts off and were edging to the door of the trailer where they could be better seen. A girl asked for a knife to cut twine. A rustle and click! click! click! – a forest of blades.

Those of us who remained in the hot, dark end of the trailer had to run to catch boxes flung at us, scooping up heavy ones that skidded along the floor and then running back to pile them up.

I turned to grab one box and got banged in the ribs with another. "Keep it moving, keep it moving, keep it moving," "heavy one, heavy one," (or if you wanted to show your strength, "light one, light one.").

The young kid working on my right was a serious one, but to the two older Rebels working to his right it was all a big joke. "Come on *man, move* it. We need *strong* men here. This no place for *weak*lings." The boy would push a box to me, turn around, wham! catch one in the chest, fumble it desperately, turn, wham – another in the shoulder.

"*Hand* the boxes," I shouted. "Hand them; someone's going to get hurt."

"Don't lose you cool, man."

"You hear the man. *Hand* them," the kid pleaded. Wham!

"You *mo*ther hands them."

"You ain't *got* no mother," the kid said as another box bounced off his head. He broke his back trying to keep up with them.

In half an hour I was prostrate, while the Rebels beat out rhythm, danced, boxed, posed and flung 50 pound boxes around. The young kid had left, but surprisingly the two older boys continued at top speed.

An SNCC member who had paused to wipe off his face with his arm said, "No matter how you slice it, work's work." But to the Rebels it wasn't: they transformed it. They threw themselves into it as if the entire fight for civil rights hinged on loading *this* truck. Their zeal would have been appropriate to something cataclysmic, millennial, like founding the Kingdom of Saints or winning the World Series.

One of the SNCC workers suggested a beer.

"Say man, now you're talking," a Rebel said.

The SNCC worker laughed. "I'm not contributing to the delinquency of a minor."

"Who you calling a minor, man?" the Rebel threatened. "I'm 21 and can prove it."

His buddies turned and examined the SNCC member with distaste.

Another SNCC member was explaining that the Teamsters had volunteered the truck and driver. Wasn't it dangerous to drive into Mississippi? No, the truck was unmarked and sealed. Mississippi officials could weigh it but not look inside.

A Rebel said, "They know better than tangle with the Teamsters."

The SNCC member said, "They don't mind defying the federal government, but when it comes to fighting the Teamsters, that's going too far."

"You putting me on, man?"

When these young field workers for SNCC come North they're invited to speak at the universities and the synagogues; they're entertained in the suburban homes of professionals in the civil rights movement; they're lionized by intellectuals and all those sweet young girls – by everyone except the Rebels, who side with Sonny Liston and the Teamsters.

Anyone who saw the Rebels at work saw more than

a bunch of high-spirited teenagers in love with noise and motion. They were working on this job, so mundane and routine to the members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, because they hoped it would lead to the final battle for which they have no words.

They know what doesn't interest them: voter registration in Mississippi or any other civil rights movement. After the job was finished we sat in little groups, smoking. A young man talked about his sit-in experience. "Oh they did a lot of shoving and pushing. And they squirted mustard and ketchup over us, stuff like that."

"I wouldn't let nobody do *me* that way," a Rebel said.

ROLAND WULBERT

FOREIGN REPORTS

ITALY: *At Odds and Ends*

★ The President found Rome distracted and uncommunicative, after the manner of Antonioni. The cops roughed up Theodore Sorenson and McGeorge Bundy, and that quite literally was all that happened.

Both the French and the Americans chose last week to descend on Italy to seek assurances from a government that does not yet exist. While it is widely assumed that the Christian Democrat, Giovanni Leone, will shortly round up support to win a vote of confidence, it is also known that these votes will be forthcoming on the grounds that the government last no longer than October, at which time the Socialist Party will meet, either to iron out its internal dilemmas or to collapse.

Italian politics is less and less a matter of division between parties, more and more concerned with internal party fractures, opened and embittered by personal feuding. This is particularly true of the Socialists. Mr. Nenni, their leader, had worked long and painstakingly with Aldo Moro, a Christian Democrat, to lay out social and economic plans which the left-center parties could endorse. But at the last moment, Nenni's program was brought down by Riccardo Lombardi, leader of a group of intellectuals within the Socialist Party who said the Nenni proposals lacked vitality. Lombardi probably would have aired his dissatisfaction earlier, were he not so interested in advancing his own personal ambitions. Nenni immediately submitted his resignation as party secretary; it was refused, and the Socialists now are left to dither until October. Then, Nenni will have to consolidate his power, or the party will split into a hopeless mess. Meanwhile, Italy will hobble through the summer with a caretaker government, and the "opening on the left" in abeyance.

CANADA: *Getting It Back from the Foreigners*

★ It was a fairly sure bet that Mr. Pearson's government would survive the vote of confidence on its finance policies, if only because Canadian politicians do not have the cash to finance another general election. But despite his 40-vote victory the Prime Minister's much ballyhooed "60 Days of Decision" ended on a sour note, and his government emerged looking like a group of bungling amateurs.

At the center of the bungle is Walter Gordon, the finance minister, monetary wizard and chief architect of Liberal victory at the polls. When the budget was first presented June 13, Gordon was widely acclaimed for his proposals to "repatriate Canadian industry." Foreign interests control 59 percent of the manufacturing industry, 75 percent of oil and natural gas and 61 percent of mining. These figures send Canadians up the walls in fits of national emotion; the fact that Canada has insufficient capital to finance rapid expansion is either not realized or conveniently ignored. Mr. Gordon first ran into trouble when the press discovered he had used the services of members of leading Canadian brokerage houses to prepare the budget. But the real storm broke on a delayed reaction to the budget's specific proposals. One provision would have imposed a 30 percent tax on sales to a "foreigner" of Canadian shares in excess of $50,000. "This kind of tax," Mr. Gordon said, "would have stopped in their tracks most of the takeovers of recent years." Such changes in ownership, he claimed, "rarely confer any benefits on the Canadian economy. Another provision of the "Face the Facts" budget puts stiff taxes on foreign (*i.e.* US) companies unless they permit at least 25 percent Canadian participation.

The results were dramatic. First, Eric W. Kierans, the highly-respected president of the Montreal Stock Exchange, stuck the knife into the government he had helped elect. "The tax is utter and complete nonsense," he said. "It is unconstitutional and an axe to murder the record of trust and confidence between Canada and other Western countries." The industrial stock index took a nose-dive unequalled since the Cuban crisis of last year. Canadian investors became panicky; US investment capital into Canada slowed; some US financial houses reportedly postponed underwriting Canadian borrowings; in what amounted to a broker's "strike," neither bids nor offerings on Canadian stocks were available from New York brokerage houses.

In the ensuing bedlam, even Bay Street (the Toronto

Intergroup Org. Misc

NEW YORK CHAPTER
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

NEGRO PRESS DIGEST
July 15, 1963

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published by
The Community Information Committee
Robert L. Pelz, Chairman

Co-Editors
Mrs. M. J. Kleinfeld Mrs. Louise Levinson
Mrs. Marilyn Gilbert, Contributing Editor

NEGRO PRESS DIGEST

Statement of Purpose

The Negro Press Digest is published for the purpose of providing its readers with news and views of Negro newspapers and news magazines circulated in New York City. The Digest is not intended to present a cross-section of the content of the publications it reviews but focuses upon articles dealing with such matters as civil rights, civil liberties and intergroup relations. Emphasis is given to articles of local interest and national consequence.

News that has been adequately treated, in the judgment of the editors, in the daily press or on the broadcasting media is not duplicated in the Digest unless the Negro press reports such news from a distinctly different point of view.

The New York Chapter of The American Jewish Committee hopes that this publication will help fill an important need in intergroup relations, which is: improved communications bringing fuller knowledge of the problems, aspirations and frustrations of the Negro community as expressed in their press. This periodical, therefore, is designed to foster greater understanding and thereby further the development of truly effective human relations efforts.

-- Robert L. Pelz, Chairman
Community Information Committee
New York Chapter
The American Jewish Committee

BLACK MUSLIMS

MALCOLM X, IN DC, RAPS JACKIE, FLOYD, DR. KING

Amsterdam News (May 25th)

The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., Jackie Robinson and Floyd Patterson were scathingly criticized in Washington by Minister Malcolm X of the Black Muslims movement as unwitting tools of white liberals who give their financial backing in the hope these men will head the next columns (Negroes) away from trouble. He said the Negroes have lost their fear of the white man's reprisals and will react today with violence if provoked.. anywhere in the country.

THE INEXPLICABLE MUSLIM BUILD-UP

New York Courier - Editorial (June 8)

One of the current curiosities is the extent to which some white people in authority have been so easily hornswoggled into attaching great importance to the so-called Black Muslims. The Black Muslims represent a passing social and noisy aberration completely alien to the Negroes. Negroes have rejected crackpot proposals such as theirs since 1820.

SELLS PROPERTY TO MUSLIMS FOR MOSQUE: MUSLIMS OPEN MOSQUE

Amsterdam News (June 8)

In Brooklyn, hundreds of Negroes jammed Muhammed's new Mosque to hear dedication ceremonies and welcome Muslims to Brooklyn.. "to help solve the gigantic social, economic and other problems that exist among Negro people here" (Malcolm X). In Trenton, New Jersey, a minister who is also state NAACP president, has sold property to the sect for the erection of a Mosque.

THE BLACK MUSLIM MOVEMENT - Chicago Daily Defender, Series by H. D. Quigg,(June 17, 18, 19 and 20.)

MALCOLM X AT DEM CLUB - Amsterdam News (June 22)

Competent observers estimate that not more than 100,000 American Negroes are Muslims. They are law-abiding, clean, non-smoking or drinking or dope-taking and bitterly non-white men. There are about 20,000 in Chicago and 15,000 in New York. Malcolm X says things like: "We rejoice when the white man dies", yet testifies that Negro Muslims are not a hate organization. The movement is outspokenly anti-white and racist but forbids aggression unless attacked. It has a tremendous record of rehabilitation of criminals. One Los Angeles police officer says the group is dying a natural death and the only thing that keeps them going is publicity. Malcolm X vows the crimes of the white man will be avenged; he urges Negroes to get away from the white man's wicked world. His father was a Baptist minister and in 1925 their Omaha home was burned by "Christians" and when the family moved to Michigan, their home was burned down again and his father was later killed by whites, he says. Prof. Eric Lincoln believes the Black Muslims "do attract the support of the masses and of a small but increasing number of intellectuals - and they will continue to expand as long as racial tension is permitted to flourish in America".

BUSINESS

IN THE WINGS

Amsterdam News - Column by Dave Hepburn (May 25)

In "Operation Mousetrap" we are ready to supply ad agencies with college-bred men and women to refute the agencies' claim that they have not been able to find qualified Negro employees. The only reason the Negro has not made any big tries for ad agency work was because he has not been able to get in and knew it was a waste of time.

BANKER WARNS MAYORS, HATE HURTS POCKETBOOK

Jet (May 27)

Vice-President of the Bank of America, Alan K. Browne, warned delegates to the U.S. conference of mayors that racial violence in cities will hurt the sale of their Municipal Bonds.. said bond investors don't like unfavorable publicity of any kind surrounding the issue of bonds. The impact of violence on credit may be reflected in borrowing costs. Thus the whole community suffers.

WOOLWORTH AWAITS LOCAL ACTION ON COUNTER BIAS - Chicago Defender(6/6)

WOOLWORTH EYES DESEGREATION- Amsterdam News (6/8)

According to the Defender, the F. W. Woolworth Co. has no intention of desegregating its stores on its own initiative, but will await "community cooperation" - a policy statement which shows it has no intention of integrating its eating facilities in segregated cities. The Amsterdam News says that Woolworth issued a formal statement indicating that they would desegregate lunch counters in the South as part of community cooperation campaigns. Both papers quote the same statement in which Woolworth explains the success of its policy of desegregation under local leadership and without violence.

SALESMAN CLAIMS BAR CHAINS DISCRIMINATE AGAINST NEGROES

Amsterdam News (June 22)

Several Harlem bar chains owned by non-resident whites were accused of discriminating against Negro liquor salesmen by taking only TOKEN orders from them while purchasing the bulk of their liquid stock from white salesmen.

EDUCATION

HARLEM PRINCIPAL MAKES LILY-WHITE SELECTION .. ACCELERATED STUDENTS ALL-WHITE

Amsterdam News (May 25)

The Harlem community was up in arms this week over the revelation that pupils selected to participate in a highly desirable accelerated program in P.S. 125 are all white pupils. Not one of the 19 Negro children in two classes were tested. An offer to test them belatedly was turned down by the parents who claimed that their children would be subjected to too much strain in trying to catch up with the program which has been in progress for seven weeks.

ANOTHER LOOPHOLE STOPPED

New York Courier - Editorial (June 15)

The Supreme Court has not been deceived by some school transfer plans based solely on racial factors, which would perpetuate segregation. The plans allowed transfer of a child from a school in which he was in a racial minority. A white child was easily permitted transfer under these conditions, but Negro pupils had to show "good cause" which could never satisfy school boards in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida and other Southern states. Now our white "friends" will have to think up some other scheme.

LAW TO "GET" MUSLIM SCHOOL MAY HELP NEGROES

Jet (June 27)

A bill introduced in the Illinois Legislature aimed at closing a Muslim school in Chicago because it allegedly teaches racial hatred, could become fresh ammunition for Negroes fighting segregated public schools. Allowing the state school superintendent to close any school teaching racial hatred or the superiority of any race, the measure "would also apply to any white supremacy school", said sponsor Senator Arthur Gottschalk.

EMPLOYMENT

LABOR STILL CRITICIZED ON EXCLUSION OF NEGROES - Amsterdam News (6/8)

FIGURE RACIAL EMPLOYMENT BIAS COSTS U.S. TOTAL OF $28 BILLION - Chicago Daily Defender (June 4)

NAACP Labor Secretary Herbert Hill said the AFL-CIO has refused to move decisively even where there are state and municipal fair employment practices commissions, to break the pattern of exclusion of Negroes in the building trades. Failure to take advantage of Negro manpower is costing the nation an estimated total of $28 billion according to National Urban League estimates. If the yearly earning power of the Negro equalled that of whites, the yearly personal income for Negroes would be boosted by $11,850,000,000. The present situation creates a heavy loss for industry, profits, dividends, inventories, etc. plus the cost of blighted housing, racial violence and a higher crime rate.

BIASED UNIONS HEAD FOR BITTER CLASH - Article by Alfredo Graham (6/8)

FOWLER URGES LABOR, UNIONS TO CLEAN UP HOUSE - FAST! - (6/8)

THE UNIONS' RESPONSIBILITY - Editorial (6/15)

LONG ISLAND -- INSIDE OUT - Column by Thomas A. Johnson (6/22)

All the above from the New York Courier

Discrimination in employment is the key problem confronting the Negro. Fault lies with the unions, which refuse to permit the Negroes to work, particularly skilled labor, and in not admitting Negroes for apprentice programs. President Kennedy's means and will to force skilled unions into line in the hiring for Federal construction programs is questioned. George Fowler, chairman of the State Commission for Human Rights, in an address to the Annual Convention of the Union

Label and Service Trades Department of the State of New York urged labor to evolve a positive program for promoting the needed equal work opportunity. Discontented with the snail's pace of integration efforts, the NAACP in New York has noted that unfair practices are still prevalent in the unions. At the Flushing World's Fair Grounds some minority workers perform in skilled capacities, but must work under the supervision of a union member and must be satisfied with laborer's pay.

HOSPITALS AND MEDICINE

EXPERT SAYS RACIAL GHETTOS SPAWN NEW MENTAL ILLNESSES

Jet (May 30)

Present methods of psychiatric treatment cannot hope to meet with the problems of persons living in racial ghettos. The pervasive patterns of racial segregation in large areas of American life damage and make ineffective the personalities of its victims and create deep feelings of inferiority in Negro youth, declared Dr. Kenneth Clark in an address before the Association for Improvement of Mental Health, Inc.

ASK COUNCIL TO BACK BAN ON HOSPITAL BIAS

By Ted Coleman - Chicago Daily Defender (6/11)

THE STETHO SCOPE - By Earl B. Smith, M.D. IMHOTEP, N.Y.Courier (6/15)

An important legislative approach to the problem of segregation of patients and doctors was suggested at the IMHOTEP National Conference on Hospital Integration, in Georgia. At the gathering of professionals in the field, the suggestion was made to the Congress to delete the section of the Hospital Survey and Reconstruction Act which says that a state should provide separate but equal hospital facilities for its residents. The AFL-CIO has given its support to the proposal. In Chicago, the City Council Committee on Health recommended passage of an amendment banning discrimination in hospitals through advance inquiries in race. It received unanimous approval.

HOUSING AND REAL ESTATE

AN END TO BULLDOZERING?

New York Courier - Editorial (May 25)

The policy of laying waste to blocks of bad housing with a bulldozer may be coming to an end. It may be displaced by a policy of rehabilitating run-down residences and subsidizing poor tenants. Bulldozing of whole blocks has scattered neighborhood populations, causing social disruptions, increasing delinquency, also perpetuated housing segregation.

"WE ARE FED UP" TOO

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (June 4)

In recent years in Chicago the lines of racial demarkation have been drawn with greater precision and rigidity. Urban renewal has compounded the concentration of the black ghetto. Entrenched real estate interests, politicians, city newspapers have all blocked free

choice of residency. School districts are gerrymandered to fit the residential pattern. Chicago is the most segregated big city over 500,000. A Look Magazine survey and the President's Civil Rights Commission agree on this. Chicago may not be as segregated as Birmingham, but it isn't too far behind.

CONFAB CITES HIGH COST OF ILL. HOUSING JIM CROW

Chicago Daily Defender (June 13)

Evanston attorney Donald Frey addressed an all-citizen statewide conference on the high cost of racial prejudice in real estate. He said that communities must be refashioned without prejudice and that enhancing human values will enlarge property values. Other speakers stressed the high economic, social, political and moral cost of continued racial segregation.

WESTCHESTER POTPOURRI

New York Courier - Column by Inez H. Henderson (June 15)

Negroes have been looking to white real estate brokers to find homes for them in sections where the number of Negro neighbors is small. This is good since it aids in preventing a so-called ghetto. Heretofore the Negro brokers' hands were tied. The new Metcalf-Baker Law should help them. If the Negro brokers will cooperate, the Urban League will give them leads in practically lily-white sections.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UNCIVILIZED METHODS

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (May 22)

South Africa continues to shock the conscience of the world, now with a bill to detain political prisoners indefinitely after their sentences expire. The same law prescribes death for South Africans who advocate overthrow of the regime, even if they are living abroad. The Nazis also assumed their laws to be binding outside of their country.

BRINKLEY'S STONE AGE

Amsterdam News - Column: Poppy's Notes by Poppy Cannon White (5/25)

Anyone who knows Haiti will resent the recent Brinkley report which mentioned mainly Duvalier's reign of terror .. until recently financed and endowed by the American taxpayer. In spite of warnings and protests the U.S. Government bolstered dictator Duvalier for years. The most incredible remark Brinkley made was that the Haitians are still in the stone age. What of Dantes Bellegarde, one of the world's most honored historians; Madam Ambassador Lucienne Estime; erudite dancer Jean Destine; anthropologists like Dr. Jean Price-Mars; Haitian writers, poets, artists, musicians, scholars, doctors.

JIM CROW POLICY FIGURES IN U.S. DECISION ON JETS FOR SOUTH AFRICA
Chicago Daily Defender (June 17)

AFRICAN LEADER ASKS U.S. STOP SENDING ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA. (6/22)

COLD-SHUDDER NEWS - Column: Poppy's Notes by Poppy Cannon White (6/22)
Both of these articles appeared in Amsterdam News

South Africa seeks to buy American planes and if the U.S. government provides them, so that the South African government can kill South African Negroes, while American Negroes are in a ferment, it could be very damaging to this country. No such deal can be consummated without the go-ahead from the State Department, which, it appears, is not in an affirmative mood. The State Department has instructed our Embassy in Pretoria to integrate its independence day reception. Meanwhile the Pan African Congress seeks a policy statement from the U.S. that we will not supply arms or other weapons to the South African government. Other frightening news headlines atomic research and uranium mining in South Africa and announces that tear gas bombs can be sold without licenses to whites over 18. (Ital. ours.)

GOV. WALLACE FINDS SOME FRIENDS, JIM CROW TEACHERS IN SOUTH AFRICA
Chicago Daily Defender (June 17)

Governor Wallace's defiant act at the University of Alabama has been immortalized in verse by instructors in the Pretoria, South Africa Technical School, who urged Wallace not to budge. But the editor of the Pretoria News was censured for printing a cartoon drawing a close comparison between racist Mississippi and apartheid South Africa. Elsewhere in Africa reaction favored the firm stand of President Kennedy in forcing through the registration of the Negro students.

LEADERSHIP PROBLEMS

SO MANY VOICES

Amsterdam News - Column: White-on-White by Gertrude Wilson (5/25)

We find ourselves faced with a paralysis in our attempts to interpret a whole community and a racial group as a unit. There is one common denominator in skin color. Color is significant not in itself but in the attitude of the outside world toward color. But to find one person who can interpret a whole people's reaction to the influences of color is impossible. Adam Clayton Powell criticizes the NAACP because there are white people in high positions while Roy Wilkins castigates Powell. Social workers and teachers criticize those they are supposed to be helping, and people criticize the social workers and teachers for self-interest. To understand any group one must listen to many voices.

BRAINS AND BRAWN
Amsterdam News - Column: Another Angle by James L. Hicks (June 1)

NO PROGRESS
Amsterdam News - Editorial (June 1)

Can the Negro leadership of brains maintain and hold on to the gains won by the Negro leadership of brawn? White people know that if and when a black and white showdown comes, a Hell of a lot of white people are going to get hurt too, even though the odds favor the

white man to win. The measure of what the Negro gets will depend on whether his brawn is truly represented when they begin slicing up the civil rights pie, or whether his brains once more sell him down the river at the conference table. One of the amazing truths to come out of the current race relations situation is the fact that so many white people know so very little about the actual wants and desires of the Negro. We would be more than happy if we could get over to our white sympathizers that Negroes no longer consider a matter "settled" merely because white people agree to settle down and TALK to them about it. If the non-violent movement has taught the Negro nothing else, it has taught him that he is now in his strongest bargaining position with the white bigot.

LO, THE POOR MODERATES!

New York Courier - Editorial (June 1)

Whatever decisions are made to bring about the solution to the racial problems will be accomplished by the meeting of minds of moderate whites and colored around conference tables in each community. Ironically, these moderates are the target of the extremists on both sides When these extremists reach an impasse, they always turn for help to the moderates who recognize that people of the two races cannot survive without compromise.

IT'S NOW OFFICIAL: BOBBY KENNEDY GOOFED ON 'SECRET' RIGHTS PARLEY -- ALL-STAR CAST 'SHOCKED' AT ATTORNEY GENERAL'S NARROW VIEW OF ISSUES
New York Courier - Article by Evelyn Cunningham (June 1)

THE SHARPER SIDE OF NEW YORK
New York Courier - Column by Hazel Sharper (June 1)

VIEWS AND REVIEWS
New York Courier - Column by George S. Schuyler (June 22)

All participants of the private New York meeting called by Attorney General Kennedy to discuss the race problem have been sharply criticized. Mr. Kennedy never got the point of what the Negroes were saying - i.e. that the problem is an emergency for the country and not just for the Negroes. The Negro participants were described as unrepresentative because of their "complete removal from the special problems which beset the average Negro". Miss Sharper says that it is foolish to expect the Kennedys to kick themselves out of the White House in an attempt to solve the racial problem. Mr. Schuyler calls the Negroes who have criticized Mr. Kennedy ignorant and rude. He also called them cowardly for not daring to speak up in favor of Mr. Kennedy for fear of affronting the militant Negroes now in the ascendancy. This is dangerous brinkmanship and can lead to mobbism and a hundred Sharpevilles.

ADVICE TO WHITE FOLKS

Amsterdam News - Column: Another Angle by James L. Hicks (June 8)

My advice to white folks who are all shook up about the sudden change in attitude of the Negro is to go out and meet some average Negroes on your own and get rid of your Negro advisers. The Negro "expert" has been moving close enough to his white benefactor so that he is detached from the Negro masses and their problems. He is misleading the white man into thinking Negroes are happy and simply wild over the crumbs he is letting them have.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS

New York Courier - Column by George S. Schuyler (June 8)

The Negro salvation must be of his own making, as a result of intelligent planning and not mass meetings and freedom marches. With $20 billion income we can put some Negro families in every suburban area in the country and end de facto residential segregation. With capital and training, there would be no barriers to some Negro-owned businesses moving "downtown" and competing in the general market. Even the Orientals seem to find ways. Instead of funds being sought to bail out picketers, money should be sought for holding companies to finance such businesses.

REV. GARDNER TAYLOR WARNS OF PERIL IN RACE STRUGGLE by Marjorie Drexel

'FAIR DEAL TO NEGROES ONLY WAY OF AVOIDING BLOODSHED', TAYLOR

Both articles from the New York Courier (June 15)

At the Annual Meeting of the Urban League of Greater New York, Rev. Gardner C. Taylor, pastor of the Concord Baptist Church of Brooklyn, warned that the country was on the verge of a blood bath, if conditions for the Negro did not improve immediately. The former member of the Board of Education charged that the President is not exerting strong leadership, but, rather, reacting to events. He gave top priority to the problems of equality in employment.

NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS

NAACP CHIEF HITS CORE GROUPS AS CIVIL RIGHTS 'EAGER BEAVERS'

New York Courier - By Evelyn Cunningham (June 22)

Roy Wilkins of the NAACP bitterly brought to the surface a smouldering schism among leading civil rights organizations. He criticized such groups as CORE for claiming leadership in the civil rights fights throughout the country, when the financial burden was coming from the NAACP. Mr. Farmer of CORE denied the charges, stating that CORE was thoroughly financing itself. On another front, a member of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, who is making a study for the Fund for the Republic, characterized large organizations such as NAACP and CORE as doing nothing for the poorer Negroes. He referred specifically to the lack of code enforcement in housing on the West Side of New York, but he did find 3 good elementary schools which satisfied parents there.

MRS. EVERS ACCEPTS NAACP FUND - Jet (June 27)

SUM DEFENDER RAISED FOR EVERS TO BE TURNED OVER TO NAACP

Chicago Daily Defender (June 24, 25, 26)

Mrs. Medgar Evers said that "Medgar gave his life that his children and all children might enjoy full freedom in their native land" as she approved establishment of a NAACP-Medgar Evers Scholarship Fund which seeks to raise $30,000 for the education of the Evers' three children. Negroes and other citizens are urged to send their contributions to NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18.

NEW RIGHTS GROUP SET: WILL LOBBY IN WASHINGTON

Jet (June 27)

Newly formed (N.Y.) rights group, The Assembly To Secure The Blessings of Liberty, hopes to "solidify the Negro vote" and to lobby in Washington for new civil rights legislation, put pressure on Congressmen in behalf of Negro voters in large northern and southern cities.

NEGRO PRESS

NEGRO PUBLISHERS ANGRY AT TIMES

NEGRO LEADERSHIP AND TIMING

Both the above from the Amsterdam News (May 25)

The New York Times asked Negro publishers for statements of 200 words on Negro leadership and the timing of desegregation moves. The Times did not see fit to publish the statements in full but did publish excerpts out of context. The Pittsburgh Courier stands firmly behind the leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the leadership typified by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. The Amsterdam News stressed the fact that every former president played "footsie" with the Declaration of the Bill of Rights and that Kennedy and the Supreme Court have recognized that there are twenty million Negro citizens who want results. As for Negro leadership, if NAACP, CORE, Adam Clayton Powell, Jackie Robinson, Martin Luther King or the Muslims bring no results, then there may come a leader like Castro or Ben Bella.

RUMORS AND RIOTS

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (June 13)

These days of racial stress have spawned the inevitable crop of rumors and rumors often lead to riots. We have heard rumors but we won't repeat them since rumor mongers are wrong 90% of the time. Learn to distinguish between fact and fiction and don't get excited about fiction. Check it out.

PERSONALITIES

JACKIE'S ANSWER TO THE DAILY NEWS

Amsterdam News (May 25)

"Sir: I could not care less that the Daily News agrees with the Alabama Editor who advised President Kennedy that everything would be peachy in Birmingham if "outsiders" like myself and Floyd Patterson stayed away from the scene. .. Dr. King was also labeled an "outsider" by the Southern editor. It so happens that the Negro people of Birmingham invited Outsider King in to help them. It also happens they invited Outsider Robinson and Outsider Patterson to come to Birmingham. Whenever and wherever in the South the leaders believe I can be of help, I intend to go. I assess the dictates of my own conscience as infinitely more important than the approval of your newspaper.

Very truly yours,
Jackie Robinson"

BEN BURNS COLUMN

Chicago Daily Defender (June 17 and 20)

Author James Baldwin is getting increasing criticism for his extremist stand from liberals who think he's too engrossed in "hate". Baldwin is annoyed at being identified as a Negro spokesman; he says he speaks only for himself .... The NAACP is trying to convince President Kennedy to address their convention in Chicago in July. They feel his speech would have the effect of calming racial tensions, and would be the first time a President has addressed a Negro organization

WILL MARSHALL BE NAMED TO U.S. SUPREME COURT?

Chicago Daily Defender - Column by Ben Burns (June 18)

The rumor mill persists that Judge Thurgood Marshall will be nominated to the U.S. Supreme Court to replace either Justice Douglas or Justice Black. That will probably precipitate a major Congressional battle over his confirmation.

THIS IS 1963, SEN. DIRKSEN

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (June 20)

Senator Dirksen appears to be living in the 19th century. He has recalled with fervent support an 1883 Supreme Court decision which supported private property rights in public places. The passage of time brought enlightenment to these anachronistic Supreme Court decisions. What might have been considered a "good law" back in an unenlightened age does not necessarily make a "good law" in more mature times.

POLITICAL POT

Amsterdam News - Column: Uptown Lowdown by James Booker (June 22)

Adlai Stevenson who has a token Negro in a policy position at the UN, and a few others as clerks, shows his "liberalness" by maintaining membership in exclusive clubs like New York's River Club where he can't take dark-skinned UN members.

POLICE BRUTALITY

DIXIE NIGHTMARE
Amsterdam News - Column: Home Plate by Jackie Robinson (May 25)

"BRAVEST MAN" RELATES MISS. PERILS
New York Courier (May 25)

After the attempt to assassinate Martin Luther King Jr. in Birmingham, Wyatt T. Walker, King's assistant, called Jackie Robinson to get government protection for King .. with the realization that if anything happened to one of the Negro leaders, there would be no stopping brutal race rioting throughout the country. Wyatt himself had already experienced the murderous brutality of Governor Wallace's storm troopers when the local Gestapo rushed into the patio of the Gaston Motel ordering all to go inside and Mrs. Wyatt, in turning to obey, was attacked by a hulking police officer who smashed the butt of his carbine against the back of her head. Later she was released from the hospital and was returning to Atlanta in the family car when she was arrested for "passing a stop light". When she argued that she

was not guilty and refused to pay a fine, she and her four children were jailed. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP, in speaking of the struggle faced by Negroes in LeFlore County, Mississippi, called the Rev. Donald B. Tucker, leader of the voter-registration drive in Greenwood the "bravest man I know". Rev. Tucker was bitten by a huge dog during a march of local Negroes to the Greenwood courthouse to register for voting. The police who had commanded the dog's attack joined the white hecklers. Rev. Tucker explained that Negroes went in groups because they were rightly scared to go singly. Teachers and others thought of as the "better colored people" are not taking part in the registration drive, he said, because they lived under fear of reprisals and loss of their jobs.

TOLEDO LEADERS DEMAND POLICE BRUTALITY PROBE -Chicago Defender (6/5)
2 MOTORISTS ASK PROBE OF POLICE BRUTALITY - Chicago Defender (6/13)
"THE FINEST" WAS NOT FINE TO HIM - Amsterdam News (6/15)
TOLEDO PAPER DEMANDS ACTION AGAINST COP BRUTALITY - Jet (6/20)

Leaders of the Toledo Negro community, backed by an eye-witness report by a reporter from the Toledo Blade, have demanded action to prevent brutality after a Negro was beaten in city jail. In New York an innocent bystander was knocked down and kicked by police during a Harlem riot and obliged to pay a sizable hospital bill for treatment of his injuries. A Chicago disc jockey was pushed around and arrested for an alleged traffic violation, by two Negro officers whose violent behavior toward a fellow Negro confused him badly.

RETURN TO SLAVERY
Amsterdam News - Column: White-on-White by Gertrude Wilson (6/8)

So-called free men who are Negroes in the South are not only told where they may eat, live or play, given long lists of what they may NOT do, but they are bossed, bullied and bedeviled and told they are happier that way. Now, in Jackson, Mississippi, black men who are prisoners are trundled out to lift their protesting brothers off the streets into the nearest paddy wagons so the outside world cannot say that white policemen, members of the Mississippi gestapo, manhandled or abused Negroes who are demanding their rights. These black trusties from the Jackson jails are slaves who cannot protest because they fear what would happen to them.

OUTRAGED WOMEN LEADERS BLAST SEXUAL ABUSES OF GIRLS IN JAILS -- JAILS "LIKE HITLER'S GERMANY" DOWN SOUTH
New York Courier - Article by Evelyn Cunningham (June 15)
WOMEN TELL OF SEX ABUSES IN DIXIE
Amsterdam News - Article by James Booker (June 15)

Inhumane molestings, rapings and other personal atrocities against Negro and white young women in Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi jails have been reported. Singer Lena Horne, Dorothy Height, of the National Council of Negro Women, and Dr. Jean Noble of the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority revealed the charges and the almost total lack of publicity about these occurrences. The Youth Emergency Fund has been formed by the women to give protection to young people and to attempt to prevent such happenings in the future.

POLITICS

IMBALANCE

Amsterdam News - Editorial (June 8)

For the moment, let the record show that the most influential minority of voters in New York City have only two representatives out of the present 25 members of the City Council.. and when the members are increased to 35, most likely there will still be the same imbalance. Does anyone believe that a balance-of-power minority will permit such imbalance to continue?

JFK'S SPEECH PRAISED (June 15)
POLITICAL POT - Column: Uptown Lowdown by James Booker (June 15)
WHAT HARLEM THOUGHT OF JFK'S SPEECH (June 15)
THE PRESIDENT IS REFLECTED -Column: Home Plate by Jackie Robinson(6/2

All the above from the Amsterdam News

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS - Editorial, Chicago Daily Defender (6/15)

Commenting on President Kennedy's speech to the nation, NAACP secretary Roy Wilkins said: "In properly posing the moral issue involved in the present racial crisis, and condemning racism, the President gave forthright support to and encouraged those Americans who want to eliminate racial discrimination not only because it is illegal and imperils the national security, but also because it is immoral. It is notable, however, that he failed to include the urgent need for congressional action to bar discrimination in employment which is the most pressing problem confronting the Negro Americans today." However, it is obvious that this historic year will see more significant advances, more genuine achievement in the march toward freedom despite the South's answer with the brutal murder of Medgar Evers and Dixie Senators threatening with filibuster. Negro reaction to Kennedy's speech was expressed by words of glowing praise in numerous letters sent to the Amsterdam News .. echoed by columnist Jackie Robinson. White House sources confirmed to that paper that almost half of the speech was without a prepared text .. that he was speaking from the heart.

FAR BESIDE THE POINT

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (June 20)

Sen. Russell of Georgia called the administration's proposed civil rights program an "adventure in socialism" and "a step in the direction of communism"; whereas what the administration has in mind, it is believed, is that ownership and control of property cannot be used to deprive citizens of their constitutional rights in public places.

SOUTHERN CITIES

THE MAN WHO SETTLED THE BIRMINGHAM CRISIS. BIRMINGHAM RACE STRIFE CAUSES BIG DIP IN RETAIL STORE SALES

Chicago Daily Defender (May 23rd, June 3rd)

Sidney Smyer, head of the committee that met with Negro leaders in Birmingham, used to be very tough about racial matters. After a Rotary International Conference in Tokyo where foreign Rotarians gave him a rough time over violent acts in civilized America, he recognized the need of direct communication with Birmingham Negroes to plan for

quiet desegregation of public facilities. He regrets that the slowness of the plan caused local Negroes to hold demonstrations. Federal Reserve Bank figures report department store sales in Birmingham for May were off 15%, mostly it is felt, because of the racial strife. Smyer said it was hard enough to persuade new firms to locate in Birmingham before the trouble, and that only enlightened leadership under a truce with Negro leaders can give the city a new face.

MISSISSIPPI SCENE
New York Courier - Article by James Rundles (May 25)

NAACP MOVES ON JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI
Amsterdam News (June 1)

Violence is the last thing expected as a result of the non-violent plans of the NAACP to remove all forms of segregation from Jackson, Mississippi, especially since the city is already integrated in many respects, with some job equality, also some integrated lunch counters, labor unions and churches. Some NAACP officials feel that this will be the last peaceful demonstration as Negroes are bitter over the slowness of the campaigns for integration, expect some violence to erupt because of bitterness on both sides.

"LOSING" A VICTORY
Amsterdam News - Column: Another Angle by James L. Hicks (May 25)

BIRMINGHAM: WHO TRICKED WHOM?
New York Courier (May 25)

The victory of Negroes in Birmingham may be lost unless a single high command is appointed to carry out the strategy needed to accomplish first-class citizenship for the Negro. The hard-pressed leaders spend too much of their valuable time in jail. Either Roy Wilkins or Dr. King should be in command to work in concert with other units, through a merger of NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. There was something pathetic about the eagerness with which colored and white spokesmen in Birmingham accepted the assertion that a solution had been found overnight to a problem 300 years old. It is also an unprecedented thing in journalistic history that, although great property damage resulted from the rioting, no news service has carried an estimate of the damage done to private and public property.

NEGROES SMELL VICTORY, BIRMINGHAM - by Evelyn Cunningham (May 25)

BIRMINGHAM MIRACLE - by Evelyn Cunningham (May 25)

BIRMINGHAM'S TRUCE IS A FAILURE - WHIT YOUNG (sic) June 1

BIRMINGHAM'S NEGRO NOW AWARE OF HIS NEW POWER (June 8)

All the above from the New York Courier

Miss Cunningham describes the undercurrent of suppressed joy among Birmingham Negroes, certain that the shackles are about to be broken and that Negroes did it themselves. She notes the contribution made by a small group of women in breaking the indifference or outright hostility of the middle class in the city. She points up the Negroes' unity and their awareness of their strength. They believe the recent settlement will stick because whites realize that Negroes' demands have to be reckoned with lest emotional forces get out of control.

On the other hand, Mr. Young of the Urban League, in an address to the National Conference of Social Work in Cleveland, said that the mere absence of conflict is not victory, that some form of compensation is needed.

MISSISSIPPI SEGREGATION VIOLATES LAW
New York Courier (May 25)

Justice Department Attorney Barrett declared that segregation of Negroes in public schools in Gulfport, Mississippi, was in violation of state laws which prhobit the arbitrary and capricious assignment of pupils on the basis of race. His statement resulted from a motion to dismiss a Federal suit designed to bring integration of students who are dependents of government employees in Gulfport.

BIRMINGHAM, U.S.A.
Amsterdam News-Column: People In Action, Dr. Martin Luther King (6/8)

Alabama's largest city, Birmingham, was chosen as a "target city" for very good reasons: In the last twenty-two months there have been twenty-four bombings of homes, churches; it is not an uncommon thing for Negro women to be accosted by city police, forced to submit to criminal assault, and their lips sealed under the threat of death to them and members of their family. Birmingham is the home of our strongest affiliate, the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights... Birmingham represented the hard-core recalcitrant, segregationist South. The loss of vital industry coupled with the ugly image created by the Bull Conner philosophy of race relations had thrown the South's largest industrial center into an economic demise from which it was struggling to survive. If Birmingham could be cracked, the direction of the entire movement in the South could take a significant turn.

'WONDERFUL', JACKSON, MISS. DIXIE CENTER OF JIM CROW - 'LIBERAL' CAROLINA HIT BY TOTAL INTEGRATION DRIVE - Chicago Daily Defender (6/5)
RACIAL INTEGRATION ACTIVITY SEETHING THROUGHOUT FLORIDA-Defender(6/13)
MIAMI RELIGIOUS LEADERS ISSUE RIGHTS MANIFESTO
New York Courier - Article by Jim Reid (June 15)

Calling Jackson, Miss. a wonderful city, its mayor Allen Thompson said, that when all the agitation is over, Jackson will still be happy and prosperous. There will be no change, no meetings with NAACP, nor will the city permit anti-segregation demonstrations. (Remarks made during a telecast around June 1st). Demonstrators in North Carolina want the world to know that North Carolina is not all it is cracked up to be, said Dr. George Evans of Greensboro. A white business executive said that liberality in the state is in inverse proportion to the number of Negroes in a specific community - the more Negroes, the less freedom. The entire state of Florida is seething with NAACP activity. bi-racial committees have been appointed to work on overall programs of desegregation of schools, employment and public facilities in Cocoa, Gainesville, Daytona Beach, Tampa, Tallahassee and other cities. Greater Miami religious leaders of all faiths have issued an unequivocal proclamation stating their belief in equal rights and asking for countrywide action to guarantee them.

CAPITAL COMMENT

New York Courier - Column by Lynn Williams (June 15)

Congressman Adam Powell has gone off the deep end by predicting there will be one of the worst race riots in history in Washington, D.C. Although D.C. Negroes are victimized and tokenism has been used by "phony" white liberals to spike racial unrest, there are no visible evidences of racial bias. "Tan" government workers who should be assuming leadership are conspicuously silent and detached from the racial rumblings.

THE 'GOOD TOWNS' OF DIXIE

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (June 17)

After a serious race riot in Lexington. N.C., the editor of the local newspaper observed: ...."We thought we had a good town". The good towns have suddenly been disturbed to find their goodness was an illusion. There are good people in good towns in the South, but they have allowed men of evil to dominate because they feared to stand up for the right. Retribution is coming today to the good towns of the South, in riots and violence and sometimes in death.

LOUISVILLE'S EXAMPLE

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (June 18)

Louisville has set a praiseworthy example in integration. Its success can be attributed to direct communication between the two races, aided by leadership from the city's Human Relation Commission and the Mayor. There have been no serious incidents. Hats off to Louisville for showing that it can be done, even in a Southern city when effective leadership comes to the fore.

SPORTS AND ENTERTAINMENT

'BIRTH OF A NATION' COULD EXPLODE TENSE COMMUNITY - (May 23)

'FREE, WHITE AND 21' A FILM FULL OF ENTERTAINMENT AND SEX - (6/4)

Both above articles by Bob Hunter - Chicago Daily Defender

FREE, WHITE AND 21 TOLLS DEATH OF LAST FILM TABOO - Jet (6/20)

Originally hailed as a film classic, "Birth of a Nation" was simply gross propaganda which glorified the KKK. The film is now being shown in Chicago in the University area, attended mostly by students whose laughter during the film shows they have come of age. Shown on the Westside of Chicago or in Alabama, it might create wholesale bloodshed among Negroes and whites. A new film, "Free, White and 21" proves justice can and sometimes does prevail in Texas, while in "Nation" there was no justice for the Negro. But "21" could cause harm to such militant organizations as CORE, SNCC and NAACP. Also it is not without its stereotype characters. It is a revolutionary flight of realism which was made in the South by a southerner, and it is viewed apprehensively by film censors even in the most liberal parts of the North.

LITTLE LEAGUE WORLD SERIES HIT BY BIAS

Chicago Daily Defender - Column: So They Say by Al Monroe (6/6)

It is a strange thing to see sports promoters with biased minds even though business men and politicians often attempt to force such a policy in the athletic picture. Now the Beckley Elks in W. Va., who will promote the "World Series" of Little League baseball, has chosen to stick by its policy of segregation and will not admit teams with Negro players. Little League headquarters has announced the games will be switched to another city. The Elks practice discrimination within the order. It is a shame they should be permitted to direct or stage baseball.

SO THEY SAY

Chicago Daily Defender - Column by Al Monroe (June 18)

Golfer Charlie Sifford was not invited to the Colonial National Invitational at Fort Worth, Texas, because, he says, he is "taboo". The Chairman of the match said Sifford failed to qualify but 1963 records show he is among the top 40 money winners, scores in the thirties.... It has been predicted that Negroes will shy away from professional baseball soon, when they find more lucrative employment in other fields. But could men like Willie Mays et al. in other fields attract a combined salary of over half a million dollars? Baseball will increase as a stepping stone for Negroes to solid careers in business after their athletic competition days are over.

UNIONS

PLAY BALL

Amsterdam News - Editorial (June 8)

Recently David Dubinsky's ILGWU drew some unsavory headlines when a Congressional Committee found that the union does not exactly practice what it preaches in the way of fair employment particularly when it comes to hiring Negroes in locals controlling the better paying jobs in the garment industry. More recently, the State Commission For Human Rights had hearings started when a Negro charged he had been refused admission to the cutter's union because of his race. The union did not get a clean bill of health. Now comes a blast from the union at Commissioner Fowler and his aides at SCHR for the way the investigation was handled. In other words "kill the umpire".

GOVERNOR HUGHES' LIGHTNING CHANGE

New York Courier - Editorial (June 15)

After stating that he was convinced that some racial discrimination was practiced in the building trades unions of the state, Gov. Hughes of New Jersey met with the union leaders. After 90 minutes of discussion with them, he was "satisfied that generally speaking", there was no racial discrimination practiced in the apprenticeship program or otherwise. He maintained that the leaders gave him more information than he had as a result of the survey made by his office on which he had based his first statement. It would be interesting to know what happened in that smoke-filled room in the Newark hotel.

USE OF LAW

COURTS: SLOW, BUT SURE

New York Courier - Editorial (June 8)

Almost every session of the Supreme Court comes up with a new decision that widens the door of freedom and opportunity to Negroes and limits the area of discrimination and segregation. Unthinking Negroes have argued that the court action is too slow. Communist tactics have been recommended by Benjamin Davis, the Communist leader, which would result in bloodshed, killings and destruction. Courts may be slow, but they act with the sanction of the law and the power of the state.

A NEW DAY

Amsterdam News - Editorial (May 25)

The Supreme Court's decision of May 20, 1963 may well have greater impact on the Negro's struggle for full equality in these United States than the May 17, 1954 rulings on school desegregation. The Court held that a city that makes segregation a policy by ordinance or official statements cannot prosecute Negroes for seeking service in "white only" stores or public places and that the storeowner cannot be held responsible alone.

WERE IT SOMEBODY ELSE

New York Courier - Column: My View by Benjamin Mays (May 25)

I do not understand why it has been said that the Federal Government could not step into the Birmingham situation because no Federal law had been violated. The right to assemble and protest in a peaceful manner had been denied. I believe that if Jews or Catholics or Irish had been jailed by the hundreds for such a protest, the Federal Government would have found a way to step in.

VIOLENCE

CITY RACIAL VIOLENCE AT NEW HIGH - BERRY

Chicago Daily Defender (May 23)

Chicago Negroes and their property suffered more "serious" assaults this April than in all of 1962, Chicago Urban League's director Berry reported. Racial tensions are increasing and could easily lead to violence, he said. Chicago must establish a crash program for interracial justice, he concluded.

HISTORY SHOWS - Column by J. A. Rogers

NEITHER POWER NOR MIGHT - Column: My View by Benjamin E. Mays

Both the above appeared in the New York Courier June 22nd.

Mr. Rogers feels that non-violence will not work and that Negroes have been pushed too far and must protect themselves. Court decisions largely just political temporizing, are often futile. Negro rights are all covered by the 14th Amendment and the enforcing of these rights by Washington, by armed force if necessary, is all that is needed. Fortunately, responsible white Americans are being aroused to do something about it..... Mr. Mays, on the other hand, sees in

the sit-in demonstrations an indication that the Negroes are determined, and have overcome fear.

MEDGAR EVERS

New York Courier - Editorial (June 22)

In a state born and nurtured on violence, the murder of Medgar Evers was easily predictable. It was instigated by the white Mau Mau of Mississippi, whose state-subsidized reign of terror has extended over generations. Rev. King maintains that non-violence can and should combat violence. James Farmer advocates peaceful demonstrations. However, the Mississippi Mau Mau will yield only to permanent occupation by the only force they fear and respect - the Federal Government.

MISCELLANEOUS

CEMETERY BIAS IN CHICAGO
Chicago Daily Defender - 3 signed articles by Hillard McFall 5/20, 5/21, 6/6

GHOST IN A CEMETERY - Chicago Daily Defender, Editorial 6/10

URGES STATE SUIT IN JIM CROW CEMETERY CASE - Defender, Article 6/17

LILY-WHITE CEMETERY INTEGRATED BY UNKNOWN NEGRO - Jet (6/20)

When Chicago's Oak-Woods cemetery refused to cremate or bury a dead Negro woman, 1500 ministers, funeral directors and NAACP members organized to march around the cemetery and demanded passage of a city ordinance to abolish this discrimination. The Defender editorializes that legal action has been sidetracked by a series of continuances and that the State Attorney's office is stalling. The city council is flayed for not taking action to legalize the right of a man to burial and warned that the issue can very well rise as an election-day ghost to haunt politicians. When it was learned that the county office of the State's Attorney has jurisdiction only in the county, Alderman Leon Despres urged the State Attorney General to file an injunction under the civil rights act against non-sectarian cemeteries (Catholic and Jewish cemeteries do not discriminate) to produce equality. Meanwhile a dead little unknown Negro boy whose body nobody claimed was buried by the townspeople of a lily-white Illinois town in a lily-white cemetery.

SIT IN, STAND IN, WADE IN, KNEEL IN

Amsterdam News-Column by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (May 25)

Because we feel that one of the most significant steps the Negro can take to liberalize the political structure of the South is the short walk to the polls, we are going all-out to achieve the ballot for some 5 million Negroes who are potential voters. Our struggle will continue in other areas as well until segregation and discrimination have been removed from the American life and our Democratic health can be realized. We will continue to sit in, to stand in, to ride in, to wade in, and to kneel in. It is no longer a choice between violence and non-violence. It is now either non-violence or non-existence.

BIGGEST NEWS OF THE DAY: REDS BEHIND NEGRO PROTESTS - WELCH

Chicago Daily Defender (May 27)

The founder of the John Birch Society said in Newport Beach, Cal. that Negro demonstrations in the South could be traced to communist inspiration and were a deliberate attempt to split the American people.

BLIND NO MORE

New York Courier - Column by Rev. Malcolm Boyd (June 8)

The answer to the role of the white man in the Negro freedom struggle must be determined by each man. Some give money, while others get involved in it all the way. Negro proponents of the segregation theory in organizations feel that integration can come after achievement of Negro equality. Also, they distrust whites' attitude toward violence, although they welcomed it in other revolutions. In the last analysis it should be pointed out, clearly, that the "involved" white man sees his involvement as being part of the human struggle for freedom, rather than the strictly Negro struggle for freedom.

POLITICAL POT

Amsterdam News - Column: Uptown Lowdown by James Booker (6/8)

Rejection of newsman Chuck Stone by the National Press Club in Washington reminds us that most press clubs in New York do not have any Negro members, not to mention the private clubs that Wagner said he would fight a few years back.

LEAGUE POSTPONES SHOW TO 'BATTLE RACIAL BIAS'

Chicago Daily Defender (June 12)

The Chicago Urban League postponed its annual benefit June 8th because, according to executive director Edwin Berry, the race relations problem in Chicago had become so acute that staff and volunteers could not spare the time for fund-raising, but had to redouble their efforts to prevent an explosion like the one in Birmingham.

WHITE PASTOR IN NEGRO AREA WORKS

Amsterdam News (June 15)

About half the church and Sunday school membership of integrated Bushwick Methodist Church in Brooklyn is Negro and Puerto Rican. The Board of Trustees appointed a white minister, a Negro associate minister, and recently a former Cuban Spanish-speaking minister.

THE GALLUP POLL

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (June 19)

The latest Gallup study of racial integration is a perfect example of how to rig a poll. By asking "Do you think the Kennedy administration is pushing a racial integration too fast or not fast enough?", he got a large number of Americans to call "pushing" undesirable. Why did Gallup characterize the Negro desire for equality as a form of "pushing". In the wording of the question Mr. Gallup has shown himself racially prejudiced.

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La.

July 16, 1963

ACTION MEMO

TO: Individuals and Organizations Everywhere

FROM The SCEF Staff

IN RE: New Attack on Highlander

Two years ago, the State of Tennessee succeeded in destroying Highlander Folk School near Monteagle, Tenn. It was one of the worst atrocities in the modern history of the South.

Today, as the school seeks to rebuild in the Knoxville area, the same forces are trying to destroy it again. Young people have been arrested, the beginnings of a new camp site have been burned, and there are threats to revoke Highlander's new charter. We cannot let such destruction occur again. We call on all of you to raise your voices against this injustice.

THE BACKGROUND

For 29 years, Highlander at Monteagle was an adult education center to which people from across the South went to share experiences and learn from each other. Its director, Myles Horton, often called it a "school for problems"; it attempted to provide constructive approaches to the various problems that beset the South: first the depression and deep poverty, then the need for union organization, and always the task of finding ways to end racial segregation throughout the South. Hundreds of persons went to the school each year; thousands more were indirectly influenced in the communities to which the participants returned.

From the beginning, the school was under attack by those who want things to remain as they are. In 1957, the Georgia Education Commission distributed over the nation a brochure charging Highlander with being a den of subversion; the "evidence" was citations from the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee regarding some organizations to which persons connected with Highlander belonged.

This laid the basis for the Tennessee Legislature, in early 1959, to set up a special committee to investigate Highlander. The investigation made a lot of headlines, quoted many HUAC reports, but produced no evidence of subversion. Therefore, the following summer state and county agents raided a Highlander workshop session and made arrests and charged that they had found alcoholic beverages. The charge turned out to be mostly false, but the school was haled into court on charges of selling beer without a license and operation of the school for the private profit of its director. On this basis, its (Highlander's) charter was revoked. The U.S. Supreme Court was asked to review the verdict but said it could find no Federal question involved.

So the state confiscated the $136,000 property, and sold it

for a third of its value. Soon thereafter the main school building was burned to the ground.

But Horton and others conceived of a new Highlander, rising like a "phoenix from the ashes." They leased an old home and a church manse in Knoxville, Tenn., as an initial base. They began to make their long experience and know-how available to people in other parts of the South who wanted to set up local educational centers on the order of Highlander.

And this summer, they began construction of a new camp and conference site on land they had leased in the Smoky Mountains. The land lies near the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Young people from both North and South were invited to participate.

RECENT EVENTS

The first workcamp, in June, went well at first. There were 27 participants, ranging in age from 17 to 27. The young people had widely divergent backgrounds--many were from Birmingham, Ala., others from Chicago, Cambridge, Mass., etc. They quickly found a common ground and worked together. They cleared land, raised tents, built an amphitheater.

Meantime, a new attack on Highlander had been planned. In the late spring, the Knoxville Journal, long known for its backward policies, ran a series of articles attacking the center in Knoxville. There were the same warmed-over charges of guilt-by-association from files of the Un-American Activities Committee. One target of the attack was a Presbyterian minister in charge of student work at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville. This young man had provided a place for student integration action groups to meet. He had often visited Highlander, and this fact provided the link for attack on both him and Highlander.

By mid-June, an atmosphere of hostility toward the new Highlander was building up in the Smoky Mountain area. The camp site is in Blount County, of which the county seat is Maryville. This community has made a few moves toward token desegregation, but it is a Ku Klux Klan stronghold. The Klan with an estimated membership of at least 750, holds open meetings on the courthouse lawn.

On the night of June 19, the Highlander work campers returned last from a CORE meeting in Oak Ridge, Tenn. They fixed food, sat in their tents talking. Down upon them swooped a sheriff and his deputies and arrested them all.

The sheriff said the raid occurred because he had received threats that "blood would flow" if the integrationist campers were not removed. But the camp is far from any neighbors, and almost a half-mile from a public road. The sheriff and his party came in without any warrants of any kind, refused to give the young people time to dress properly before walking them to waiting cars down a mountain trail. The directors of the camp, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Gustafson, of Putney, Vt., had with them their two small children. The sheriff refused to allow Mrs. Gustafson time to make arrangements for their care, and they were taken to jail in Maryville with the others. All persons were denied the right to make a phone call.

The next day news broadcasts said the sheriff had found quantities of "communist" literature at the camp. This turned out to be educational material on integration. Highlander secured release of all the prisoners on bond. Formal charges were placed against 8 of them: Mr. and Mrs. Gustafson were charged with contributing to the delinquency of minors, and he with possession of whiskey (which later turned out to be water in a vodka bottle). The young people were charged with disorderly conduct and one with possession of whiskey. Charges of lewdness were later added against all of them, but dropped in the cases of all but one girl. The charge against her seems to be that a man was sitting on her cot, fully clothed, in a tent in which a number of other people were engaged in conversation. Four of the raiding officers admitted in court that they did not see her involved in any"improper activities."

All those charged with disorderly conduct were convicted. The Gustafsons have been bound over to the August Grand Jury, at which time officials say they will conduct a full investigation of Highlander and its new charter. Meantime, shortly after the raid the beginnings of the new camp site were burned down mysteriously. A few days later, Myles Horton and Ed Lynch, a white Maryville lawyer who is defending those arrested were beaten up, without provocation, in a Maryville restaurant. Horton had to have stitches over his eye.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

It is obvious powerful people in Tennessee have decided to get rid of the new Highlander. We who hope to build a new South need Highlander; we need the people produced and developed by a place like Highlander.

Attorneys are appealing the convictions to the higher courts. They have the support of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights in Birmingham, where many of the work-campers came from. They also have the support of SCEF and leaders of other civil-rights groups.

But legal action is not enough. There must be a public outcry against the very fact that the raid took place. Sheriffs and their deputies have no right to invade this camp on private property, search the premises and arrest people without cause, and ultimately stop the work of the camp. These are totalitarian tactics. We urge you to communicate with the following persons and urge them to intervene:

1. Governor Frank Clement, State Capitol Building, Nashville, Tennessee.

2. The Tennessee Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; Chairman: H.O. Forgy, Jr., Steel Warehouse, Burton Street, Jackson, Tenn., Phone: 427-6784.

3. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. Ask him to intervene and protect the rights of these people on the ground that their basic rights under the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution have been trampled on.

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Intergroup Org.
Misc.

Somerville, Tennessee
July 16, 1963

Dear Friend,

Our friends have written us and asked us what has been happening in Fayette County this summer. Quite a bit has been going on.

With racial violence having been narrowly averted only hours before, we had our biggest mass meeting since the time of Tent City here in Fayette County. That was Thursday and 400 people came.

On the previous day almost one hundred people registered to vote and the line sometimes stretched out of the Court House basement. Many hot and exhausted sharecroppers, most of whom had travelled twenty miles to the county seat of Somerville, were turned away to return the next Wednesday to register. (Wednesdays are the only days to register in Fayette County.) Altogether, in the three weeks of the drive about two hundred people have registered.

This expanded registration drive has come on the heels of an announcement by several prominent Negroes of the county that they would file for county wide offices in the Democratic primary coming up soon. The Vice-President of the League, Rev. June Dowdy, is planning to file for County Tax Assessor. The President of the local branch of the NAACP, Allan Yancy, will file for a county office too. Indications are that several other men will file also. These candidates would be the first colored men running for office in this county since Reconstruction.

These announcements have given a new boost to the registration drive which had already brought the Negro registration totals to approximate equality with the white totals. It is now almost certain that when the padded white lists are purged the Negroes will have more voters in this county. The potential of 65 to 70 % of the voters can be reached this summer if the drive is sustained.

The previous week also saw the beginnings of the Sit-in movement in this area. A half dozen groups of teenagers attempted to use the white sections of the various restaurants, cafes, drug stores, and the single Somerville movie house. They were, as expected, turned away - in fact one group was threatened with a pistol by the store owner, Mr. Wetzler. An affidavit on this matter has been filed with the Justice Department in Washington. The town has been bracing itself for the impending sit-in movement which will be launched within a few weeks. At this time extensive workshops on non-violence are being conducted at a local church by students experienced in the movement. The Sheriff, we are told, has deputized local whites and the Negro community is in the process of forming a negotiating committee to handle the integration of the downtown facilities.

Also, on last Wednesday, a controversial court case ended with a judgement against John McFerren, the President of the League and leader of the Negro community. It is alleged by the Negro community that this suit is an attempt to smear and intimidate Mr. McFerren and thereby to eliminate one of Fayette County's most effective leaders. The prominent Negro organizations have gone on record as supporting Mr. McFerren in this suit. He will appeal the present judgement.

These incidents, plus the presence of a dozen voter registration workers from out of the county, have led to a wave of intimidation and armed threats against the Negro community. An attorney for the League was nearly run off the public highway

last Wednesday; registration workers were harassed on the same highways last week; some have been arrested and fined; automobiles belonging to the same workers have been broken into and tampered with; it has been reported that about 4 out of 5 white men carry weapons in their cars; finally, on Wednesday night, the Justice Department and the FBI were called into the county as six carloads of white gangs, armed with ropes and weapons, camped across the street from the building that houses the registration workers and threatened armed action. Due to FBI presence the situation has cooled. No one here expects this to last more than a few days.

Regardless of these new intimidations we, of the Citizens Committee and the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League, expect to continue the fight for full equality. But we are going to need your help. We cannot wage an electoral battle without outside financial support. The local Democratic party committee, which has - in the past - excluded Negroes from participating in party primaries, requires that all candidates foot the bill for the primary. We can withstand the intimidation, but we cannot afford these costs. Second, we must retain an attorney to handle these electoral matters. We expect to have scores of mass meetings - these cost money. On top of all this, when the sit-ins begin we will need a great deal of extra money for lawyers, bonds, appeals, etc. And, since everyone here interprets the suit against John McFerren as a direct assault on the League and its treasury we hope to raise part of his costs as well.

So you see we can continue our fight, but we cannot afford these many expenses which have come up. None of the candidates has a bank account, nor could he borrow (or pay back) election expenses. Most sharecroppers have a cash income which runs only into the hundreds. We do not have a huge staff, nor salaried workers. This mailing is being paid for by private contribution. We list below some of the expenses we will have, and money sent for any particular item will be used only for that purpose.

(1) $3.00 for gasoline to bring a carload of sharecroppers to the registration office.
(2) $10.00 would pay for the expenses of a mass meeting.
(3) $100.00 is the approximate cost of filing in the Democratic primary for a county office.
(4) $25.00 is the approximate cost of filing for district office.
(5) $2,500 is the approximate cost of building a community swimming pool, which would supply water for our incomplete community center.
(6) $4.50 is the cost of one issue of the League Link, the local periodical of the League.
(7) $7.00 will pay for a small lunch for the tired and hungry sharecroppers who stand all day to get registered.
(8) $50.00 will pay for bringing in a doctor to service the Negro community for one day.
(9) $15.00 pays the lease on the League office for one month.

Money sent for political purposes should be sent to the Citizens Committee of Fayette County, Harpman Jameson President. Other contributions should be sent to the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League, (both are at Route 4, box 133 A, Somerville, Tenn.)

Harpman Jameson

Harpman Jameson, President Citizens Committee of Fayette County

Somerville, Tennessee
July 16, 1963

To my friends,

I have lost the first round in a paternity suit which has been brought against me in Fayette County and I should like to explain to all those who have supported me and our voter registration drive just what this recent action is all about.

I knew nothing about the case until the week of June 10 when a warrant was served on me declaring that I was being sued by Mrs. Emma Jean Frazier for support of her child, born on Nov. 12, 1962. A hearing was scheduled for the next Monday, June 17, 1963. At the hearing the trial was set for Wednesday, July 10, 1963; it was tried in Juvenile Court.

The lawyer for Mrs. Frazier is John S. Wilder, and the judge in this case was A. V. Luck. Both of these men were sued, in 1961, by the Justice Department under the 1957 Civil Rights Act, for intimidating the voter registration effort led by myself and others in that year. Due to the work of our League these men were under a restraining order issued by a Federal Judge for many months.

Some pertinent information follows:

(1) Mrs. Frazier alleged that during the time that she worked for me at my store I became her boy friend and that the child born the next November is my child. Three witnesses testified that she worked for me for three days during the latter part of December, 1961 and at no other time. She brought no testimony to show that she had worked at the store longer than that, although she testifies that she worked there until February.

(2) Several days before the trial Mrs. Frazier told my wife, before many witnesses, that I twisted her arm and forced her at the time when she alleges that the child was conceived. But at the trial she claimed that we engaged in an extended love affair over many months and that I gave her a lot of money, and that we planned many trips. Her contradictory testimony remained unresolved throughout the trial.

(3) Mrs. Frazier was unable to tell the Court where the disputed act occurred, although she has been a resident of the county for many years and knows the county well. She was unable to produce any witnesses to testify about the alleged act.

(4) Her witnesses were all her relatives, although mine weren't. They included: her cousin, her uncle, and two of her mother's cousins. Even her relatives were unable to testify that they had seen us together.

(5) Her husband, Willie Frank Frazier, testified in Court that, of her five children, two of them are not his, the last and the fourth; it was further established that the first child was illegitimate.

(6) It was alleged at the trial, not only that I was her lover, but that I was the only one who drove her to and from her work place during the period Jan. 1961 to Feb. 1962. We produced three witnesses who escorted her about the county during that time, and could have had eight more if necessary.

I testified at the trial that my only dealing with Mrs. Frazier were during the three days in late December 1961 when she worked at my store. I have produced undisputed testimony at the trial that she only worked for these three days. During that time I drove her home once. If, as she claims, she became pregnant at that time, then the child was carried in the womb for 11 months. Furthermore, although I paid out $96 for blood tests for ascertaining the parent of the child, the results were not introduced at the trial.

Although most of her allegations were disputed by my witnesses and her testimony evidenced much contradiction, the Judge A.V. Luck awarded her $25 per month from me, as well as hospital costs, blood

test costs, court costs, and other costs. My lawyers are appealing this ruling to a higher court.

I know that I am not the father of this child and I would like to explain how I have gotten into this trouble.

The State of Tennessee has recently passed new "Newburgh, NY" legislation dealing with welfare payments to women who have illegitimate children. These payments are discontinued unless the mother first names the father and attempts court action to make the father pay the support costs. In the case of Mrs. Frazier, it seems clear to me that pressure has been brought on Mrs. Frazier to name me as the father, as part of a deal to continue welfare support for her large family. I have nothing against Mrs. Frazier, she is just a victim in this Civil Rights struggle. The fact that her attorney was John S. Wilder, the judge was A.V. Luck, and that the case was tried in Fayette County, Tennessee, guaranteed her success. No one of the Negro community expected a fair trial under these circumstances, and none were suprised at the result.

But there is more to the case than that. Several days before the trial Mrs. Frazier sent a go-between to me who told me before witnesses that she would settle for $500 which would enable her to "catch a plane" and "go to California". I told them to tell her that I was not the father and that she would not get one nickel from me. And then, right after the trial, in the lobby of the Court House, Sheriff Pattat told me, "Why don't you compromise, and stop the sit-ins." There were five witnesses present. I told him that he hadn't "seen anything yet!"

"Why don't you compromise, and stop the sit-ins" - that statement tells the whole story of Fayette County. If I have anything to do with it, the sit-ins will continue until we have arrived at Full Citizenship. I will not be intimidated, I will not compromise.

Not too many years ago we were prepared to meet gunfire when we began our registration drive and the activities of our League, but nowadays we must be prepared to meet harassment from the Law Enforcement officials, continual surveillance, armed gangs of white youths threatening our people, and now cooked up lawsuits - in fact everything that the segregationists can deal out. But, we shall overcome.

John McFerren
President, The Original Fayette
County Civic and Welfare League.

Intergroup Org. Misc.

PROCLAMATION, by the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League. Somerville, Tennessee, July 19, 1963

In the summer of 1963, one hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation, the Negro lives in much of this nation half slave and half free. It must be recognized by the white citizens of our community that Negroes are denied an equal opportunity for the good life and the chance to grow as this nation moves ahead. While the white citizens have for so long dominated our community- by controlling the farms, the schools, the highways, the taxes, the police, and the commerce- the Negroes have labored for $2 and $3 a day to make this all possible. While the white parent can provide nutritious food, a comfortable home, indoor plumbing, and a college education, none of this is possible for the great majority of the Negro parents.

But more than these comforts of life, the Negro citizen lives in fear: in fear of suddenly being fired from his job; in fear of being evicted; in fear of family sickness which would overwhelm the family finances; in fear for the saftey of his family from arbitrary arrest and the whims of the white hoodlums who roam the streets unrestrained.

The Negro parent must work in the fields for ten hours a day under the hot sun with the almost certain knowledge that his children face the same fate. Better jobs for them require good schools, and these we have never had. Our children must leave for school at 5 A.M. in the winter slush which makes our dirt roads impassable. When they arrive at school they are taught by teachers who, for the most part, are intimidated by the County Board of Education and who are so frightened for their jobs that they will not fight for what is right.

While the races are separated in the schools, separated in the restaurants, cafes, movies, separated in the courts, separated in the churches, and live in separate neighborhoods of this county, the Negro will suffer inequity. It has been recognized by most people of this nation, as well as the rest of the world, that men and women must be treated equally regardless of the color of their skin. We ask no special privileges, no special

treatment or concessions. But we demand an equal status in Fayette County.

Our hope is to achieve equality by lawful non-violent methods. We agree with the Supreme Court of the United States that we have the right to use all the facilities in our towns on an equal basis; this would include every restaurant, drug store, movie theater, ball park, motel, and the court house facilities. We support those who exercise these rights by sitting-in these places. We shall use the ballot box to elect our candidates to county positions, and we beseech the present office holders to discontinue the unfair election practices that have made a mockery of democracy in our county. We intend to inform the Justice Department of all our activities, but it is again our hope that Federal Court orders, injunctions, and Justice Department suits are not necessary. We demand the immediate integration of our schools before the school year opens, and expect to achieve this progress by legal methods.

We should like to repeat that we are no longer going to act like slaves and we shall not plead with the white community for special favors for one part of our community— for example, two Negro deputies, one Negro hired at one store.

We, of the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League, are always available and will be glad to meet with anyone at any time to discuss these most pressing matters. Let us avoid the mistakes of Birmingham and Nashville in our county.

John McFerren

John McFerren
for the Board of Directors
The Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League, Inc

Intergroup org. Misc.

News Release for Highlander Center
1625 Riverside Drive, Knoxville, Tenn.
by Virgie Hortenstine
5541 Hanley Road, Cincinnati 39, Ohio
July 19, 1963

Threats and harassment against Highlander Research and Education Center, Knoxville, Tennessee are continuing, Myles Horton, director, said today. He reported that windows were broken out on July 16 and that there have been threats of burning the Center at 1625 Riverside Drive. The Center is a continuation of Highlander Folk School, formerly of Monteagle, Tennessee, where many Negro leaders of the integration movement have been trained. There have already been three serious instances since June 20 of violence against Highlander personnel and its integrated Smoky Mountain North-South Workcamp.

Most recent of these acts was the beating of Myles Horton on the night of July 3 as he and Mrs. Horton, together with Attorney and Mrs. Edward Lynch of Maryville, were in a Maryville restaurant. Blount County, of which Maryville is the county seat, is a center for the Ku Klux Klan in the upper south.

The restaurant owner, without provocation or warning, attacked Horton, inflicting upon him a laceration to one eye which required three stitches to suture, and other bruises. The host then administered a blow to the right eye of the Maryville lawyer. Mrs. Horton ran for a policeman, but the policeman, himself a Klan member, refused to come, forcefully expressing his own distaste for Myles Horton's integration activities.

The first of the incidents against Highlander on June 20 was a raid by the Blount County Sheriff and 10 armed deputies against an integrated group of workcampers who were building a camp for Highlander Center on land in the Smokies given by a friend after the State of Tennessee confiscated Highlander Folk School's property at Monteagle last year. At about 3 A.M., according to camp personnel, the group had just returned late from a Congress of Racial Equality meeting in Oak Ridge, some 50 miles away. Some were fixing a late snack, some washing dishes, some talking, some sleeping. The sheriff and his 10 men suddenly arrived, brandishing pistols, shotguns and tear gas guns.

Mr. & Mrs. Gustafson, the 25 workcampers, several aged from 10 to 13 years old, and even the Gustafson's daughters, aged 2 and 4, were ordered to line up outside the tent. All were marched down the mile-long sippery dirt road without flashlights, some even in night clothes. They were loaded into cars and taken down the mountain to the county jail in Maryville.

Although the sheriff maintained that he had merely brought the prisoners into protective coustody because of warning phone calls saying that there would be "Negro blood on the mountain," charges were brought against eight camper prisoners. The Blount County Courthouse, were one week before a meeting of the Ku Klux Klan, 750 strong in Blount County, had been held openly on the lawn, was filled with Klansmen at the time of the trial.

Mr. & Mrs. Gustafson were charged with contributing to the delinquency of minors, Robert Gustafson with possessing whiskey; eight campers, disorderly conduct; and finally, one camper, possessing whiskey. The "whiskey" Gustafson possessed was tested by an Oak Ridge scientist who declared it to be water. The workcampers and staff lost on all the original charges. "We were, in effect, stripped of all our rights," said Myles Horton, referring to the Klan-dominated crowd and the fact that few camp witnessess were allowed to testify and that the defense was allowed to give little evidence. Horton obtained the release of the campers after considerable negotiating and after posting $4500 appeal bond.

The Smoky Mountain North-South Workcamp had already undergone some construction by the summer workcampers. The cabin had been painted; tent platforms had been built and tents raised; an amphitheatre had been built for meetings and concerts. Three nights after the raid the camp was burned to the ground, at an estimated loss of $5000.

The original Highlander Folk School at Monteagle which for thirty years operated as "one of the most important social-educational projects in America", according to John Dewey, was instrumental in training many Negro leaders in the Nonviolent Movement, including Martin Luther King and Fred Shuttlesworth.

News Release for Fayette County Workcamps
Virgie Hortenstine, Coordinator
5541 Hanley Road
Cincinnati 29, Ohio
July 25, 1963

In Somerville, county seat of Fayette County, Tennessee, a town with a large lighted cross over its water tower, nine persons are in jail tonight after a prayer vigil at the courthouse on Saturday. Two observers stated that white hoodlums are being permitted to enter the jail to beat up the prisoners. An observer, Charles Heyney, said he saw Sheriff C. E. Pattat throw a lighted torch into a crowd of teenagers. He then saw Pattat throw something that looked like acid to white hoodlums who threw it into the crowd. One worker from the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, Jerome Shider, was injured and has gone back to Atlanta for observation and treatment. Among those jailed are David Brown, Quaker schoolteacher from Doylestown, Pa. and Robert Barber, also a teacher, from Kalamazoo, Michigan. Both men had gone to the area to live to help in the struggle for equal rights for all people. Arthur Emery, Quaker farmer from Iowa, also living in the area and working for civil rights with Mrs. Emery and their four children, is in jail tonight on traffic charges.

Emery said that several cars tried to edge him off the road. Voter registration workers report having also been harassed in this manner recently. He managed to escape, another car went off the road, and he was arrested for leaving the scene of the accident. He was fined $125, which he expects to serve out in jail for about 60 days.

The prayer vigil at the courthouse marked the opening of sit-in demonstrations in Somerville, which continued in spite of the jailing. Around 100 have participated. On July 11, 700 Negroes assembled to hear John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, say, "We want freedom and we want it now."

Several hundred more Negroes have registered to vote in Fayette County after a mass meeting when two Negroes declared their intention to run as candidates in the coming election. Rev. June Dowdy, Vice President of the Fayette County Civic and Welfare League, announced his intention to run for County Tax Assessor. Allen Yancey, President of the local NAACP. said he will run for a county office.

Open harassment of voter registration workers began the night of the trial of John McFerren, July 10, president of the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League, on a paternity charge. Although the Judge, A. V. Luck, convicted John McFerren in the Fayette County Court, the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League supports McFerren in declaring that he is innocent and that the lawsuit is merely an attempt to discredit one of Fayette County's most effective leaders. Both the judge, A. V. Luck, and the lawyer who defended the Negro woman who brought suit John S. Wilder, were sued, in 1961, by the U. S. Justice Department under the 1957 Civil Rights Act, for intimidating the voter registration efforts led by John McFerren and others.

Intergroup Org. Misc.

NEWS from
Danville Christian Progressive Association
226 North Union Street
Danville, Virginia
Telephones: SW 3-0544 SW 2-6062 Area code 703

July 29, 1963

DANVILLE VA. --- The Rev. L. W. Chase, President of the Danville Christian Progressive Association (D.C.P.A.) was arrested at about 4:00 A.M. on July 29 when police kicked in the storm door of his home, seized him, and took him to jail bare-footed and in only a bathrobe.

His arrest was part of the aftermath of heightened anti-segregation activity in Virginia on Sunday, July 28 when 80 persons were arrested in Danville. 24 Negroes were arrested the same day for trying to worship in a white church in Farmville, Va.

The Rev. Chase refused to put on any clothes and went to court on July 29 dressed as he was at the time of his arrest. "Danville police continue to show their utter disrespect of human dignity when they grab a man from his bed and take him naked to jail," said Avon Rollins, Executive Committee member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC.)

In the peaceful demonstration in Danville on July 28, demonstrators marched in twos to Main Street where they were arrested and put in waiting police vehicles and a large van allegedly belonging to the city Public Works Dept. As the Chief of Police threatened to have newsmen who had gathered for the announced D-Day put in jail, the demonstrators were charged with violating an injunction and an ordinance passed earlier to curtail protests.

SNCC field secretary John Robert Zellner was arrested one hour after the demonstration on the same charge although witnesses stated that he followed the marchers at over 50 yards. Four other SNCC workers were arrested for participating in the demonstration, three of them white.

Newsmen were repeatedly blocked from viewing the demonstration and CBS and NBC news representatives were shoved by police. One cameraman reported that his knuckles were rapped while he was filming the scene.

In other developments, six Negroes, most of them students from Virginia Union University in Richmond, were admitted to the Danville Holiday Inn but refused service. Local SNCC worker Gladys Giles reported that 342 Negroes have been successfully registered to vote since July 10.

Arrests of 24 Negroes in Farmville resulted from their attempt to worship at the Farmville Baptist Church when the Board of Deacons swore out a warrant for interrupting and disturbing public worship. Some Negroes were successful in worshipping in other white churches in Farmville.

These Farmville arrests brought to a peak the protest activity in Prince Edward County which began after SNCC workers Ivanhoe Donaldson and Rolin Sherrod went there several days ago. This is the first "direct action" there since a 1951 school strike.

Local minister L. F. Griffin said that the July 28 arrests, "Were evidence that the local white ministers and their communicants have failed to realize the moral issues involved in our fight for full integration. The attempt was conducted for the purpose of worship first, and then to show the world that the Southern white church is the most segregated institution in the world."

Prince Edward County is the only place in the nation that closed its public schools four years ago rather than to desegregate.

In viewing renewed Virginia protest, SNCC Executive Committee member Avon Rollins said that, "Those who are violent are beginning to outnumber those of us with a nonviolent persuasion, and it is evident that unless the white power structure of Virginia and Danville begins to respond with justice to the fair demands made by its citizens, there will be blood flowing in the streets."

"We are tired of the pious pronouncements of the Kennedy Administration," Rollins continued, "and more and more people will begin to take things in their own hands."

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DANVILLE, VA.: July 29, 1963

news

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE, 15 EAST 84th STREET • NEW YORK 28, N. Y. • TRAFALGAR 9-4500

Intergroup Org.
Misc.

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Richard Cohen, Director
Department of Public Relations

For Immediate Release

The Metropolitan Council of the American Jewish Congress announced this week the formation of a special panel of volunteer attorneys who will work with four leading Negro groups in the New York area in connection with their current campaign for civil and economic rights.

Commenting on the basic purpose of the panel, Howard M. Squadron, chairman of the Metropolitan Council of the AJCongress stated, "Although we may not always agree with the tactics being employed in certain demonstrations, we feel that the essential justice that underlies the goals being sought by Negroes must be actively supported by all those who truly believe in the American idea of democracy."

The panel, headed by Marvin Karpatkin, a prominent New York attorney, will work directly with the NAACP, CORE, Urban League and Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in two ways: first, in providing legal councel for persons brought before the courts for actions arising out of the demonstrations, and second, in helping to establish the broad legal principals on which such cases are to be argued before the courts.

The information of the panel is only one facet of a new program undertaken by the Metropolitan Council of the American Jewish Congress. AJCongress is also organizing a business advisory group designed to aid small Negro businessmen and a committee on public school education which will devote itself to developing and supporting better opportunities for Negro and other disadvantaged groups in public schools.

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RCrz-8/2/63
NP:Man.NB

Intergroup org. Misc.

NEWS from
Danville Christian Progressive Association
226 North Union Street
Danville, Virginia
Telephones: SW 3-0544 Sw 2-6062 Area code 703

August 7, 1963

DANVILLE, VA. --- Four daring youths Margaret Pinchback 17, field worker for Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Larry Wilson 18, a member of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), Sallie Harper 17, and Sally Heitt blocked traffic for 10 minutes on August 6 protesting segregation in this Southside Virginia city.

Bearing plackets protesting injustices, police brutality and segregation of employment in Dan River Mills the young demonstrators appeared suddenly on one of the major out-looks of the city at 4:00 P.M. All four were arrested and Larry was dragged to the police car upon going limp.

This action marked a sudden turn to a more radical and extreme form of protest in complete defiance of the recent permanent injunction barring any protest including mass meeting issued by Judge Aiken on August 3.

Other Demonstrations developed at the post-office where two Negroes picketed for 30 minutes and at the courthouse from which 25 singing persons marched two abreast down Union Street. There were no arrests.

Pfc. Buford Holt, the paratrooper who demonstrated on July 14 is still being held without bond at the request of army authorities. The citizens of Danville are circulating a petition in protest of this action.

Avon Rollins executive committee man for SNCC was convicted for contempt of court in failing to submit to a court-ordered medical examination despite testimony of the court directed physician to the contrary.

"I don't care what Dr. McNeely (court physician) testified" cried presiding Judge Leon Bazile before sentencing Rollins to 10 days and $100.00 fine. Appeal bond was set at $500.00 after the court requested that Judge A.M. Aiken fix the amount. Judge Aiken was not sitting in the case.

"It is an obvious conspiracy against justice" said Thomas Holt, Danville SNCC field secretary.

Rollins, who was to testify before the state court, lost consciousness July 31 and was admitted to Winslow Hospital where he submitted to a court-ordered examination. Rollins refused examination by Dr. McNeely on August 2.

According to the physician's testimony, he was not acting under court's order Judge Bazile discounted the testimony in his ruling.

"The interpretation of the court is that this man (Rollins) must be subject to examination to determine whether he can appear in court for the rest of his natural life" said Defense Attorney Downing.

Dr. McNeely further testified that it would be advisable for Rollins to go to New York "for further diagnosis."

Intergroup Org. Misc.

News Release
Fayette County Workcamps
Virgie Hortenstine
5541 Hanley Road
Cincinnati 39, Ohio
August 9, 1963

Demonstrations protesting the unemployment of Negroes were scheduled to begin in Brownsville, Tennessee on Saturday, August 10 after Eric Weinberger was seriously injured on Monday by Brownsville police. Half the group of Haywood County Negroes who tried to demonstrate on Monda y were injured as police used dogs, tear gas, acid, cattle probes, sticks and fists.

The center of the attack on Monday was against Eric Weinberger. He was burned over two thirds of his body surface with acid. As he was lying on the ground, not resisting the attack, a dog was turned on him. Mrs. Elaine Weinberger reported that the dog bit him in the face and that there were dog bites over his entire body. Police also used a cattle probe on him and beat him with sticks and fists.

Eric Weinberger, a white man from New York, came to Haywood County early in 1962 and helped 70 registered Negro women to start a leather tote bag industry. The women make the bags by hand in their homes. Weinberger was jailed in March, 1962 on a false charge by Brownsville police and wa s tortured in the jail with an electric cattle probe. He returned to the tote bag project after his jail term, during which time he had fasted. Since then he has continued living in the building where the tote bag industry ha s its headquarters. The industry allots him $1.00 a day for food. The women call themselves Haywood Handicrafters; their address is 307 W. Margin St., Brownsville, Tenn., c/o Odell Sanders. This year they have branched out into the handcraft of leather belts and billfolds.

A fter the injury on Monday Weinberger was charged with assa ult and battery and jailed. He wa s permitted to see a doctor but denied the medication which the doctor prescribed. He was at last released on $1500 bond but it was two days after the injury before he could get into a hospital. By then some of his injuries had become infected. He was taken to the Crump Hospital in Memphis.

The protest in Brownsville was planned because a biracial negotiating committee which had been formed more than three months ago had brought no change in civil rights. The group had tried to get a permit to demonstrate but had been told there was no such thing.

Eric Weinberger was married in June to Elaine Makowski. He spent a month fasting in jail in May and June in Alabama. He had been arrested with nine others after continuing the Freedom Walk of the murdered postman, William Moore.

The New Republic
Aug. 17, 1963

The Angels Are White

Intergroup Org. Misc.

Who Pays the Bills for Civil Rights?

by Reese Cleghorn

"Our Boston millionaires give money when it is solicited (properly), and they all include in their wills some bequests to Harvard and to Massachusetts General Hospital. That is all."
– Review of Reviews, 1893.

Marcus Garvey is said to have collected $10 million within two years half a century ago by creating Dukedoms of the Nile and the Niger, operating a black nationalist industrial and military empire and disclosing that both God and the angels are black. In those times a new and smaller power called the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was gleaning in the fields of Manhattan for enough money to stay alive; most of its angels were white.

Since then, more and more angels have been on the side of reform. In June some of these banded together to finance a new Council for United Civil Rights Leadership, and endowed it with $800,000. Another $700,000 is expected by the end of the summer, and those sums can probably be duplicated in the future.

We apparently have become so accustomed to announcements of million-dollar funds that this one did not seem very newsworthy. But $1.5 million is more than the NAACP budgeted nationally for 1963, and four times as much as Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference will spend.

The leading angel behind these silver linings is Stephen Currier, who was briefly mentioned in one news story as "a young and hitherto little-publicized man of wealth." That was only a whisper of the full truth; Stephen Currier has been as dedicated to anonymity as some men are to mammon. He now has emerged only to the extent of serving as co-chairman (with the Urban League's Whitney Young) of the new Council.

Even the mention of Currier's name was a little startling to those who had known of his civil rights interests. His modesty is suggested by the fact that his office tells reporters with blunt finality: "Mr. Currier does not speak with newspaper people." When he does speak it is usually softly, though he can be tart and he has a highly developed critical faculty. He is a young man out of Harvard, in his early 30's, of medium height and pleasant disposition. He wears spectacles and careful clothing. His business identification is Currier and Co., an ownership firm, and he is president of the Taconic Foundation, which has quietly engaged in various philanthropies but most recently in a widely-noted study of unemployment among young workers. The foundation has not participated primarily in civil rights work, though it has helped finance the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project.

Wealthy in his own right, Currier is married to an heiress of the Mellon fortune. In the world of philanthropy, that is all that need be said. Having concluded that competition for funds was at the root of the discord apparent in recent months among rights groups, he began to produce the solution: money. For three months now, rounding up cash has been his calling. "He is at it at 5 or 6 in the morning, and sometimes when I poop out around 10 that night he is still going," says his designated spokesman. (He, too, insists upon being anonymous.) Undoubtedly a substantial sum of his own money is involved, but the first $800,000 was raised among 96 corporation and foundation leaders who ate breakfast at Currier's expense on June 19 at the Carlyle Hotel in New York.

Since then Currier has moved resolutely about the city calling upon people of wealth. Besides these excursions, his path these days is principally that between his mid-Manhattan apartment, where he does some of his work, and his foundation's office on the 35th floor of the Tishman Building. Lately there has been little time to spend on his estates in Vermont and Virginia, and little to devote to his art interests. "He is dedicated," his anonymous spokesman says. "He is spending all his time at this now. And this is the first time he has ever asked anyone for money. Usually, it has been the other way around."

Perhaps because of his youth and a gentler bearing often associated with men who have inherited money instead of seizing it, one long-time acquaintance has said of him: "He is not exactly the type who would bowl over the board of Inland Steel." But he has been obviously effective, and the leaders of the civil rights

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REESE CLEGHORN *is an editorial associate with the* Atlanta Journal.

organizations regard him as no dilettante. Two of these recently chose the same words: "Currier really understands what is going on."

It seems significant that most of the donors he has aroused are, though wealthy men, not members of the old wealthy families whose names would be widely recognized. Some have never given to such a cause before. Why this time? "Many people he talks to are just ashamed of some of the things happening in the South, and in the North," says the Fund's spokesman. "We go to people who have money, say this is what the civil rights groups are doing, and they need money." Then he adds what may be the best explanation of all: "I really think the photographs of Bull Connor and the police dogs did it."

Whatever the immediate inspiration, those interested in civil rights often have been moved less by the Emancipation Proclamation than by the Revenue Act of 1935. This seldom-memorized and scarcely-grandiloquent document began a change in American society that one day may rank it with Disraeli's Reform Act: it firmly established the enduring principle that private charities are of such social value that donations to them may be deducted from taxable income. The effect was so salubrious that corporations multiplied their charitable gifts by nine times between 1939 and 1945, and individuals five times. Besides giving life to the great foundations, the effect was to persuade such "non-deductible" organizations as the NAACP to assign their "deductible" functions, in this case legal defense and education, to separate organizations which might secure those blessings to which the Internal Revenue Service might entitle them.

One of the most impressive results of Currier's footwork is that of the first $800,000, donors of $300,000 agreed to give it to "action" groups which the Internal Revenue Service has not made deductible. The NAACP will get $125,000; the Congress of Racial Equality, $100,000; King's SCLC, $50,000; the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC – an independent offshoot of King's group), $15,000 with a promise of more later. Among the "deductibles," the Urban League will get $125,000; the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, $100,000; the National Council of Negro Women, $50,000. That left $235,000 unassigned, with more coming in every day.

It was a case of "to each according to his need," the Fund's spokesman said. There apparently was a determination not to leave out any of the seven chosen organizations if each would make any effo t at all to meet the basic requirements for financial statements and explanation of program. The fact that Dr. King received only $50,000 – and that his recently-established Gandhi Society is not included at all – may or may not be indicative. The Gandhi Society is SCLC's version of the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund, and some regard it as an unnecessary competitor for funds. As to why SCLC did not receive a bigger share, King is said to have told the other participants that his own fund-raising efforts this year have gone especially well (perhaps thanks, again, to Bull Connor's dogs) and other organizations might be in greater need.

The Council for United Civil Rights Leadership thus seems to be under way with a certain generosity of spirit and a minimum of discord. For non-deductible gifts, the council has opened an office at 10 East 44th Street, New York. For deductible gifts, it has established an allied Committee for Welfare, Education and Legal Defense (WELD, in the spirit of the times) at 10 Columbus Circle. Possibly attesting further to the orthodoxy of this revolution, WELD is being incorporated in Delaware. If there be any Marxists in the streets, that should send them back to their looms.

The suspicion will grow that this new council of unity is actually the seed of a great new community chest of the future. Its sponsors repeatedly emphasize its role as a fund raiser; yet it is obvious that all the participants were professionals at this already. It is known that at the Carlyle there was some discussion of working toward a United Fund approach for civil rights organizations.

Wilkins, King and others have talked of this before, contemplating the effectiveness of the United Jewish Appeal. Surely it has crossed their minds that such a mass organization as the NAACP, with 400,000 members in 1,500 units, and such an orator as King, with moral imperatives to support the efficacy of equality, would be a great combination with the collection plates. All that the sponsors of the unity council will say about this now, however, is that such talk is premature.

Each of the participants in the council now has a different base of support. In the NAACP's budget of $1.2 million (expected now to rise by at least $100,000 before the year is over), the members themselves bear the burden in systematic fashion, through dues, life membership fees, subscriptions and the like. This is the

SUMMER SCHEDULE

During the summer months,
The New Republic will not appear on:

August 24 *September 7*

Weekly publication will be resumed with the issue dated September 14

only one of the "action" groups so supported.

Dr. King's SCLC, with a current budget of $375,000 to $400,000, is only fractionally supported by its affiliate organizations. Its true base of support is King himself, whose personal appeal brings in most of the money through the mail and at benefits. (Professional fund raisers have said they know of no one who has better results in mail appeals.) CORE also relies heavily upon benefits, for a budget of $789,000. While the NAACP budget has remained stable in recent times, King's has burgeoned from $60,000 in 1960, and CORE's also has had great growth, both reflecting the restlessness of the times.

For rapid expansion, however, no one can better the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Founded under King's auspices during the 1960 college sit-ins, the Atlanta-headquartered committee went its own way and now has far more full-time staff workers in the South than any other organization. A late count shows 193 workers. Except for about 35 summer helpers from various colleges, they are full-time regulars. SNCC spreads amoeba-like; when one of its numerous field secretaries finds a likely prospect, he forthwith employs him by sharing his own pay until the main office can provide approval and finish the paper work. The "Snicks'" austerity is legend. Most of the paid field workers receive $10 to $20 a week, and some turn in expense accounts with notations such as "15 cents for bread." For these dwellers in the cotton fields, and for other purposes, SNCC has a current budget of $267,000. It is expected to receive much more of the unity council's fund: its initial $15,000 allocation was based upon a 1962 budget of only $72,000.

More Workers, Less Violence

While SNCC's parsimonius young students may be multiplied by the new fund, the NAACP expects to increase the number of older professionals less spectacularly. Its new staff members, rather than working out of farmers' unpainted houses as SNCC workers do, probably will operate from the main office in Freedom House on West 40th Street. "This all developed too fast for us to be certain how it will be worked out," said Dr. John A. Morsell, assistant to Wilkins. But he expects an increase in "task force" operations, such as sending out professionals quickly to assist local units when something comes up. The NAACP and other organizations have been flooded by requests for help, sometimes from groups that know they want to protest but have not even decided how or against what.

In encouraging funds for the "action" organizations, especially, Currier is said to have had his eye upon the demonstrations taking place, often without firm direction. Much of this money will be used to add to the professional staffs of the participants. It is not truly a case of infiltrating the revolution with money, the sponsors insist; it is just that money, as President Kennedy might say, is "a part of the great American tradition." If you are going to have a revolution, it might as well be solvent, and imbued with American know-how.

Soon after the new fund was announced, someone said for the press that this money would provide more professional leadership to prevent violence. Roy Wilkins snapped a little at this idea, as if to say this was no attempt to slow anything down. (The NAACP spares no effort these days to prove that it never lagged behind Martin Luther King in its belief in demonstrations. One NAACP field secretary was heard telling a young sign-bearing staff worker during a recent march: "If you see a photographer, you just make sure that sign is up front.")

Yet it seems obvious that prevention of mayhem is one idea involved here. Another is that additional professional staff will enable those leading these protests to define and achieve their goals more intelligently.

The need for money in another realm, legal defense, is perhaps of even greater urgency. The Legal Defense Fund now has nine lawyers and suddenly there are 6,000 civil rights cases in Southern courts. The unity fund is expected to finance the addition of six more lawyers very soon. Wilkins was complaining not long ago that other organizations rush people out to get arrested and the NAACP has to get them out of jail; that has been the pattern. For each lawyer, some $25,000 is required for salary, secretary and logistical support.

So far no one has complained about receiving the new money. Though such gifts often were denounced in the 1930's as bones thrown down from the Olympian heights of capitalist treachery, no one this time seems to fear the boodle. Heywood Broun said of Andrew Mellon's offer to give the federal government his Old Masters, as well as a museum in which to house them: "It is a thumping gift; but it is not enough to justify the existence of swollen fortunes." The civil rights organizations seem ready to accept even the strings attached to these latest spoils, which consist almost entirely of a stuffy demand for programming and orthodox audits. The capitalists are not trying to inject Adam Smith into the revolt, just Price Waterhouse.

There is another aspect. One close to the bullion observed: "Obviously this makes for more rapport between whites and Negroes. It is an answer to the increasing go-it-alone feeling on the part of the Negroes down in the ranks. It will have a tendency to diminish the prospect of racial polarization."

Then he had another thought that suggests genuinely enthusiastic rapport. "I have an idea," he said, "that there is a lot more money where this came from."

SOUTHERN REGIONAL EDUCATION BOARD
130 SIXTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 13, GEORGIA
TR 5-9211

FROM: RUDOLPH PATE

SB

RECEIVED
AUG 18 1963

FOR RELEASE SUNDAY A.M., AUGUST 18, 1963

WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, W. Va., Aug. 17.---A far-reaching report, outlining regional goals to aid the South in its work for the improvement of care and treatment of the mentally ill and mentally retarded, will be presented to the Southern Governors' Conference here Monday (August 19) by the Southern Regional Education Board (SREB).

Governor Terry Sanford of North Carolina, chairman of the SREB, will deliver the goals report, a document prepared and sponsored by the SREB's Commission on Mental Illness.

The Commission, headed by Dr. Hiram W. Davis, commissioner of the Virginia Department of Mental Hygiene and Hospitals, will offer the report as a guide in the Commission's regional campaign against mental disorders. It will propose a three-fold, coordinated effort involving treatment services, professional training, and research.

Presentation of the report--first of its kind for any region in the nation--culminates a year's work by the Commission in formulating the goals for mental health in the South.

Dr. Davis and Dr. William P. Hurder, associate director for mental health of the SREB, both of whom will join Governor Sanford in presenting the report to the Governors' Conference, said the report is designed for the use of key elected officials and mental health leaders in the 16 states served by the Southern Regional Education Board.

(more)

√ SREB was established in 1949 under interstate compact, now ratified by the legislatures of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

√ SREB aids in the social and economic advancement of the South by assisting states to improve the quality of higher education . . . provide the widest opportunity possible in higher education . . . build educational programs which meet the social and economic needs of the region.

√ SREB is devoted to helping Southern colleges build high quality research and educational programs . . . by providing regional support and utilization of advanced programs . . . and avoiding unnecesssary duplication of facilities among the compact states.

The 54-page document is regarded as the most comprehensive report of its kind ever issued and may constitute the foundation for a state-by-state implementation embracing a unified campaign against mental illness and mental retardation.

In addition to Dr. Davis, the chairman, the Commission on Mental Illness is composed of the following members representing the 16 states in the SREB Compact:

Dr. Joseph J. Baker, commissioner, Tennessee Department of Mental Health; Dr. Mary K. Carl, Professor of Psychiatric Nursing and Chairman of Graduate Curricula, School of Nursing, University of Maryland; Professor Louis D. Cohen, Head of Clinical Psychology, University of Florida; Miss Annie Laurie Crawford, Psychiatric Nurse Consultant, Florida State Board of Health; Acting Director Winborn Davis, Louisiana Department of Hospitals; J. R. Hall, Jr., attorney, Miami, Okla.; Dr. Eugene A. Hargrove, commissioner, North Carolina Department of Mental Health; Karl C. Harrison, attorney, Columbiana, Ala.; Chancellor Homer L. Hitt, Louisiana State University, New Orleans; Dr. Oscar E. Hubbard, Professor of Psychiatry, University of Mississippi Medical Center, Jackson.

Also, Dr. Harold L. McPheeters, commissioner, Kentucky Department of Mental Health; Director Charles F. Mitchell, Division of Mental Health of the Texas Department of Health; Director Mildred Mitchell-Bateman, West Virginia Department of Mental Health; State Senator Earle E. Morris, Jr., of Pickens, S. C.; Dr. Peter F. Regan, Head of the Department of Psychiatry, College of Medicine, University of Florida; Dr. Cyril J. Ruilmann, Director of Mental Health and Hospitals, Board for Texas State Hospitals and Special Schools; Dr. Harvey Smith, Director of the Social Research Section, Division of Health Affairs, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Director Trawick H. Stubbs, Community Mental Health Service, Georgia Department of Public Health; Dr. M. A. Tarumianz, State Psychiatrist, Farnhurst, Dela.; and Dr. Isadore Tuerk, commissioner, Maryland Department of Mental Hygiene.

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL EDUCATION BOARD
130 SIXTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 13, GEORGIA
TR 5-9211

GBN

FROM: RUDOLPH PATE

FOR RELEASE AT 10 A.M., MONDAY, AUGUST 19, 1963

WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, W. Va., Aug. 19.---Three broad goals and 12 specific tasks "to help the South in making plans for the mentally ill and mentally retarded" were presented to the Southern Governors' Conference here today (Monday, August 19) by Governor Terry Sanford, chairman of the Southern Regional Education Board.

Calling it a "platform for progress," Sanford urged the governors to give their closest attention to Commitment to Health, a 54-page goals report by the Commission on Mental Illness of the Southern Regional Education Board.

Written partly as a guide for the 10-year-old Commission's regional campaign against mental disorders, the document is addressed mainly to key elected officials and mental health leaders in the 16 member states of the Southern Regional Education Board.

Dr. William P. Hurder, staff director of SREB's mental health program, indicated that the impact of the report was not limited to the Southern region. Describing the contents of the report to the governors, he called it "the most comprehensive of its kind because it deals with mental illness and mental retardation," and it offers "a unified approach on three fronts: treatment services, professional training, and research."

Dr. Hiram W. Davis, chairman of the 21-member commission which prepared the report, pointed out that it would be useful to the newly-appointed committees in each state which have been directed to make state-wide plans for the improvement of care and treatment of the mentally ill. Federal funds are available to help states carry out these plans.

(more)

√ SREB was established in 1949 under interstate compact, now ratified by the legislatures of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

√ SREB aids in the social and economic advancement of the South by assisting states to improve the quality of higher education . . . provide the widest opportunity possible in higher education . . . build educational programs which meet the social and economic needs of the region.

√ SREB is devoted to helping Southern colleges build high quality research and educational programs . . . by providing regional support and utilization of advanced programs . . . and avoiding unnecessary duplication of facilities among the compact states.

Three Goals

Suggesting that "it is in our treatment of the mentally ill and the mentally retarded that we have come closest to shame," the report sets forth three fundamental goals for the future:

1) Preventing mental disorders before they start, and preventing the needless crippling effects which result when "help is too little and too late."

2) Providing the best care for the mentally disordered that we know how to give, with special emphasis on early, uninterrupted treatment and care close to the patient's home.

3) Helping people strenghthen the "emotional muscle" which is needed to overcome daily problems and occasional major crises.

Tasks for Professional Leaders

The bulk of the report is devoted to the tasks necessary to reach these three goals, and is aimed at mental health leadership and elected leadership in the states.

Tasks for mental health leaders include recommendations for improving services, training and research, with the caution that "neither services, professional training, nor research can flourish in isolation. A concerted effort on all three fronts is our best hope."

Providing all essential services for diagnosis, treatment (or training for the retarded), and rehabilitation is one of the tasks stated. Among the "effective weapons" listed is emergency psychiatric care available immediately 24 hours a day. "A man with a heart attack is not required to place his name on a waiting list for treatment, nor is he expected to get help hundreds of miles from home," the report says, adding that persons with acute mental breakdowns also need prompt attention.

(more)

Mental health leaders are also urged to break away from the traditional pattern of concentrating all personnel and services in one or two large institutions, usually located in a remote part of the state. The report recommends setting up a state-wide network of local mental health services within easy reach of all citizens, and urges more efficient distribution and use of scarce mental health specialists.

Public education to change attitudes "tainted with fear and superstition" is another task assigned to mental health leaders. A more enlightened view of mental disorders would cut down on the number of people who postpone getting treatment because of fear or embarrassment--delays which "border on the tragic," according to the report.

Better Training

Mental health leaders are also urged to establish the post of training director in all state departments of mental health, and to earmark funds in the budget specifically for training.

The report calls for a definite state policy allowing time off for all levels of mental health employees for training purposes--to learn new skills and techniques, or keep up with new knowledge and ideas.

Suggestions for training students as well as those already in mental health work include a recommendation for more "general specialists" familiar with all kinds and degrees of mental disorder and equipped to serve large numbers of people in local mental health centers. "We cannot afford the luxury of narrow specialists in tax-supported programs," Dr. Hurder told the governors.

(more)

More Research

To improve and expand research, the report recommends an explicit state policy of allotting time, money, personnel and equipment for research, along with the appointment of a state research director to do "an active job of planning, coordinating, stimulating, supporting, and advising on research." Such a policy should be backed up by earmarked funds in the mental health budget, the report adds.

In his explanation to the governors, Dr. Hurder cited three kinds of research called for in the report. Basic research is needed, he said, because "we still need to know a lot more about the causes of mental disorders." Like industry, mental health systems also need "market research"--information about patients and the population in general--as well as "quality control" research to test the effectiveness of treatments, Dr. Hurder said.

Tasks for State Leaders

The final section of the report--tasks for elected officials--calls on governors and legislators to create "a proper environment for the completion of the tasks already outlined." State officials are urged to concentrate on coordinating mental health efforts, financing them, modernizing laws affecting patients with mental disorders, and cooperating fully with neighbor states.

"The strength of a campaign against mental disorder--and one of its potential weaknesses--comes from the fact that it is the joint effort of both state and private functions, both professional and lay people," the report points out. It suggests that only elected state officials represent all the people of a state, and can tie together the work of the many individuals and groups involved with mental disorders.

(more)

State officials are charged with seeing to it that all the necessary services are available and properly coordinated. Local authorities must see to it that these services reach the people who need them, the report points out. Many people are unaware that help is available at all or, "worse still, that they need help."

"Substantial increases in funds" will be needed for fighting mental disorders, the report points out. States are urged to look to other sources in addition to state taxes to finance their health programs. These sources include health insurance plans, welfare funds, community chests, local and federal governments. More patients would be able to pay for their treatment if more private psychiatrists and general hospitals were available to treat them, according to the report.

Finally, elected officials are urged to share ideas and experiences with other states in the region to avoid unnecessary duplication of efforts as well as possible duplication of mistakes. The SREB's mental health training and research program stands ready to help states "pool their risk capital, specialized personnel, and clinical resources for ventures which exceed the resources of any one state," the report states.

The authors of the report conclude with a plea for a commitment toward building "confidence, self-sufficiency and inner feelings of worth and strength" in those afflicted with mental disorders. Such a commitment, they suggest, would result in "buildings, laws, services, and procedures planned on a human scale."

* * *

SOUTHERN REGIONAL EDUCATION BOARD
130 SIXTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 13, GEORGIA
TR 5-9211

FROM: RUDOLPH PATE

FOR RELEASE MONDAY A.M., AUGUST 19, 1963

WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, W. Va., Aug. 18.---As chairman of the Southern Regional Education Board (SREB), Governor Terry Sanford of North Carolina will present to his fellow Governors a report citing regional goals in the South's campaign against mental illness and mental retardation at the Southern Governors' Conference here tomorrow (Monday, August 19).

The report represents a year's work for the SREB's Commission on Mental Illness, which drafted and is sponsoring the regional document.

Joining Governor Sanford in making the presentation of the report will be Dr. Hiram W. Davis, commissioner of the Virginia Department of Mental Hygiene and Hospitals and chairman of the 32-member Commission on Mental Illness, and Dr. William P. Hurder, associate director for mental health of the SREB.

The Commission, in its report, sets forth guidelines to aid the South in its quest for the improvement of care and treatment of the mentally ill and mentally retarded. No other regional group in the nation has ever proposed such a far-reaching program in the field of mental health.

---rp---

√ SREB was established in 1949 under interstate compact, now ratified by the legislatures of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

√ SREB aids in the social and economic advancement of the South by assisting states to improve the quality of higher education . . . provide the widest opportunity possible in higher education . . . build educational programs which meet the social and economic needs of the region.

√ SREB is devoted to helping Southern colleges build high quality research and educational programs . . . by providing regional support and utilization of advanced programs . . . and avoiding unnecesssary duplication of facilities among the compact states.

PITTSBURGH
HUMAN RELATIONS REVIEW

Commission on Human Relations
518 CITY COUNTY BLDG

VOLUME 6, NUMBER 4 AUGUST, 1963

City Tightens Construction Contracts

The City of Pittsburgh in August inserted a rider into its construction contracts clarifying and tightening the City's fair employment requirements, with the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations designated as the compliance agency.

Under the rider, specific procedures are set up to insure compliance with the legal provisions that no contractors, subcontractors, or unions shall discriminate in employment on construction for the City of Pittsburgh because of race, color, religion, ancestry, or national origin.

CHR has been given authority to inspect relevant records of contractors, sub-contractors, and unions, and make necessary investigations, when discrimination is alleged. The findings will be then reported to a Contract Committee of three members, consisting of the Director of the City Department for which the work has been contracted, and two citizen members of the Commission on Human Relations.

Failure to comply with the City's non-discrimination laws can lead to contract termination with loss of all money due that contractor, under provisions of the Pennsylvania Public Contracts Act. While the new rider carries penalty clauses, it is not basically a punitive measure. Rather, it is an effort to develop creative and positive day-to-day implementation of fair employment legislation.

The new rider, included as part of every City construction contract since July 1, makes the following provisions: (1) Non-discrimination by contractors in hiring and personnel practices, including selection of employees for training, apprenticeship, promotion, etc. (2) All sub-contracts let by contractors must include the same provisions. (3) Formal and informal agreements between labor organizations, contractors and sub-contractors, if in violation of the Pennsylvania Public Contracts Act, the Pittsburgh Fair Employment Ordinance, or the new Rider. (4) Posting of notice by contractors and sub-contractors, in readily accessible places during construction period, of non-discriminatory employment policy. (5) Confidential access by CHR to books and records of contractors and sub-contractors, in connection with administration of the State and City Fair Employment Practices Laws. (6) Machinery for filing of complaint alleging discrimination, including provisions for immediate investigation and subsequent action. (7) Where finding is made of a violation constituting a "substantial breach of contract," provision that the

(*Continued on Page* 2)

PA. HRC ISSUES ORDER

A continuing examination by the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commision of their racial policies was avoided by seven AFL-CIO crafts unions in Pittsburgh when, on July 10, the second day of public hearings scheduled to run for three days, they abruptly agreed to take immediate steps to admit Negro members and apprentices.

The State's integration order is substantially identical to a voluntary agreement reached between six of the union members of the AFL-CIO Building Trades Council and the Pittsburgh Commission on Human Relations on July 8. These six unions are: Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, Local 751; Iron Workers, Local 3; Elevator Constructors, Local 6; Plumbers and Pipefitters, Locals 27 and 449; Asbestos Workers, Local 2. In addition to the above unions who signed an agreement with the City, the agreement signed with the State included the Electrical Workers, Local 5. The latter union concluded their agreement with the City on July 23.

The State agreement additionally applies to State contracts and to all territory covered by unions, which means beyond the City limits of Pittsburgh to much of Western Pennsylvania, in some instances.

—Photo courtesy of Keenan Photos

St. Paul's Cathedral in Oakland was the scene of the first of a series of demonstrations urging stronger civil rights legislation, conducted by representatives of the Catholic Interracial Council during Sunday masses on September 22.

Placard-carrying demonstrators marched before the Cathedral armed with thousands of handbills which they distributed to parishioners and passers-by, with the approval of Bishop John J. Wright and Msgr. Andrew J. Pauley, rector of St. Paul's and a CHR Commissioner.

The handbills urged recipients to petition the President and House Majority and Minority Leaders Carl Albert and Charles A. Halleck, respectively, "expressing support of the administration's omnibus civil rights bill H. R. 7152, including an amendment establishing an enforceable Fair Employment Practices Act."

CIC Board Member Eugene Webb, of St. Richard's parish, Webster Avenue, is shown explaining the use of the CIC handbill to Virginia Hughes, of St. Edward's Parish, Blaw-Knox.

CHR GAINS SUBPOENA POWER

During the last session of the Pennsylvania Legislature, a law was passed giving subpoena power to any official of the City of Pittsburgh empowered to conduct public hearings. This action culminates years of effort on the part of the Commission on Human Relations to obtain the power of subpoena.

It was the belief of those concerned with the effective enforcement and administration of our local laws against discrimination that some power was needed to compel persons to attend and testify at public hearings to which they were a party. Since the formation of the Commission on Human Relations in 1955, three public hearings have been conducted and, in each case, the respondents have failed even to appear. It is obvious that a much more complete adjudication of a case occurs when respondents appear and present their defense to a charge of discrimination.

The bill (No. 1808) was originally introduced into the House of Representatives on March 18, 1963, by Messrs. Kramer, Kamyk, Clarke, and Fenrich, and referred next day to the Committee concerned with Class 1, 2, and 2A Cities and Counties. Under the new law, any person subpoenaed as a witness to attend a public hearing held by the Commission must attend. The law also gives the Commission power to issue subpoenas DUCES TECUM, which can compel the production of books, records, documents, etc., at public hearings.

Any person who refuses to obey a subpoena, or who refuses to be sworn or affirmed, or refuses to testify once he has appeared, may be cited for contempt, and for this purpose application may be made to the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County.

—Photo by Mike Rizzo

Seeking to learn whether Pittsburgh's manners have improved during the past thirty years, Editor Marion A. Keller interviews two Shrine leaders at their Hotel Penn-Sheraton Convention Headquarters in August. Shown agreeing that Pittsburgh's hospitality to outsiders was "most satisfactory" are, from left, James E. Denkins of Baltimore, Imperial Director of Public Relations, and Waynard H. Jones of Detroit, Convention Director, Ancient Egyptian Arabic Order, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine.

CITY RATES PRAISE

"Times have changed since 1933," recalled Mr. Waynard H. Jones in an interview with Editor Marion A. Keller on August 22 at the Penn-Sheraton Hotel during a Shrine Convention. Mr. Jones, Convention Director of the Ancient Egyption Arabic Order, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine (AEAONMS), remembered that the last convention held in Pittsburgh by the Shriners, thirty years ago, took place in the Hill District, with local residents offering their homes to the delegates, there being limited hotel accommodations then for the guests.

Since 1949, the Shriners have had an increasingly high rate of attendance at their conventions, held annually in different cities. In recent years, the Shrine Convention has been received well in all convention cities. Asked how Pittsburgh treated them by comparison with other cities, Mr. Jones stated that the reception in Pittsburgh was the "same or better; there is no known instance wherein anyone was refused service." No complaints regarding hotel accommodations or hotels were received by the Convention Director from any of the guests. There were approximately 8,000 Shrine members attending the 6-day convention in Pittsburgh, with representation from the total Shrine membership of 15,247, and Women's Auxiliary known as Daughters of Isis, whose membership is 6,400.

All in all, the Shrine Convention in Pittsburgh was considered by its own leadership to have been a "quite satisfactory" experience.

City Construction Contracts . . .

(*Continued from Page* 1)

City deduct from funds due and payable to the contractor a penalty of $5.00 for each person for each calendar day during which the contract breach persisted. (8) For a second or subsequent breach, subjection of contractor to provisions of the Public Contracts Act under which the City may terminate the contract immediately, with forfeiture of all money due or to become due to the contractor.

KABB COUNCIL ANNUAL MEETING

The KABB Community Council held its annual meeting in May and elected new officers. Mr. James V. Tortola presented some remarks based on his experiences during the past seven years while acting as Chairman of the Manchester Neighborhood Council. Mr. C. Howard McPeak was re-elected to serve as Council President for the 1963-64 program year. Other officers chosen to guide the activities of this citizen action group during the coming year include: Mr. Lee A. Harris, Sr., Vice-President; Mrs. Margaret Shaw, Recording Secretary; Mr. Budd Spangler, Corresponding Secretary; and Rev. Bradley Caddell, Treasurer.

The KABB Council is a broadly representative citizen organization brought into being through the joint efforts of CHR staff and interested area residents. The council brings together many social forces from the South Hills neighborhoods of Knoxville, Allentown, Beltzhoover and Bon Air, on a non-political, non-sectarian and interracial basis. CHR presently provides direct staff service to the council and its constituent committees.

The Commission decided to organize this action group only after a good deal of deliberation and study. Mr. Norman Taylor, a graduate student from the School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh, carried out an in-depth exploration of intergroup relations in Beltzhoover from February until May of 1961, to determine whether or not there was a need for Commission activity in Beltzhoover and the surrounding South Hills neighborhoods.

(*Continued on Page* 3)

Jobs Sought Under ARA

Recently organized by a group of Pittsburgh men and a woman to encourage new business and business expansion, the Business and Job Corporation hopes to create additional jobs in two areas having a high level of unemployment. Under provisions of the Area Redevelopment Act, this community non-profit corporation has as a goal the creation of increased employment opportunities in the Hill District and the Homewood-Brushton areas.

Having received its charter in July, the Business and Job Corporation already is sponsoring one project, which is expected to create eighty-two jobs. Two additional projects, involving manufacturing processes, have been suggested. Future plans call for consideration of ideas which will promote new business in the Pittsburgh area.

The Area Redevelopment Act (ARA) was enacted by Congress in 1961, and was designed to create a working partnership between private enterprise, the state, and the federal government. The purpose of the Act was to encourage new or expanding business to create new jobs, in areas which suffered economically due to high rates of unemployment.

For business firms, establishing or expanding in certified redevelopment areas, the Act makes possible low-interest, long-term loans. ARA loans from local commercial sources, and investment capital, provide the financial stucture necessary. In addition to loans being made available, the community must participate, through its willingness to invest in new or expanding business by supplying 10% of the needed capital in the form of loans. Repayment of the community loans occurs after all other fixed loans are satisfied. Because the Act states that the community must be involved, it is necessary to establish a legal entity.

The sixteen Incorporators of the Business and Job Development Corporation are: President, Russell Shelton; Vice President, Rev. Walter J. Hardaway; Secretary, Lenore E. Rainey; Treasurer, Leonard N. Browne; Harry Bray, James M. Burgette, Harry Fitzgerald, William Goode, Arthur Halloway, John V. Hicks, Luther J. Johnson, James Jordon, Silas Knox, Robert Lavelle, Luther Sewell, Henry Smith, Jr.

COMMUNITY TENSION — A CASE HISTORY

One Friday evening, a CHR field representative received a phone call at his home. The caller, a Negro mother, stated that her young son and a white boy who resided several doors away had had a fight, and as a result white teenagers were driving up and down the block threatening her family. An eruption of violence appeared imminent.

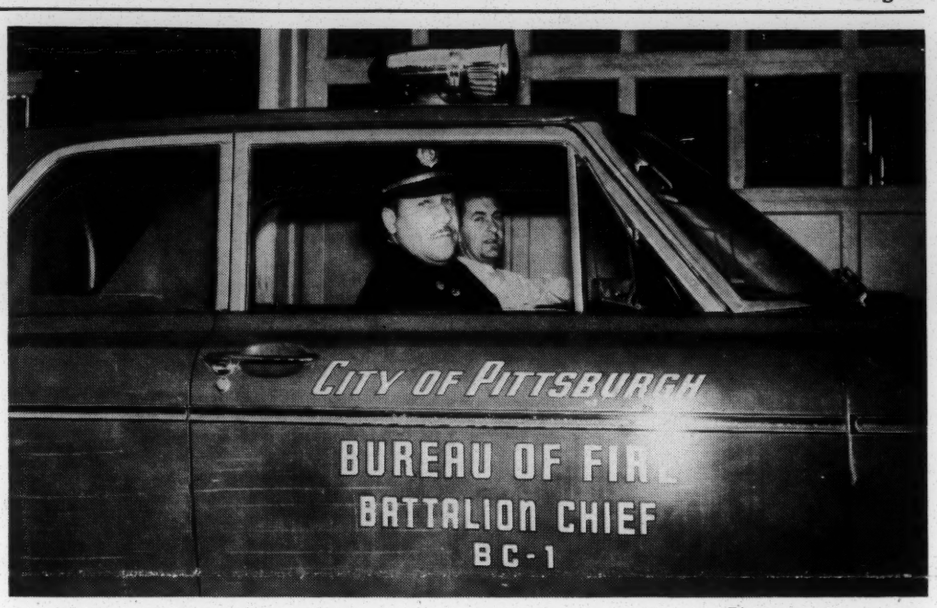
Arriving on the scene in short order, CHR investigator questioned the Negro family. Watching the scene, the white family sat on their doorstep five houses away. Tension and hostility, on both sides, were at a peak. Diplomacy of a high order was called for.

The story, later confirmed by the white family, was that the white boy accused the Negro boy of stealing his shoes at the high school they both attended. In the heat of the ensuing argument, the Negro boy struck the white boy in the face. His older brother, upon learning of this, went to the home of the Negro family, waving a screwdriver threateningly in the air, and cursing the Negro father to goad him into a fight. When the Negro father refused to fight, the brother left.

Soon after, two carloads of white boys drove up and down the street, shouting curses at the Negro family and warning them, "You'd better not fall asleep tonight." They carried baseball bats in their hands; it was suspected other weapons were hidden in the autos. To this, the Negro father's terse reaction was, "I have some guns upstairs—if they start trouble, I'll drop them in their tracks."

CHR investigator then talked with the white family, asking what they thought the solution to the problem might be. Agreeing as to the basic facts of the case, the young man with the screwdriver said, "Well, if they leave us alone, we'll leave them alone." They were reminded of their obligations as citizens to keep order in the neighborhood, and prevent racial outbreaks. The family agreed to accept this.

Returning to the home of the Negro family, CHR investigator told them of the white family's willingness to cease aggression, and suggested further contact between the two families be eliminated. The Negro family agreed to abide by the truce. Violence was averted, and the Negro family moved from the neighborhood, as they had planned for some time, seven days later. During this period, close follow-up was done by Commission staff, to make sure nothing could go wrong. Case was closed after the Negro family moved from the neighborhood and it was determined that no further community friction resulted from the original incident.



—Photo by Joe Mueller

Getting into practice for a quick trip to the next 4-alarm fire, Battalion Chief Jack H. Harrison, of Sheraden, is ready to go with his driver, Chief's Aide James Flavin. Elevated in August to position of District #1 Battalion Chief, Mr. Harrison is the first Negro to be promoted to this position. He has 21 years service with the Fire Department, working as a "hoseman" until 1956, when he became Captain of #5 Engine Company in District #1. Chief Harrison's District begins at the Point; its boundaries include the Strip to 33rd Street, the Soho area, and the Bluff.

KABB Council Meeting . . .

(*Continued from Page* 2)

In all, a full year of research, planning and discussion meetings preceded the Council's organizational meeting held during February, 1962. Representative committees of hilltop residents worked with Commission on Human Relations staff members in contacting and meeting with the various citizen organizations, agencies and institutions in the Allentown, Knoxville, Mt. Oliver, Beltzhoover and Bon Air area.

Council members feel that the KABB Community Council is serving a number of significant functions which benefit the hilltop neighborhoods it represents. It is providing a channel of communication through which individual residents and the various groups in the hilltop area may have an opportunity to make their wishes on neighborhood issues known to other groups and individuals in the area. The Council is also providing a means for the common discussion of community problems and for **unified** efforts directed toward the solving of these problems. The Council is affording an opportunity for the residents of the hilltop communities it represents to participate in community planning through contact with city-wide planning bodies. The Council also acts as a vehicle for promoting understanding by stimulating the community to look at and seek solutions to intergroup relations problems in the area as these arise.

Currently, the Council represents thirty-three South Hills agencies, institutions, civic and social groups. There are approximately 115 individual and group members on the mailing list. An average of 35 to 50 members have attended general membership meetings. Standing committee members have maintained a high level of attendance at committee meetings.

This past Spring, two project committees carried out programs agreed on by the general membership: (1) a traffic planning committee was successful in securing additional traffic control devices and is hoping to secure some changes in traffic patterns in the neighborhoods the Council represents; (2) a clean-up, paint-up committee is presently carrying out a community improvement program in cooperation with local Boy and Girl Scout groups.

The committee responsible for planning and carrying out the Clean-Up, Paint-Up program included the following KABB Council members and Boy and Girl Scout leaders: Mrs. Thomas Truax, Mrs. Iona Kraus, Mrs. Ann Linz, Mrs. Lucille Stockhausen, Lawrence Johnson, Minor Thomas, Milford Davis, Joseph Linz, Sam Campagna, Elwyn Weber, Charles Dobbs, Andrew Pottgeiser, Mrs. U. E. Dibble, E. T. Powell, Al Gorski, Mrs. Catherine Highgate and C. S. Whitaker.

Members of the Traffic Planning Committee are: Lee A. Harris, Sr., Budd Spangler, Mrs. Glenn Vensel and C. S. Whitaker.

The Permissive Area of State Anti-Discrimination Laws

We note with interest that the first volume of the Duquesne University Law Review (Spring 1963) carried an article on the subject of laws against discrimination. The article, written anonymously by a Duquesne University Law School student, deals with the thorny problem of how far state and local governments may legislate against discrimination before a conflict arises with federal law covering the same subject matter.

The article first analyzes the recent decision of Levitt and Sons, Inc., vs. Division Against Discrimination, a 1960 New Jersey Case involving the builder of Levittown, Pennsylvania. In the Levitt case a complaint was filed with the Division Against Discrimination alleging that the Levitt Company was guilty of racial discrimination in failing to sell houses to the complainant. The issue on appeal was "whether Congress' refusal to incorporate a policy of non-discrimination in national housing legislation indicated a specific policy, thereby precluding state action forbidding racial discrimination in federally assisted housing." The Supreme Court of New Jersey decided that the New Jersey law against discrimination did not conflict with federal law. The Court stated: "There is a considerable gap between Congress' refusing to adopt an express policy of non-discrimination in regard to FHA insured housing to be applicable under all circumstances and in all sections of the country, and a congressional policy prohibiting states from enacting laws prescribing such discrimination." Another recent decision analyzed in the article is Marlon D. Green vs. Continental Air Lines, Inc. In the Green case, unlike the Levitt case, the Supreme Court of Colorado held that the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission had no power over the airlines doing business both in and outside of Colorado, because the federal government had pre-empted the field through the Civil Aeronautics Act and the Railway Labor Act. However, on further appeal the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that there was no conflict with the federal law and that the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission has jurisdiction over an airlines engaged in inter-state commerce, doing business in Colorado.

The following sentence, in the conclusion of the article, cogently summarizes the policy basis for the actions of the New Jersey Supreme Court and the United States Supreme Court in sustaining the respective actions of the New Jersey Division Against Discrimination, and the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission.

"The recent decisions stemming from Brown vs. the Board of Education, the 1961 ICC ruling banning discrimination in waiting rooms, the Presidential Executive Orders 19025 and 11063, and the widespread prevalence of state anti-discrimination statutes, are sufficient to indicate that the statutes in question actually aid in already existing national policy."

It appears that another legal attempt on the part of those who would seek to abrogate the laws against discrimination has failed. The argument that local and state anti-discrimination laws conflict with federal laws on the same subject matter, be it housing, transportation, etc., is without merit. As the article clearly points out, local and state anti-discrimination laws are in consort rather than conflict with federal policy and federal law.

—Photo by Joe Mueller

At their biennial meeting to evaluate CHR policy and program, Commissioners and Staff added to a busy schedule when they met at the Penn-Sheraton Hotel on September 17, from 3:00 to 11:00 p.m. Shown, from left, are Commissioners Dean N. R. H. Moor, Roland M. Sawyer, James L. Hayes, Rev. John B. Warman, James O. Dougan, Mrs. Florence Reizenstein, Chairman T. Z. Korsak; Executive Director Louis Mason, Jr.; staff members Marion A. Keller and Leonard L. Karter; Commissioners Eric W. Springer and Dominic F. Dornetto; staff members W. John Hannigan and David Washington.

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HUMAN RELATIONS REVIEW
(Official publication of the Commission on Human Relations)
Marion A. Keller, Editor
August, 1963

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Intergroup Org. Misc.

Current
Aug. 1963

DIRECT ACTION FOR NEGROES

IS IT UNNECESSARY?

While Martin Luther King, Jr. was in jail as a consequence of nonviolent demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama, he received a letter from eight clergymen of the three major faiths which raised certain questions about nonviolent direct action. Following are portions of Dr. King's reply.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

"In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: 1) collection of the facts to determine whether injustices are alive; 2) negotiation; 3) self-purification; and 4) direct action. We have gone through all of these steps in Birmingham. . . . Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the political leaders consistently refused to engage in good faith negotiation.

"Then came the opportunity last September to talk with some of the leaders of the economic community. In these negotiating sessions certain promises were made by the merchants—such as the promise to remove the humiliating racial signs from the stores. On the basis of these promises Reverend Shuttlesworth and the leaders of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights agreed to call a moratorium on any type of demonstrations. As the weeks and months unfolded we realized that we were the victims of a broken promise. The signs remained. As in so many experiences of the past, we were confronted with blasted hopes, and the dark shadow of a deep disappointment settled upon us. So we had no alternative except that of preparing for direct action, whereby we would present our very bodies as a means of laying our case before the conscience of the local and national community. We were not unmindful of the difficulties involved. So we decided to go through a process of self-purification. We started having workshops on nonviolence and repeatedly asked ourselves the questions, 'Are you able to accept blows without retaliating?' 'Are you able to endure the ordeals of jail?'

"We decided to set our direct action program around the Easter season, realizing that, with the exception of Christmas, this was the largest shopping period of the year. Knowing that a strong economic withdrawal program would be the by-product of direct action, we felt that this was the best time to bring pressure on the merchants for the needed changes. Then it occurred to us that the March election was ahead, and so we speedily decided to postpone action until after election day. When we discovered that Mr. [Eugene 'Bull'] Connor was in the run-off, we decided again to postpone action so that the demonstrations could not be used to cloud the issues. At this time we agreed to begin our nonviolent witness the day after the run-off.

"This reveals that we did not move irresponsibly into direct action. We too wanted to see Mr. Connor defeated; so we went through postponement after postponement to aid in this community need. After this we felt that direct action could be delayed no longer.

"You may well ask, 'Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches, etc.? Isn't negotiation a better path?' You are exactly right in your call for negotiation.

Indeed, this is the purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored.

Creative tension

"I just referred to the creation of tension as a part of the work of the nonviolent resister. This may sound rather shocking. But I must confess that I am not afraid of the word tension. I have earnestly worked and preached against violent tension, but there is a type of constructive nonviolent tension that is necessary for growth. Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the mind so that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths and half-truths to the unfettered realm of creative analysis and objective appraisal, we must see the need of having nonviolent gadflies to create the kind of tension in society that will help men rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism. . . .

"Actually, we who engage in nonviolent action are not the creators of tension. We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive. We bring it out in the open where it can be seen and dealt with. . . .

IS IT UNTIMELY?

"One of the basic points in your statement is that our acts are untimely. Some have asked, 'Why didn't you give the new administration time to act?' The only answer I can give to this inquiry is that the new administration must be prodded about as much as the outgoing one before it acts. . . .

"We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have never yet engaged in a direct action movement that was 'well timed,' according to the timetable of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the words 'Wait!' It rings in the ear of every Negro with a piercing familiarity. This 'Wait' has almost always meant 'Never.'. . . I guess it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say 'Wait.'

"But . . . when you see the vast majority of your 20,000,000 Negro brothers smothering in an air-tight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year-old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her little eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see the depressing clouds of inferiority begin to form in her little mental sky, and see her begin to distort her little personality by unconsciously developing a bitterness toward white people; . . . when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of 'nobodiness'—then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. . . .

"All . . . [the objections] grow out of a tragic misconception of time. It is the strangely irrational notion that there is something in the very flow of time that will inevitably cure all ills. Actually time is neutral. It can be used either destructively or constructively. I am coming to feel that the people of ill will have used time much more effectively than the people of good will.

"We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the vitriolic words and actions of the bad people, but for the appalling silence of the good people. We must come to see that human progress never rolls in on

wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless efforts and persistent work of men willing to be co-workers with God, and without this hard work time itself becomes an ally of the forces of social stagnation.

Creative time

"We must use time creatively, and forever realize that the time is always ripe to do right. . . .

IS IT TOO EXTREME?

"You spoke of our activity in Birmingham as extreme. At first I was rather disappointed that fellow clergymen would see my nonviolent efforts as those of the extremist. I started thinking about the fact that I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is a force of complacency made up of Negroes who, as a result of long years of oppression, have been so completely drained of self-respect and a sense of 'somebodiness' that they have adjusted to segregation, and, of a few Negroes in the middle class who, because of a degree of academic and economic security, and because at points they profit by segregation, have unconsciously become insensitive to the problems of the masses. The other force is one of bitterness, and hatred and comes perilously close to advocating violence. . . . It is expressed in the various black nationalist groups that are springing up over the nation, the largest and best known being Elijah Muhammad's Muslim movement. This movement is nourished by the contemporary frustration over the continued existence of racial discrimination. It is made up of people who have lost faith in America, who have absolutely repudiated Christianity, and who have concluded that the white man is an incurable 'devil.' I have tried to stand between these two forces saying that we need not follow the 'do-nothingism' of the complacent or the hatred and despair of the black nationalist. There is the more excellent way of love and nonviolent protest. I'm grateful to God that, through the Negro church, the dimension of nonviolence entered our struggle. If this philosophy had not emerged, I am convinced that by now many streets of the South would be flowing with floods of blood. . . .

"Recognizing this vital urge that has engulfed the Negro community, one should readily understand public demonstrations. The Negro has many pent up resentments and latent frustrations. He has to get them out. So let him march sometime; let him have his prayer pilgrimages to the city hall; understand why he must have sit-ins and freedom rides. If his repressed emotions do not come out in these nonviolent ways, they will come out in ominous expressions of violence. This is not a threat; it is a fact of history. So I have not said to my people 'get rid of your discontent.' But I have tried to say that this normal and healthy discontent can be channelized through the creative outlet of nonviolent direct action. Now this approach is being dismissed as extremist. I must admit that I was initially disappointed in being so categorized.

Creative extremism

"But as I continued to think about the matter I gradually gained a bit of satisfaction from being considered an extremist. Was not Jesus an extremist? . . . The question is not whether we will be extremist but what kind of extremist will we be. Will we be extremists for hate or will we be extremists for love? Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice—or will we be extremists for the cause of justice? In that dramatic scene on Calvary's hill, three men were crucified. We must not forget that all three were crucified for the same crime—the crime of extremism. Two were extremists for immorality, and thusly fell below their environment. The other, Jesus Christ, was an extremist for love, truth, and goodness,

and thereby rose above his environment. So, after all, maybe the South, the nation and the world are in dire need of creative extremists. . . .

IS IT UNLAWFUL?

"You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, it is rather strange and paradoxical to find us consciously breaking laws. One may well ask, 'How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?' The answer is found in the fact that there are two types of laws: There are *just* laws and there are *unjust* laws. I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. One has not only a legal but a moral responsibility to obey just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. I would agree with Saint Augustine that 'An unjust law is no law at all.'. . .

"Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority and the segregated a false sense of inferiority. . . .

"Let us turn to a more concrete example of just and unjust laws. An unjust law is a code that a majority inflicts on a minority that is not binding on itself. This is *difference* made legal. On the other hand a just law is a code that a majority compels a minority to follow that it is willing to follow itself. This is *sameness* made legal.

Just and unjust laws

"Let me give another explanation. An unjust law is a code inflicted upon a minority which that minority had no part in enacting or creating because they did not have the unhampered right to vote. Who can say the legislature of Alabama which set up the segregation laws was democratically elected? Throughout the state of Alabama all types of conniving methods are used to prevent Negroes from becoming registered voters and there are some counties without a single Negro registered to vote despite the fact that the Negro constitutes a majority of the population. Can any law set up in such a state be considered democratically structured? . . .

"I hope you can see the distinction I am trying to point out. In no sense do I advocate evading or defying the law as the rabid segregationist would do. This would lead to anarchy. One who breaks an unjust law must do it *openly, lovingly* (not hatefully as the white mothers did in New Orleans when they were seen on television screaming 'nigger, nigger, nigger') and with a willingness to accept the penalty. I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and willingly accepts the penalty by staying in jail to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the very highest respect for law. . . .

"We can never forget that everything Hitler did in Germany was 'legal' and everything the Hungarian freedom fighters did in Hungary was 'illegal.' It was 'illegal' to aid and comfort a Jew in Hitler's Germany. But I am sure that, if I had lived in Germany during that time, I would have aided and comforted my Jewish brothers even though it was illegal. If I lived in a Communist country today where certain principles dear to the Christian faith are suppressed, I believe I would openly advocate disobeying these anti-religious laws. . . . I had hoped that the white

moderate would understand that law and order exist for the purpose of establishing justice, and that when they fail to do this they become dangerously structured dams that block the flow of social progress. . . .

"I must close now. But before closing I am impelled to mention one other point in your statement that troubled me profoundly. You warmly commended the Birmingham police force for keeping 'order' and 'preventing violence.'. . . I'm sorry that I can't join you in your praise for the police department.

Nonviolence for what?

"[Still] it is true that they have been rather disciplined in their public handling of the demonstrators. In this sense they have been rather publicly 'nonviolent.' But for what purpose? To preserve the evil system of segregation. Over the last few years I have consistently preached that nonviolence demands that the means we use must be as pure as the ends we seek. So I have tried to make it clear that it is wrong to use immoral means to attain moral ends. But now I must affirm that it is just as wrong, or even more so, to use moral means to preserve immoral ends. . . .

"I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negroes' great stumbling block in the stride toward freedom is not the White Citizens' 'Counciler' or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate who is more devoted to 'order' than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says 'I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I can't agree with your methods of direct action'; who paternalistically feels that he can set the timetable for another man's freedom; who lives by the myth of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait until a 'more convenient season.' Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. . . .

"I wish you had commended the Negro sit-inners and demonstrators of Birmingham for their sublime courage, their willingness to suffer and their amazing discipline in the midst of the most inhuman provocation. One day the South will recognize its real heroes. They will be the James Merediths, courageously and with a majestic sense of purpose, facing jeering and hostile mobs and the agonizing loneliness that characterizes the life of the pioneer. They will be old oppressed, battered Negro women, symbolized in a seventy-two year old woman of Montgomery, Alabama, who rose up with a sense of dignity and with her people decided not to ride the segregated buses, and responded to one who inquired about her tiredness with ungrammatical profundity; 'my feet is tired, but my soul is rested.' They will be the young high school and college students, young ministers of the gospel and a host of their elders courageously and nonviolently sitting-in at lunch counters and willingly going to jail for conscience's sake. One day the South will know that when these disinherited children of God sat down at lunch counters they were in reality standing up for the best in the American dream and the most sacred values in our Judeo-Christian heritage.". . . (Letter from Birmingham City Jail, Apr. 16, 1963)

WHAT IT LOOKS LIKE

Robert Adelman

The photographs on the following pages, taken in Birmingham, Alabama, in May when city police and firemen turned high-pressure hoses on peaceful demonstrators, are by Robert Adelman, whose photographs of a Negro voter registration drive in South Carolina appeared in Current, July 1962.

16TH ST. N.
6TH AVE. N.
Give Our City a Chance
Equality for
Everybody Wants Freedom

LWD
PW
SB
Intergroup org. misc.

PRESENTATIONS MADE BY PARTICIPANTS

IN THE SIXTH ANNUAL SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

AUGUST, 1963

Prepared by:

Southern Project
U. S. National Student Association
Room 701, 41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PREFACE

For the past six years, during the month of August, the U. S. National Student Association has sponsored a Southern Student Human Relations Seminar. The purpose of the Seminars has been to provide an opportunity for fifteen to twenty Southern student leaders to study intensively human relations in the South. The program and curriculum has attempted to give the participants a deeper understanding of the economic, political, educational and other factors that influence human relations in the South, with the hope that this understanding would help the students bring about change in their own communities.

At the Sixth Seminar, held at Indiana University, in August of 1963, as a part of this learning process, each student was asked to do research on a different element that might exist in a Southern community. At certain times during the Seminar, there were role-playing situations, where a problem or question was posed and where the students were asked to respond as they felt the element which they represented might respond.

In addition, each student was asked to present to the entire Seminar a report or paper on his assigned group. The students were free to give their presentations in whatever manner they wished, as long as they attempted to convey to the rest of of the participants, the background, ideas and thinking of the group that they had been assigned. This booklet is not an attempt to describe all of the various elements in a Southern community; it is a collection of the presentations that were written and turned in at the conclusion of the Seminar.

Constance Curry, Director
Southern Project, USNSA

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THE NEGRO MIDDLE CLASS

The concept of the "Negro middle class" is about as easy to define and compartmentalize under neat headings, such as "values" and "attitudes," as is the concept of the "white middle class;" general statements of similarities can no more show the complex nature of the individuals existing within the latter group than they can of the former. A striking example of this diversity can be seen in Dr. Burgess' study of a southern community which she calls Crescent City. In her study, many of her findings were in direct contradiction to those earlier studies done of other cities. She attributes the contradictions in part to the uniqueness of her particular community setting. Just as differences are to be found in a comparison of communities, so are differences to be found in the composition of individuals within the community structure itself. (Preceding notes from Burgess' Negro Leadership in a Southern City.) Thus, throughout the following paper, you will be able to find many statements which do not agree with your own experiences; however, in attempting to portray general characteristics of this group as a whole, bear in mind that I must sidestep a deeper consideration of "the community" and the unique individuals within it.

Let us turn then to this area of our society: those people whom we have grouped together and placed in that block marked "Negro middle class." Who are they and how did they obtain this status? How do they think? What do they value most? What attitudes do they project toward a given issue, in particular, civil rights? Why is this group frowned upon by some and called, as the Reverend Martin Luther King once referred to them, "the grotespuely distorted middle class?" (Martin L. King, "The Luminous Promise," The Progressive, Vol. 26, No. 12.) First consider a summary of the general characteristics of these people, which may help us to clarify rather than define the concept of a Negro middle class. Exclusion from the larger white community has restricted the size of the Negro middle and upper classes. "While the Negro community gives places for a fair number of Negro preachers, teachers, and neighborhood storekeepers, it does not offer much chance for civil engineers and architects. The latter have to work in the white economy which does not want Negroes in such positions." (Myrdal, An American Dilemma.) In 1940 the Negro middle class constituted approximately one-fifth of the northern Negro population and one-sixth of the southern Negro population. But, during the last decade, the relative size has increased largely because of expansion in clerical fields in the North. Higher education has been obtained mostly in the segregated schools of the South. For the most part, they hold jobs in the white collar occupations; however, within this classification there is a wide differentiation of employment, with the largest percentage of jobs to be found in clerical work and related fields, and the smallest percentage in the professional and technical fields. Yearly incomes range from $2,000 with not more than one percent of the Negro population earning as much as $4,000. (Statistics from Frazier's Black Bourgeoisie.) The family life of this class is relatively stable and emphasis is placed on the man's position as chief bread-earner and central authority of the family-unit, unlike the matriarchal structure of the lower-class (Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City). As with the majority of the Negro population, Methodist and Baptist are most often the professed faiths, but there is a significant number of Episcopalians and Roman Catholics. These few surface facts are merely to orient us toward the concept of a "Negro middle class." For the remainder of this paper, I will make litte, if any distinction between this class and the Negro upper class, primarily because of the lack of any clear distinction in the resource materials used. I believe that the absence of such a distinction can be attributed in a large measure to the high degree of similarity and fluidity beween the two classes.

The beginning roots of the black bourgeoise can be found in the years before the Civil War. Earlier members of what E. Franklin Frazier termed the "old style" bourgeoisie attempted to gain wealth primarily through the ownership of land or real estates, which were the main avenues open to the free Negro. Others gained employment as skilled artisans in the South or as domestic and personal service in the North. Their hopes for obtaining wealth and getting ahead were founded on the spirit of thrift and saving. "However, it was not until after the Emancipation that the spirit of modern business enterprise took root among the Negro elite. This was due to their association with the Freedmen's Bank, which was established to encourage thrift among the newly emancipated slaves." Out of this first acquaintance with the business world was to arise what has been called the "new style" bourgeoisie, which is unlike the "old style" in many respects.

Emancipation destroyed to a great degree that status which the free Negroes had enjoyed. Hierarchy within the class structure was no longer based solely on mulatto heritage and acquired upper white class values, such as etiquette and morality, but depended more on a material standard of living, wealth, and education as a means to attaining status. This new middle class derived their standards and values from what they knew of the surrounding white community. Yet, with this strong desire to gain an elevated position, they could not deny the isolation and accompanying sense of inferiority conferred upon them by white America: an isolation shared with all of their Negro brothers. They have attempted to rise above this inferior status and become more acceptable to the white population in several ways.

Because Negro stereotypes connoting inferiority have generally been aimed at the lower class, many within the upper classes reject the Negro masses and anything which is distinctly labeled as "Negroid." "They have arranged a little isolated world for themselves and want to hear as little as possible about their being Negroes or the existence of a Negro problem. They make it a point not to read Negro papers or Negro books" (Myrdal, An American Dilemma). Some publications are read, but read generally for the society columns. According to Myrdal, "they keep their children apart from the 'common Negroes.' They try to share the conservative political opinions of the whites of a similar class status; they often over-do this considerably. They despise lower-class Negroes, and they balance the account by despising lower-class whites too." As a majority of the middle class have themselves arisen from the lower class, this isolation may in fact be the result, not so much of a rejection of Negro stereotypes, but of a strong contempt of those people from whom they have arisen: As one person phrased the feeling, "If I can do it, why can't they?"

Many of the middle class adopt what they believe to be the road to equality with their counterpart in the white society; hence, an obsession with material goods or conspicuous consumption is highly prevalent. Often, emphasis is placed on Negro business as the means to success, and education is viewed as a tool for wealth and status (Frazier, The Black Bourgeoisie).

This class has then, in effect, become isolated from both the white and the bulk of the Negro community, and the resulting race sensitivity is generally much stronger here than in the lower class. For, while some have attempted to blot the Negro image from their lives, they are constantly reminded of their supposed inferiority in their attempts to model themselves after and be more a part of the white community. Many take refuge in a world in which the role of "society" is a distortedly large part of their lives: a society with almost fanatical interests in sports, poker, Greek letter organizations, and lodges. The buying of expensive houses, cars, clothes, etc. is often one's only emblem for a high position in this

"society." However, there are others, who, rather than escaping into the narrow world of exaggerated middle class values, sense a strong feeling of racial solidarity and work for Negro betterment. "They experience the joy and consolation of identification with a wider goal than that of self-elevation" (Myrdal, An American Dilemma). This group may be composed in large part by young people. As they have not experienced the poverty from which many of their parents have arisen, they do not feel hostility towards the lower class.

= Generally speaking then, it can be seen that Negro middle class values are very similar to those of the white middle class, which also strives for success, status, material wealth, and education as a means to obtaining status goals. Yet, because Negroes have not been allowed to enter the main-stream of American life, these middle class values are often highly exaggerated within the Negro community.

Having discussed who these people are, how they obtained their status, and what some of their values are, let us now turn to a consideration of their attitudes toward civil rights. The majority is in favor of desegregation, but this position can be broken down into three major types. A conservative would be apt to favor gradualism and compromise through bi-racial committees. As the term "conservative" generally implies, he would be against anything which would upset the status quo and, consequently, would oppose any form of direct action. The concept of desegregation through gradualism and compromise would also be upheld by liberals, but to a lesser degree. Recently, a new position has arisen within the Negro community, which we may term the "radical element." Within this element we find the students and leaders of the protest movements, the advocates of direct action. From the liberal and radical segments of the middle class have emerged the leaders of the Negro people.

It has been said that some civil rights organizations look with great disdain on this group as a whole. Although I have no references from civil rights groups to this effect--with the exception of the statement by the Reverend Martin Luther King--I believe at least four major reasons can be found for this disdain. First of all, as has previously been stated, many individuals within the Negro middle class do not acknowledge the masses and attempt to isolate themselves as much as possible. Hence, the newer civil rights groups would hold the Negro middle class in low esteem, because these groups are specifically concerned with the elevation of the masses and the creation within the individual of a pride in his people. Secondly, there are those who fear a sudden change in the status quo because they have a vested interest in segregation. Others do not actively participate because they fear the loss of their jobs, for example, a college professor in a state-run institution. The final reason can be found in the leadership structure. The majority of leaders, both those who compromise and those who are supporters of direct action, are themselves usually members of the middle or upper class. Thus, in this instance, there exists not a clash in which civil rights groups are posed against the middle class, but it is a battle in which the radical leader is in opposition to the conservative; the leader who believes in compromise is charged with bending toward the white man and, in so doing, renouncing the Negro.

To conclude, the Negro middle class is an exaggeration of the white middle class. It is not a strange phenomenon nor an ugly distortion of the white middle class, but merely an exaggeration. Exposure to a new way of life and opportunity to gain more materialistic goods causes many to value their existence in proportion to their wealth and to turn against that which is the symbol of poverty and inferiority. But this is to be expected until the Negro becomes accustomed to his new life, and until he realizes that materialistic wealth is only one facet of the

American dream, only one goal towards which to reach. This realization will occur only when the Negro is allowed to fully enter the main-stream of American life rather than in the position of spectator and second-class citizen.

--Candace Swanson
University of Alabama

THE STATES' RIGHTS POSITION

It is the intent and purpose of this paper to provide an expository, emotional, and typical viewpoint of an imaginary southern individual, who tries to convey all the pertinent factors which constitute his reasoning for advocating what has come to be known as "The States' Rights Position." What is perhaps the most frequently quoted and earliest definition of this position occurred in a letter from Abraham Lincoln to Duff Green, Esq. on December 28, 1860:

> The maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to the balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend.

The information presented in this paper is not necessarily factual, nor should this paper be understood as a reflection of my personal convictions on the matter.

Who would have guessed in 1880 that a Boston Irish Catholic would be President of the United States? But the Irish fought their own way up on merit and ambition and hard work. They made a place at the table. They won acceptance, and they paid their own way. However, no such comparative reality has been visible in the South. Instead of ambition, we have witnessed indolence; instead of skill, ineptitude; instead of talent, an inability to learn. It is all very well for social theorists to say of Southern Negroes that they are capable of this, that their potential is for that, and, if it were not for segregation and second-class citizenship and denial of opportunity, that they would have achieved thus and so. But the Southerner, to paraphrase Burke, is not so much interested in determining a metaphysical point--he is interested in maintaining tranquility. The Southerner may dwell more than others upon the past and brood more intently on the distant future, but in his daily life he has to be concerned with reality.

The first reality that he faces squarely is the one which is really most often shunned: the inequality of man. The typical Southerner, out of the observation and experience of his lifetime, would accept Burke's thesis that universal equality may exist, but only such equality as exists in Christianity--that is, moral equality, or, more precisely, equality in the ultimate judgment of God. He knows that "no other equality exists, or may be imagined to exist." The South holds small enthusiasm for egalitarian doctrines based upon the infinite perfectibility of man.

But, in May, 1957, the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry denounced such heresy as the above in unequivocal terms: "The fact is, of course, that the Negro possesses the same capacities and potentialities as does the white."* However, few Southerners have made any serious attempt to read any books on anthropology or to acquaint themselves with the results of intelligence tests. Their judgments and attitudes are based largely upon personal observation, instinct, upbringing, and the cumulative experiences of a lifetime. An advocate for the South does not wish to be dogmatic: He does not insist that the South

* One is reminded of Mark Twain's comment that there is something fascinating about science: "One gets such wholesale returns of conjecture out of such a trifling investment of fact."

has all the right answers. He does not say,"...the fact is, of course." But the South does suggest that it raises some of the right questions. The following pages point out some of the facts and quasi-facts regarding the Negro.

Here were a people who lived by the sea and never conceived the sail; they dwelled in the midst of fantastic mineral deposits and contrived no more than the crudest smelting of iron and copper. The Negro developed no written language--not even the poorest hieroglyphics--no poetry, no numerals, nor a calendar that has survived. Even so skilled a defender as Toynbee has to conclude that the Black Race is the only one of the primary races "which has not made a creative contribution to any one of our twenty-one civilizations."

An interesting factual observation is the following chart which shows the statistics on illegitimates as a percentage of total live births:

	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960
White	1.95	2.36	1.75	1.86	2.21
Negro	16.83	17.93	17.96	20.24	21.80

Substantially, the same picture may be seen in the records of Virginia. Between 1938 and 1958, the white illegitimacy rate in Virginia declined slightly, from 2.6 to 2.3. In this same period, which witnessed astonishing gains in Negro education, Negro housing, Negro income, and Negro job opportunities, the rate of Negro illegitimacy increased from 19.5 to 22.9 percent. In attempting to explain this rise in illegitimacy, President Thomas H. Henderson of Virginia Union University, a leading Negro educator, offered some thoughtful comments in a paper delivered before the Virginia Conference of Social Work in 1947: "The simple fact is that many Negro boys and girls do not want strongly enough to avoid producing illegitimate children." A notable comment along this same line appeared in the St. Louis Evening Whirl (a Negro newspaper) early in 1960 in a column telling of a Negro woman who complained, after giving birth to her ninth illegitimate child, that her allowance under Aid to Dependent Children had been cut from $185 to $110 a month; whereby, she said that she felt "discriminated against." Said the Whirl editorially:

> Mrs. Brown thinks that she is entitled to live a normal life with a boyfriend and not have to waste money running around hotels and rooming houses. They can't afford it. Mrs. Brown is young and normal and only 29. She cannot stop having a boyfriend and romance now. She believes that poor people are entitled to social pleasures and normal living.
>
> This newspaper agrees with this version of living. The rich have everything that they want. Why can't poor people have a little fun? A lot of our foolish laws need changing. We do not condemn Mrs. Brown. We rather praise her. She is living proof of a good woman--one who is promulgating her race.
>
> When our race increases in number to a much larger extent, we can demand more, get more, and show our power and authority at the polls.

In Philadelphia it was found that Negro teenagers, representing 30 percent of the population,were guilty of 75 percent of juvenile crime. Regarding crim-

inal acts in general, the FBI's uniform crime reports showed the following statistics for 1960:

	Percent Negro
Murder	60
Robbery	55
Aggravated assault	43
Burglary	33
Forcible rape	53
Narcotic drug laws	46

As regards comparative Negro and white intelligence scores, the Alpha Intelligence Test was devided into eight sections which tested the examinee's ability in the following directions: arithmetic problems, practical judgment, synonyms and antonyms, disarranged sentences, completion of number series, analogies, and general information. The psychologists' committee realized, however, that because of its heavy reliance upon literacy and cultural factors, the Alpha test would tell Army examiners little about the intelligence and capacity of recruits whose schooling was limited and whose cultural background was poor. Hence, the Beta test was devised as a non-language test with which all recruits could compete equally. The average score of the white soldier on the Alpha test was 59; that of the Northern Negro, 39; and that of the Southern Negro, 12. The better educational equipment of the whites presumably might account for some of this astonishing difference, without considering any questions of innate ability at all. But this superior equipment did not figure on the Beta test: the whites averaged 43; the Northern Negro, 33; and the Southern Negro, 20.

In blunt speech, the answer to the question of why there is no equality is that the Negro race, as a race, has not earned equality. And, as I have attempted to argue earlier, it is a feeble and evasive response to accuse the white critic in making that flat statement, of emulating the child who shot his parents and then pleaded for mercy as an orphan. The failure of the Negro race to achieve equality cannot be blamed wholly upon white oppression. This is the excuse, the crutch, the piteous and finally pathetic defense of Negrophiles unable or unwilling to face reality. In other times and other places, sturdy, creative, and self-reliant minorities have carved out their own destiny; they have compelled acceptance on their own merit; they have demonstrated those qualities of leadership and resourcefullness and disciplined ambition that cannot be denied. But the Negro race, as a race, has done none of this. Hence, why are Negroes treated like second-class citizens? The answer is simple: because they are. As Cassius in Julius Ceasar remarked, "The fault lies not in our stars...but in ourselves, that we are underlings."

It is clearly provided by Article I, Section 2, Clause 1, of the Federal Constitution that:

> The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the

State Legislature.

The Seventeenth Amendment, Clause 1, to the Federal Constitution provides the following:

> The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

The qualifications of the electors in each state requisite for the election of the most numerous branch of the State legislature have been fixed by the constitutions and statutes of the various states. You should bear in mind that the franchise is not the right of citizenship. It is only a political privilege conferred by a State upon such of its members as it deems fit to exercise such a privilege within the constitutional limits. Voters and citizens are not the same; only those upon whom the state, under the reserved powers of the states, sees fit to confer the right of sufferage may assert any claim to such right.

The facts concerning the NAACP, by Eugene Cook, Attorney General of Georgia, are an excellent example of why one should maintain a states' rights position:

> The ugly truth about the NAACP and its origin, aims, and manipulators is so shocking as to stagger the imagination, but the truth is borne out by incontrovertible facts which can be established as matters of official record. These facts have been uncovered, checked, assembled and correlated through many weeks of intensive investigation and cooperative effort by my staff and the staffs of congressman James C. Davis of Georgia and Senator James A. Eastland of Mississippi.
>
> The files of the House Committe on Un-American Activities reveal records of affiliation with or participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow travelling, or subversive organizations or activities on the part of the following officials of the NAACP: the president, the chairman of the board, honorary chairman, 11 of the 28 vice-presidents, the treasurer, 28 of the 47 directors, the chairman of the national legal committee, the executive secretary, the special counsel, the Southeastern regional secretary, the West Coast secretary, the director of public relations, and two field secretaries.
>
> Can we stand by and let this great country of ours be destroyed?

--Thomas A. McAdam
Bellarmine College

THE WHITE CITIZENS' COUNCIL

"God put the white people off by themselves. He put the yellow, red and black people off by themselves. God wanted the white people to live alone and he wanted the colored people to live alone. That is why He put them off by themselves.

"Do you know what part of the country you live in? You live in the South. You live in Mississippi. Mississippi is a state in the South. The South is a big part of our country.

"Negroes and white people do not go to the same places together. They live in different parts of town. They are kind to each other. This is called our Southern Way of Life. We do not mix our races, but we are kind to each other.

"Do you know that some people in our country want the Negroes to live with the white people? These people want us to be unhappy. They say we must go to school together. They say we must swim together and use the bathrooms together. We do not want to do these things.

"'Why do some people want us to live together?' you will ask. They want to make our country weak. If we are not happy, our strong and free country will grow weak. Did you know our country will grow weak if we mix our races? It will."

The preceding was taken from A Manual for Southerners and was intended to be used in grades 3 and 4. It sums up what I think to be the thinking of an organization which boasted a membership of 300,000 two years after its founding - the White Citizens' Council. In preparing this report, I tried to present a sympathetic view of the Citizens' Councils; however, I found this impossible to accomplish. Therefore, while I have tried to remain objective, this paper does reflect my personal bias.

In understanding the White Citizens' Council, it is helpful to note two points from Hodding Carter's The South Strikes Back.

(1) The majority of whites sincerely believe that basically the Negro is inferior to the Caucasian race.

(2) Unpunished violence of white against black is not a result primarily of the events and pressures of the past few years, but has been a part of the South's heritage since Reconstruction.

Thus, the Citizens' Council can take neither the credit nor the blame for much of the violence and pressure felt by the Negro since the Supreme Court decision of 1954. But the Citizens' Council has done much to arouse strong feelings on the race question.

The Council is best characterized as a symbol of the South's reaction to the threat of desegregation. As a pamphlet entitled "The Citizens' Council" states:

> The Citizens' Council is the modern version of the old-time town meeting called to meet any crisis by expressing the will of the people. The right to peaceably assemble to petition for redress of grievances is guaranteed in the first one of our Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the United States of America. The only reliable prophet for the future is the past, and history proves that the Supreme Power in the government of men has always been Public Sentiment. The Citizens' Council simply provides the machinery for mobilizing, concerting and expressing public opinion.

The Citizens' Council is against the NAACP, politicians and parties catering to the Negro bloc vote, a considerable part of the leadership of the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, large segments of the press, and the United States Air Force, among other things.

Less than two months after the 1954 Supreme Court decision, the first White Citizens' Council was formed in Indianola, Mississippi. Its formation was announced during the regular session of the Legislature at Jackson and was greeted with cheers. The people of Mississippi were informed that "fourteen men met and counseled together on the terrible crisis precipitated by the United States Supreme Court in its Black Monday decision. For the first time in American history, racial segregation, the way of life regulating the daily activities of tens of millions of American citizens, black and white, in a well known pattern of familiar and satisfactory conduct, has been declared illegal. Despite the long-range dangers to our constitutional safeguards apparent to many men, North, South, East, and West, in legislation by judicial fiat, the immediate and pressing danger to men and women in Mississippi and the rest of the South is the potential flood of Negro invasion into our school, parks, swimming pools, restaurants, hotels, trains, buses, into our very neighborhoods and homes, and into public office. To thoughtful men, concerned for the safety and welfare of their families and children's children, the prospect opened up by this politically inspired decree appears utterly unthinkable." An Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, claiming organization in 20 counties, was established in Winona five months later. Robert Patterson was elected executive secretary.

The Councils gained their initial support and their strongest leadership from the black-belt sections which have a plantation economy and heritage, and where Negroes generally outnumber the whites.

The first steps toward national organization were taken in April, 1956, when delegates from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Tennessee, and Virginia met to form the Citizens' Councils of America. Temporary headquarters were to be in Greenwood, Mississippi. The delegates decided that the organization was to function as a co-ordinating and planning agency for the several state associations. In outlining the scope of the National Organization, an editorial in the November, 1956, issue of <u>The Citizens' Council</u> stated:

> The Citizens' Councils of America is restricted from attempting to direct or control any Council or other organization, or any member thereof as to any proposed course of action.

This policy of little control over individuals was seen to have a dual character, as illustrated in the first annual report:

The Citizens' Councils think and plan as a group and they are able to act as individuals within their various churches, schools, and any other organizations to which they belong.

A look at the organization of the local Council might help us to see their activities. Each of the Councils consists of four committees:

(1) Political and Elections Committee. This committee screens all candidates in local and state elections for those who might be seeking the Negro vote. If necessary, it could organize a white private election within the group to combat the Negro bloc vote (as the old white primary). It would discourage Negro registration by every legal means.

(2) Information and Education Committee. The function of this committee is to gather information pertaining to segregation from all over the nation. It educates all citizens, black and white, in the advantages of segregation and the dangers of integration. It handles relations with the press, radio, and speakers.

(3) Membership and Finance Committee. This committee seeks "patriotic voters" for membership in the Citizens' Council.

(4) Legal Advisory Committee. This committee anticipates moves by agitators and devises legal means for handling any problems that might arise. It provides legal council for all members and recommends application of economic pressure to troublemakers.

Just who are these people in the Citizens' Councils? The Council trys to maintain its appeal to the middle and upper class strata of the white population. Take the Jackson, Mississippi, board of directors as an example: It includes 8 lawyers, 2 bank presidents, 3 manufacturers, a gas utility president, 2 paper company owners, 2 insurance agents and a funeral director. The very fact that the Council leadership in Mississippi is drawn primarily from the ranks of the white community's business, political, and social leaders makes the Council more secure in its position.

A firm retention of control in the hands of these more prosperous and conservative members has served to restrain, to some degree, those who favor a policy of more overt intimidation of the Negro and the non-conforming white. An example is "Ace" Carter, rabid leader of the North Alabama Citizens' Councils and a Klu Klux Klan leader as well, who was denounced instantly by the Mississippi Councils when his notoriety threatened the reputation of the Council.

The Councils have tried to use other than violent means to gain their ends. An example of the pressure used by the Council is shown by a quote from Fred Jones of Inverness, a former state legislator and a member of the State Executive Committee of the Citizens' Council: "We can accomplish our purposes largely with economic pressure in dealing with members of the Negro race who are not cooperating, and with members of the white race who fail to cooperate, we can apply social and political pressure."

However, many Council leaders deny this use of pressure by the Citizens' Councils. Thomas Waring, a Charleston, South Carolina, newspaper editor, wrote the following in the first issue of <u>The Citizens' Council</u>:

"Economic pressure," a method of combatting Negro pressure from

the North, is not organized by the Councils. Individuals who belong to Councils may have persuaded Negroes to remove their names from school integration petitions by various means short of violence. These means could include firing employees, or refusing to renew leases for sharecroppers who have followed the NAACP line.

If these tactics have been used--and there seems little doubt that they have--they were adopted on individual initiative and not as group action.

The Citizens' Council today has a five-point action program:

1. Prevent race-mixing.
2. Avoid violence.
3. Maintain and resore legal segregation.
4. Defend states' rights.
5. Reverse the "Black Monday" decision.

As for violence, the citizens of Little Rock and Clinton found that the claims of non-violence were discarded when the chips were down. William Simmons, Council leader, said that "public sentiment is the supreme arbiter of violence." He also said that in the event of integration, or even of Civil Rights legislation, which might drive the Citizens' Council underground, "great violence will be inevitable."

The Citizens' Council has a womens' activities director, whose job is "to acquaint high school students with the necessity of keeping our white race white." This is implemented by essay contests held among high school students which offer $500 prizes. Titles include "Why I Believe in Social Separation of the Races of Mankind," "Subversion in Racial Unrest," and "Why the Preservation of States' Rights is Important to Every American."

An example of the extent of the Councils' activities is the 1958 estimate which showed that nearly 8 million pieces of literature had been distributed since 1954. It had also reached an estimated audience of over 150,000 people with its radio and television programs.

Where do the Citizens' Councils go from here? Basically, their objective is to put off total integration as long as possible. Ultimately, the fact that it is essentially a negative movement, one of defending the status quo, will destroy the Council as a major force in the South. As Hodding Carter states: "Defense of the status quo, as history has shown often enough, is an arduous task at best. When, in a democracy such as our, it involves the repression of a minority, it becomes an impossibility."

--Mary Carlton O'Neal
University of South Carolina

THE PSEUDO-SCIENTIST'S ARGUMENT FOR RACIAL SUPERIORITY

As the myth of racial superiority is being challenged by the more liberal and intelligent men of all nations, science has become the stage upon which the sensational battle between the ideology of racial superiority and racial inferiority is being fought. The battle is a ferocious one and, if fought scientifically, a decisive victory could be won by either side.

Ever since the dawn of slavery in America when the Negroes were thought to be sub-human and incapable of moral feelings, the pseudo-scientist has been trying to validate his conclusion that the Negro is biologically inferior to the white man and unfit to live in a white civilization as an equal member. Similarly, it is often said that the Negro race as a whole is mentally retarded, childlike, and incapable of looking after itself in a modern, economically specialized age, thus becoming the burden of the white man. Consequently, racial segregation and Negro exclusion from white education and skills is the morally right and logical policy. However, the essential argument is that the Negro handicaps are hereditary, and nothing can change them.

The pseudo-scientist, in fact, carries his argument further back than slavery. He has gone as far back as the origin of man, and he has brought forth "historical" evidence which cites that the Negro is more than 200,000 years behind the white race on the ladder of evolution.[1] Most of this evidence is based upon the writings of Carleton S. Coon in his book entitled The Story of Man.

In this book, Dr. Coon states that there has been a "transition in the evolution of mankind from the ape through a still unidentified Australopithecine ancestor to Homo erectus and then to Homo sapiens, or modern man. Homo erectus, as the name implies, stood and walked erect but lacked the brain capacity, and consequently the intelligence, of Homo sapiens."[2] Also, he states that "man's differentiation into races occurred while he was still in Homo erectus stage...and that the evidence from human fossils indicated that the step from erectus to sapiens was taken by Caucasoid man in Europe no less than 200,000 years before the same step was taken by Negro man in Africa."[3] However, it should be noted that Dr. Coon's evidence points up the fact that the Mongoloid man evolved 150,000 years before the Caucasoid man.

From this evidence, the pseudo-scientist expounds that the Negro is intellectually inferior to the white man by stating that the Negro's brain is smaller and that his ability to reason, to analyze and to judge soundly is less than his own Further still, the pseudo-scientist has made comparative studies of Negroes and whites and has compiled the results of his tests as follows:[4]

1. The I.Q.'s of American Negroes are from 15 to 20 points, on the average, below those of American whites.

2. Negroes overlap of white median I.Q.'s ranges from 10 to 25 per cent--equality would require 50 per cent.

3. About six times as many whites as Negroes fall in the 'gifted child' category.

1. Wesley George, The Biology of the Race Problem, p. 60.
2. ibid., p. 61.
3. ibid., p. 62.
4. ibid., p. 19-20.

4. About six times as many Negroes as whites fall below 70 I.Q. - i.e., in the feeble-minded group.

5. Negro-white differences in mean test score occur in all types of mental tests, but the Negro lag is greatest in tests of an abstract nature - e.g., problems involving reasoning, deduction comprehension. These are the functions called for in education above the lowest levels.

6. Differences between Negro and white children increased with chronological age, the gap in performance being largest at the high school and college levels.

7. Large and significant differences in favor of whites appear even when socioeconomic factors have been equated.

Nevertheless, because of the extreme difficulty of making precise quatitative determination of mental traits, the measurements offered by various types of intelligence tests present no completely satisfactory data in regards to mental traits.[5] Consequently, "it would be rash to infer from the observations that there are no differences whatever in the distribution of biologically determined intellect or personality; if exactly the same conditions could be attained for a sufficiently large number of individuals, biologically determined differences might be found, but it seems impossible to attain sameness of conditions. Therefore, the only safe conclusion to be drawn is that careful tests reveal a marked dependence of mental reactions upon conditions of life and that racial differences which have been established thus far are so much subject to outer circumstances that no proof can be given to innate racial differences."[6]

Apparently, not only does the pseudo-scientist fight in the intellectual area of our stage, but he also fights in the area of the stage that has been designated to the formation of civilization. The pseudo-scientist contended more than once that civilization has been the work of the white aristocatic elite, who has creative faculties, and not the work of the Negro, who has recreative and destructive faculties along with his imitative capacities, leaving him unfit for cultural work.[7]

Southerners earnestly submit that over a period of thousands of years the Negro race has failed to contribute significantly to the higher and nobler achievements of civilizations.[8] However, Mr. Long, in his History of Jamaica, gives the Negro some credit when he writes that the white race cannot pronounce the Negro unsusceptible of civilization, since even apes have been taught to eat, drink, repose and dress like men. But, of all the human species hitherto discovered, the Negro's natural baseness of mind seems to afford the least hope of his being so refined as to think as well as act like men (except by miraculous interposition of Divine Providence).

To the contrary, Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish state that "history proves that progress in civilization is not the monopoly of one race or subrace. When our white forebearers in Europe were rude stone-age primitives, the civilizations of the Babylonians and the Egyptians had already flourished and been eclipsed. There

5. Franz Boas, "Race," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, p. 24.
6. ibid., p. 24.
7. Hans Kohn, "Race," Encyclopeadia of the Social Sciences, p. 37.
8. Carleton Coon, The Origin of Races, p. 72.

were great Negro states in Africa when Europe was a sparsely settled forest. Negroes made iron tools and wove fine cloth for their clothing when fair-skinned Europeans wore skins and knew nothing of iron."[9] "Up to now, every great center of civilization has had its day and has given place to others...The peoples change, but the old arts are, for the most part, not lost permanently. They pass into the common heritage of mankind."[10]

In another area, the advocator of white supremacy has argued that the Negro has never developed a culture of his own and that his entrance into the white culture will only cause it to deteriorate.

With the preceding statement in mind, it is widely thought that a group's future is as truly the product of its culture as its culture is of its past, for its culture both epitomizes its past experiences and also--as a consequence--provides each new generation with a starting point around which it will plan its way of life ; on which the individual will draw to some extent, and from which he will apply in his own way and according to his own means in the specific situation confronting him. Further still, "the brain does not secrete cultural or intellectual power in the same way that the liver secretes bile. One is not born with the ability to think brilliantly; such ability can be brought about only by exposure of the brain and nervous system to education in the proper conditions."[11] Therefore, "all that we know is that there exists considerable cultural differences between peoples and that these cultural differences are readily explained upon purely historical grounds, not upon any biological ones."[12] "In short, it is culture which makes 'Brains;' not brains culture."[13]

In reference to the inferiority of the Negro because of physical differences, it has been proven biologically that the "physical differences which exist between the varities of mankind are so insignificant that when properly evaluated they can only be described in terms of a particular expression of an assortment of genes which are common to mankind as a whole. At most, human varieties probably differ from one another only in the distribution of a comparatively small number of genes ...All the evidence indicates that the differences between the so-called 'races' of man merely represent a random combination of variations derived from a source, which by inbreeding in isolated groups, have become scattered and more or less stabilized and hereditary in a large number of the members of such groups. Furthermore, the evidence suggests that such selection of variations has been primarily restricted to physical characters."[14]

For the pseudo-scientist who bases the inferiority of the Negro on his pigmented skin there is a biological reason the explain this condition. In essence, the Negro is much better adapted to meet the demands of the conditions of intense sunlight to which his ancestors were born than is the white man, who is better adapted to meet the rigors of the cooler climates of his adopted homelands. Is one therefore superior or inferior to the other? Is the white man superior to the Negro because he lost the greater part of his pigment when his organism did not require its presence under the conditions in which he lived? Alternatively, is the Negro superior (or inferior) because he is the descendant of ancestors who were able to survive by virtue of the selective value of their darkly pigmented

9. Ruth Benedict, et.al., The Races of Mankind, p. 21.
10. ibid., p. 22.
11. Ashley Montagu, Man's Most Dangerous Myth: the Fallacy of Race, p. 58
12. ibid., p. 60.
13. ibid., p. 59.
14. ibid., p. 47.

skins? Clearly, there can be no question of either inferiority or superiority; both the Negro and the white man have survived because they and their ancestors were possessed with adaptive characters which, under the respective conditions of their differing environments, enabled them to survive.[15]

Consequently, as far as the Negro's kinky hair, thick lips, lack of general body hair, broad nose and so forth being marks of biological inferiority, it can readily be shown that such statements stand in complete contradiction to the facts. "In these very characters, the Negro is from the evolutionary standpoint more advanced than the white, that is, if we take as our criterion of advancement the fact of being furthest removed from such conditions as are exhibited by the existing anthropoid apes, such as the gorilla and the chimpanzee."[16]

The greatest of all arguments presented by the pseudo-scientist is the one relative to the degeneration of the white race by miscegenation. Race degeneration implies the fear that the descendants of the physically and mentally handicapped will increase in number, along with our rise in civilization, and that, eventually, they will take over civilization and the level of the whole race will be lowered. It is also maintained that decreased efficiency, lost fertility, and internal disorganization will result from crossing the races, because the Negro does not have certain elements in his blood that the white man has.

Carleton Putnam has stated that miscegenation spells stagnation and mediocrity for both races. He also contended that "the very essence of this ideology to build the inferior up by pulling the superior down, has invariably the same result. The inferior, in gaining what has not been earned, has lost the spur, and the superior, in losing what was well deserved, has lost the crown."[17] However, Montagu, on the other hand, has stated that "just as the fertilizing effects of the contact and mixing of cultures lead to the growth and development of the older forms of culture and the creation of new ones within it, so, too, does the interbreeding of different ethnic groups lead to the growth and development of the physical stock of mankind."[18] In other words, since there are no biological obstacles to crossing between the most diverse human races, crossing is one of nature's principal devices for the uninterrupted production of ever new and more vigorous types of life.[19]

"When crossing does occur, it is in disregard to social conventions, race pride and race prejudice. Naturally, therefore, it occurs between antisocial and outcast specimens of the respective races, or else between conquerors and slaves. The social status of children is thus bound to be low, their educational opportunities poor, their moral background bad."[20] However, "in the American Negro, we are developing a distinctively new ethnic type. This type, there is every reason to believe, is a perfectly good one by measure of biological goodness or fitness, that is to say, by the measure of the organism's ability to meet successfully every demand of its environment--an ability testified to us by the fact that, in the course of a century and a half, the Negro population has increased by thirteen times its original number."[21] Hence, I can only conclude that as long as the pseudo-scientist is able to warp the minds of innocent bystanders or to convince the Negro that he is inferior, his fight will continue. Further still, in order to maintain his

15. ibid., p. 51.
16. ibid., p. 52.
17. Carleton Putnam, Race and Reason, p. 103.
18. Montague, op. cit., p. 102.
19. ibid., pp. 101-102.
20. ibid., p. 101.
21. ibid., p. 118.

racial superiority, he should produce evidence to prove that a cross between a Negro and a gorilla will produce a retarded gorilla.

--Thomas A. Gay
Clark College

BLACK NATIONALISM

Overt feelings of Negro nationalism in America date back to the days of colonialism. In 1817, the Negro Convention Movement adopted a program under which all free Negroes might emigrate to western Canada. This movement was established in direct opposition to the American Colonization Society, which proposed Negro migration to Africa. At this time, however, the "return to one's own kind" theme held little appeal for American Negroes. The popular African picture was of the trail of chieftains competing in the sale of their own people and, in a purely economic sense, always getting the short end of any bargains with the white slave merchants.

In 1854, an Emigration Convention proposed and investigated the possibilities of emigration to West Africa, to Haiti, or to Central America. Some 2000 Negroes actually did sail to Haiti, but this movement eventually failed and most of the participants returned. The representative to Central America died in California, and the proponent of the African faction, Dr. Martain Delaney, was commissioned into the Union Army in 1861.

The Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation stole the fire from the Movement, and the leaders placed their hopes in their newly won citizenship. With the death of the movement for geographical separation from the United States, ethnic separation survived and was perpetuated by the Negro church. The church provided a strong citadel for Negro untiy and ethnic identity. Through its membership in the larger Christian community, it was in the best position to advance the Negro cause. Even today, a fairly large number of the Negro leaders are clergymen. The church has fostered schools and fraternal organizations, the latter being largely responsible for the Negro's continued identification of himself with his African heritage. In addition to the lodges, there have been frequent breakaways from the Christian tradition and its close association with white supremacy. These fragmentary sects tend to be anti-Christian and favorably disposed toward Negro nationalism. This area is also a hot-bed of charlatans, swindlers, and opportunists, a situation which has caused the white world to regard these movements with a degree of distrust and aloof amusement. From this background has sprung powerful movements, notably the Moorish-American Science Temple.

In 1913, Timothy Drew, a semi-educated Negro from North Carolina, founded the first Moorish-American Science Temple in Newark, New Jersey. Having accumulated information on Islamic doctrine, Noble Drew Ali, as he came to call himself, decided that, only by giving the black man a national pride and a source of security and identification, could he raise his people from their condition of social prostration. It was in the great industrial centers of the North--Pittsburg, Chicago, and Detroit--during a period of vast Negro migration from the South, that Noble Drew Ali found his most receptive audiences. Partially because his followers were illiterate common laborers and partially because racial separation seemed to be the only dignified solution to the Negro's problem during those days of extreme racial violence, in his teachings he divided the peoples of the world into Europeans (who were Christians) and Asiatics (who were Moslems). He and his followers began buying property and businesses, which were held in common. It was the forays into the business world which brought about his downfall; Drew was arrested and died shortly after his release from prison.

About this same time, a Jamaican Negro named Marcus Garvey had started another nationalist movement. He had studied in London, was widely read, and had travelled in Latin America. He was concerned over the colonial situation in Africa and its

effect on the entire black world. First in Jamaica and later in the United States, in 1916, he established chapters of his organization: The Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League. Its goal was towards a unilateral black unity and "the redemption of Africa for Africans abroad and at home." Garvey was an eloquent speaker and writer calling for the black man to realize his destiny, to seize his opportunity, and make his place in the sun. The U.N.I.A. began the Negro Political Union, The Universal African Legion, the African Orthodox Church, the Black Star Steamship Company, and several other auxiliary organizations.

Legislative effors of the U.N.I.A., along with those of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia, seved only to claim the more conservative Negro leaders, among them was W.E.B. DuBois. When Garvey was imprisoned in 1925 on charges of mail fraud in connection with the Black Star Company, his followers these "Uncle Toms" of playing the Judas role. After his release, Garvey was deported and eventually arrived back in London, where he died in 1940. At its height in 1925, the movement was very large, perhaps in the millions; today,it is disunified and inconsequential, unable to mature without its capable, dynamic leader.

Noble Drew Ali had died in 1929, but, in 1930, a mysterious peddler appeared in Detroit stating that he was Drew reincarnated and had come directly from Mecca. His name was W. L. Ford, and, although he has never been positively identified, it is believed that he really was from Mecca and was educated at Southern Cal for a diplomatic career. His immediate acceptance by the Negroes illustrates not his own ability, but, rather, the fact that as long as the racial caste system prevails, there will always be a large number of lower class Negroes who are readily sympathetic to any leader offering an avenue of relief from their abject social insecurity.

Ford began holding meetings in homes throughout the poor Negro section of Detroit, where he told his listeners about the customs and the people of the Eastern lands, that the Moslem people were their own brothers, and that they, too, should follow the customs prescribed by Islam. At first his teachings were merely exotic stories, but, as his audiences grew larger and more enthusiastic, he began to attack Christianity and white supremacy. To these poor, oppressed, and bewildered people, his doctrines of separation and his denouncements of the blue-eyed devils were outlets for their frustration with the whole situation. Eventually, a temple was begun and membership was formalized. Ford continued to maintain his role as a Meccan emmissary from Allah to redeem the Black Nation. In 1933, after raising the Detroit membership to several thousand, Ford disappeared without a trace. One of Ford's closest disciples was Elijah Muhammed, previously Robert Poole of Sandersville, Georgia. When Ford died, the movement split into two factions, one of which believed that Ford was only a prophet,and the other maintaining that he was actually Allah, in Messianic form. This latter group was driven out of Detroit by the moderate faction and, with their leader, Elijah Muhammed, established their own temple in Chicago and gave birth to the Black Muslims of today. Muhammed's title is the Messenger of Allah; it is he who has made the Muslims the most powerful and successful group of its kind.

From the first temples in Detroit and Chicago, the Movement expanded into almost every state with a considerable Negro urban population. There are over 50 temples and missions from New York to Miami to Los Angeles. Muslims do not publish the size of their membership, but it is estimated at over 100,000. The number of postulants and sympathizers could be several times that number, as suggested by the tremendous crowds gathered at Muslim rallies in Harlem. A minimum of twenty-five members is prerequisite to starting a new temple. The elite of the Muslim men are the Fruits of Islam, a corps of young men especially chosen

for positions of leadership. The female equivalents to the Fruits of Islam are the Muslim Girls Training and General Civilization Class, and from their numbers the Temple Officers are chosen by the Messenger, Muhammed, who also appoints the ministers. In turn, the ministers are directly responsible to Muhammed, often to such an extent that his sometimes incompetent leadership is frequently a blight on a few of the younger and more capable leaders. His demagogy tends to narrow the potential membership down a great deal. The dogma of Muslimism and its inconsistencies with orthodox Islam alienates intellectuals, who might otherwise be strongly attracted to the activities of the Muslims. Furthermore, of the 100,000 Muslims, only about 10 have degrees. Muhammed was an opportunist, but he has not changed sufficiently with the times and has become in many ways a liability to his own cause. Yet, he is the Messenger, the Mediam, and only his death or a definite schism will change the situation.

The greatest period of growth for the Black Muslims has been over the last ten years at a rate proportional to the intensity of the racial fires. In all the large industrial centers, Muslimism finds fertile soil; here are the immigrants from the South who have found the promise of northern opportunity to be a mockery. They live in the ghettos, they are bewildered and they are oppressed; for in this dirty existence, there is not even that tiny vestige of peace and dignity that was in the South, only the poverty remains. The daughters get pregnant; the sons fall into the criminal ways of city poor; the family disintegrates. The easiest way is to numb the pain with liquor, with dope, and with sex--anything to forget the futility and to put out of mind the white hate of the hot city's days and nights.

To these people, the Temple is a haven where the air is pure; here there is decency and safety for wives and sisters; and here there is equal opportunity for any man and the pride of genuine accomplishment. For a Muslim, the "black skin stigma" is not removed; it is inverted, and it becomes the badge of excellence and a sign of the master race. Black nationalism, however, does have positive features which provide (1) relief from the oppressions of poverty and ghetto life, (2) a deliberate course of action to achieve self-interests, (3) community life with one's own kind in accord with a central ideal. This side of Muslimism is seldom perceived by the outsider, black or white. The tragic flaw is in the perpetration of these intentions which are uncompromising.

Interpreted solely by Muhammed, the Koran says that the black race was directly created by Allah 66 trillion years ago. About 7000 years ago, a maverick black named Yarub began breeding light-skinned people until he had created a race of white devils. According to the teachings of Allah, the whites were to rule for 6000 years, and, at the end of this time, they would be destroyed by Allah in a great black-white war. This battle is called Armageddon, after the place where the biblical kings assembled before the destruction of Babylon. Only the children of Islam will survive from this battle.

Obviously, this gibberish does not really make sense except in the minds of the very simple. But, through the crime of segregation and the denial of civil rights, the white man has sown the modern seeds of his own Armageddon. Every instance of racial injustice is seized upon as another example of white immorality and incompetence. Thirty-five years ago, Adolph Hitler preached the same sermon of hate, and his accusations were not nearly as valid as Muhammed's indictment of the white Christian society today. It is with this manner of righteous hostility that Muhammed assembles his troops.

From the sewers of the ghettos come the drunks, addicts, pimps, and prosti-

tutes to join with their impoverished brothers in the common drive toward self-betterment, pride, and eventual black supremacy. In Detroit and Chicago there are Muslim schools, the Universities of Islam, teaching classes through the twelfth grade. In addition to the traditional school curriculum, these schools teach Arabic and the articles of the Muslim faith. The Muslims trade with their own people, and they effectively preach the "buy black campaign." They contribute generously to their many funds. There is now a plan for a twenty million Islamic center to be built in Chicago, which will include a school, a hospital, a temple and other facilities. With continued rapid growth, the realization of their dream is not impossible.

From the outset, the Muslims have suffered heavily at the hands of the press, both Negro and white. Besides the official Muslim newspaper, Muhammed Speaks, only a few Negro papers have supported the Muslim cause. The Muslims are hungry for favorable publicity, and, though they openly despise the "Uncle Toms," they play up favorable comments coming from any corner. They simply regard their non-Muslim brothers as innocent infidels, who have not yet discovered the narrow path to salvation. Their newspaper even publishes the batting averages of Negro major league stars, and Sonny Liston became the darling of Muslim boxing fans when he refused to donate $500 to the NAACP.

Perhaps it is a good idea to emphasize here that Muslimism is nothing like the many religious sects (Father Divine, Sweet Daddy Grace, etc.), which simple provide the anesthetic escape into a dream world. The Black Muslims are extremely militant. Politics is the only major field on which they have not done battle with white supremacy. They have never endorsed any candidate; in fact, many of them do not vote. Nevertheless, the tremendous crowds of sympathizers, who gather in Harlem when Malcolm X speaks, suggests the possibility of a powerful Muslim-led bloc vote.

The growth of Muslim strength in Harlem illuminates an interesting development in the Muslim hierarchy. Muhammed is getting old and his health is bad. He has named as his successor, by divine inspiration, of course, his son, Wallace Muhammed. But the name on everyone's lipe is Malcolm X. In view of his tremendous popularity in New York, it seems a waste to move him to the much smaller temple in Washington.

The survival of the Muslim movement is pendent at two points: (1)that the movement show marked economic and social advance in the future; (2) that the white Christian culture continues to be a hell for the black man. Improvement in Negro employment and education would mean that the next generation of Muslims would return to the fold educated and attuned to the appeal of white society, instead of being illiterate and uncritical of their own background. When the hate and injustice that nourished the Black Muslims is gone, the fruit of oppression must necessarily wither and die a natural death.

--Roberts Bailey
University of the South

THE MINISTER AND THE RACIAL CRISIS

I am the minister of a large "white" church in the southern United States. I am here today to tell you what I think my role as a minister is in the racial crisis that we are facing.

However, before I begin to tell you about my role, I think that I should tell you a little about what I think my role as a minister involves regardless of the situation. It is my responsibility to preach God's Word, as I understand it, at all times. The members of my congregation do not always like what I say; sometimes they think that my subject is irrelevant to the gospel or, while it may be relevant, it isn't really my place to talk about it. Sometimes their objections to what I say are strong and difficult to handle. Even so, it is more important for me to deal with the subjects than for me to sacrifice them in order to keep peace within the church. If I believed that it was enough for the church to be a social club, I would only preach on those things that my congregation wanted to hear; but I do not believe this would fulfill my function as a minister. My first responsibility is to God. If I can preach His Word and keep peace within my church then I will; however, if His Word causes my congregation to be disturbed then I will go ahead and disturb them with the Word. I must preach that which is relevant to my congregation. I need not spend time preaching on the horrible practice of child sacrifice in some far-away land when my people to not practice child sacrifice. They don't need to hear about the sins of other people; they need to be told about their own sins.

Because I feel that the way the Negro is being treated is contrary to God's will, I must show my congregation what I believe is our responsibility in the situation. I cannot profess to believe in the brotherhood of man and sit by silently watching the Negro be treated as less than human. I cannot say that I believe the same God created all men and then will turn a Negro away when he comes to worship that same God. When several Negroes were turned away from a church in Little Rock, an out of state newspaper commented, "Perhaps these Negroes mistook this church for the House of God."[1] As a minister, it is my duty to see that my church is the House of God, not a social club where members live behind a sign that says "Whites Only." Laws can't cause these signs to be removed, and no one can force the church to be christian; this is something that has to come from within the church.

It isn't easy to stand before a group of people and to tell them that their way of life is wrong. It's especially difficult when these people have been brought up in the segregated way of life. It's hard for them to see what is wrong with segregation when they have always lived in the South and where segregation is all they have known. All their lives, this group of people were told that they are superior to the Negro. I know that it is hard for them to understand, because I, too, was raised in the South; I, too, was indoctrinated with all the usual prejudices. I am not completely free of prejudices today, but I know that they are wrong and that I must show my people that their prejudices are also wrong. I must show them that they are to love the men whom they are mistreating and that they must treat them as human beings who have feelings and souls. I must tell my people this and make them see that if the color of a person's skin does not matter to God, it certainly should not matter to them.

But, as I said, fulfilling this responsibility is not an easy task. I know

1. Ernest Campbell and Thomas F. Pettigrew, Christians in Racial Crisis, p. 23.

what I should say and what I should do, but simply knowing is not enough; I must act--that's where the hard part comes in.

It's hard for me to act when I know that I may lose the financial support of my congregation. If you asked any member of my church what he thought about blackmail, he would probably emphatically tell you that it was wrong and dirty. More than likely, he would be very insulted that you asked him; after all, he's very active in the church, maybe even a deacon or an elder. What else could you expect him to think about blackmail? Yet, he may be one of the congregation who told me that if I didn't leave the race problem alone that he would withdraw his support from the church.

Most ministers have to think twice before they do something that they know might cause some of their members to withdraw their support. I don't mean this as a contradiction to what I said earlier about keeping the peace being more important than preaching God's Word. I do believe in my earlier statement, but this is not the only factor that enters into the picture. You see, my church, like most other churches of its size, supports missionaries, our denomination's colleges and orphanges, and many other worthwhile projects. The church has promised a certain amount of money to each of these causes, and if we are not able to give this amount then they will not be able to do all that they had planned. When I do something that I know will hinder our church's fulfilling its responsibility to these causes, I must be certain that my cause is justifiable.

It is hard to act when I think about the things my family may have to endure if I speak out: there may be persecution, or I may lose my job and, possibly, not be able to get another one for a long time. If I couldn't get another church, how would I support my family? Can I run the risk of losing all this when I do have a family? Churches don't want trouble makers for ministers.

It is a great temptation for me to remain silent for the reasons that I have mentioned. It is also easy to rationalize and to keep guiet for Mr. So-and-So's sake. He is very old and has been a member of this church all of his life; it is doubtful whether he will ever change from being a staunch segregationalist. If I say anything, I will just upset him, and I hate to turn him against the very church that he helped to found. This rationalizing is quite a temptation.

It is so easy to be influenced by a number of things. Even the size of my church can influence me. According to a study on some of the ministers in Little Rock, the minister of a large church is less likely to take a public stand on integration that the minister of a small church. The former has more to lose. The minister who is fifty years old or over is also less likely to take a stand for integration than the minister who is under thirty. A minister is also unlikely to take a stand if he has served his congregation for a number of years or if his congregation is personally affected by integration, for instance, if a school in their neighborhood is being desegregated. He is also less likely to stand up for integration if his church is engaged in a membership drive or a fund raising project.[2] All the things that influenced the ministers in Little Rock also affect me.

Before I present a sermon on integration, I have to remember that, when I preach, the members of the congregation are not free to question me. Maybe they won't understand what I'm trying to say. If they do understand and it upsets them, I might not have the chance later to show them why I feel the way that I

2. ibid., pp. 121-125.

do and to help them to really understand. Of course, I can always have informal sessions later to discuss the sermon, but maybe the ones who are really upset won't come. Therefore, if I do preach on integration, I must be as clear as possible in all that I say.

If, in spite of all the pressure to remain silent, I do decide that this matter must be considered from the pulpit then I must decide how I will approach it. The easiest way out is to preach a sermon on the brotherhood of man and hope that the members of the congregation get the point. They should. After all, they know what is going on in the world. But will they get the point? If I don't think that a sermon on the brotherhood of man is enough, I can always add a reminder that we are having a racial crisis and that we should remain christian in all our actions. Somehow, I don't think that this is enough, either. The racial problem is a real on, and I must treat it as such; I must make my position clear and not hide behind a partial dealing with the subject.

When I have initially approached the racial problem from the pulpit, I must decide whether one sermon is enough or if I should keep hammering. If I continue, I am very likely to drive some members from the church, but, if I become silent after only one sermon, I may fail to influence the man who is undecided. I feel that I must preach on the race problem from time to time as the need arises. However, I do not feel that I should preach on this and nothing else, for there are other matters in the church that also need attention.

I feel that I must compromise in what I say at almost all times. If I said everything that I wanted to say everytime that I wanted to say it, I would soon be without a church. I must give my congregation only as much as they can take at one time and gradually build on it. I must not make statements that will not accomplish anything, if by making them I jeopardize the church. I must gently push my people in the right direction. If I don't push hard enough, they may stop and refuse to grow; but, if I push too hard, they may fall.

As a minister, it is my responsibility to make the church be the church, not a social club which excludes some people from it, from jobs, and from life because of their race.

--Libby Johnson
Erskine College

A SOUTHERN BUSINESSMAN'S VIEW OF INTEGRATION

"The politicians have failed; now it is the businessman who holds the last hope of the South." Thus spoke the voice of doom for the Old South, the land of agraria and segregation. Being formed at this first meeting of the Mayor's Biracial Committee are new concepts characteristic of the new, industrial South.

The speaker continued, voicing the typical attitude of many of the city's business leaders with respect to integrating the city's business facilities, "We've been watching these freedom rides and boycotts in other cities, and we're finally getting the picture. Even Robert E. Lee finally had to surrender, didn't he?"

Well, I guess it all makes sense, but it's all uncomfortably new to me. Here I am, a product of the agrarian South, having procured a college education and having now attained the distinction of "business leader" of an industrial Southern community. Don't get me wrong--the Old South is still very much with me; I still have my inhibition, my prejudices, my color-consciousness; and I especially feel certain reservations when I envision my parents and consider the staunch segregationist policies to which they still cling. But I, being educated, have a great respect for facts. For this reason, my practical-minded colleagues and I have adopted a policy of resignation to deal with the racial question.

Listen to the speaker relate the woes of Mississippi and Little Rock: "In the past fifteen years about sixty plants have been put into Mississippi--that's roughly four a year. But in the last few years, the rate has been more like one or two a year. To many specialists, the racial tension clearly is responsible for keeping the plants away."

Quoting the October 3, 1962, issue of the Atlanta Constitution, "Mississippi's bitterly violent defiance of law and order has failed in all respects save one. It has succeeded only in committing economic suicide...Mississippi will no doubt continue to offer cheap labor, huge tax concessions and other giveaways... But for most of the nation's industries, no amount of monetary inducement could offset the risk of moving into a state whose chief executive not only says but also shows that he cannot or will not preserve the peace."

From the October 7, 1962, issue of the Miami Herald: "There are many ways Mississippi has been hurt by the explosion of violence, but the most severe is probably economic. Barnett has done a good job of attracting industry to Mississippi...But Arkansas and Little Rock experienced a new-industry drought for years after federal troops protected Negro students there. 'Only recently has industry started going back into Little Rock and the racial trouble has been blamed,' a Herald source said. 'And what happened at Little Rock was child's play compared with this.' Without industry Mississippi cannot pull itself out of the poverty and low educational standards that so often accompany agrarian economiew. Now the outlook for industry is even blacker."

Statistics on Little Rock revealed in the Knoxville News Sentinel, October 6, 1962, and Newsweek, October 22, 1962, read as follows: "Take Little Rock, Arkansas, for example. In the two years before the riots at Little Rock's Central High School, 17 new plants moved into the city; they employed 1200 persons. But in the four years since the troubles, only 13 new plants have sprung up in the city; they employ less than 1000."

"When Little Rock's school-integration crisis erupted in September, 1957, the city and state were thriving. In the previous two years, industrial investment in the state totaled $248 million; Little Rock alone gained ten new plants, worth $3.4 million, and added 1072 jobs to the city's payroll. In the two years after Federal troops marched into Little Rock, the state's investment fell to $190.6 million; for three years, not a single company employing more than fifteen people moved into the Little Rock area. Last year, with memories of the turbulence fading, one new plant was built for $1.6 million; this year another firm plans a $780,000 plant."

The speaker draws the parallel with Mississippi findings: "But immediately after the recent riots at the University of Mississippi, one state industrial salesman heard from eight Northern industrialists who had been considering moving in, and four of them said that they were bowing out...And a national manufacturer of hard goods told its Mississippi plant in bitter jest: 'From now on, put "Made in North Carolina" on our products.'"

Clearly, the facts reveal the high costs of racial conflict. A sampling of businessmen's experience across the South is heard from the Birmingham speaker, a top official of one of the city's largest banks: "We've been hurt and hurt badly. In the last few days, I bet that I've spent more than $50 in telephone calls trying to convice a big Ohio company that it should locate a pilot plant in Alabama. But I'm afraid we've lost it to New England and lost it strictly because of the unrest down here. The pilot plant in its first stage was scheduled to cost about $3 million, and, if it had worked out, the company was thinking in terms of a further investment of $40- to $50 million. Well, we asked for it, and now we're getting it."

From Virginia, the situation is as follows: In 1951-53, the first three years of the decade, before massive resistance and school closing had been thought of, Virginia increased the average number employed in manufacturing by 31,400; in 1957-59, the last three years of the decade, during which massive resistance was legally formulated and tried, Virginia increased the average by a net of 5,100, or roughly one sixth as well as it had done in the earlier three years. This list of 11 such plants, employing up to 1,650 today, shows none obtained for 1958 and 1959, one for 1956, and all of the remainder in the first half of the decade. In fact, the concern of the Virginia business community that it might face a mortal blow if massive resistance wasn't abandoned is perhaps the best evidence of all of the serious impact the school situation was having on the state's economy.

From a question posed in Little Rock, "Has the Little Rock school situation affected your business?" the following results were obtained:

adverse effect	-	44 or 51.8%
no effect	-	35 or 41.2%
favorable effect	-	6 or 7.0%

One of the pollees remarked: "It has very definitely hurt the real estate business--just about killed it, as a matter of fact. That's particularly in house sales. First, we're not getting any new people into Little Rock. Secondly, a lot of them are moving out--particularly engineers, and people like that with industrial plants here. The minute it starts affecting their children, they leave. Thirdly, the people who are not leaving are upset about the situation and are hesitant to spend their money. We have plenty of cases where people are sending their kids out of town to school--paying expenses and tuition--and can't buy because they are on too tight a budget."

From a consumer survey in Little Rock, it was discovered that the average Little Rock family had 7% less buying power in 1958 than in 1956, while the average U.S. city family, in contrast, had 2% more buying power in the same period.

Whatever the picture in Little Rock may imply, the effects of schools closing for a year in New Orleans would be felt to the tune of something like $2.4 million. Also imperiled is $6.3 million in new school construction and equipment purchases scheduled. Furthermore, each and every month during a school shutdown, New Orleans firms who normally service the school system will lose some $256,000 in sales.

For Atlantans, an economist has found: "Conservatively estimating, school closing here would cost DeKalb County some 30 medium-size units over a three year period. We would then tally these losses:

--9,000 fewer people would move to DeKalb
--3,300 fewer homes would be built
--$18 million less gross income would come into the county
--$8 million less would be deposited into banks
--3,310 fewer automobiles would be registered
--6,200 job opportunities would be lost
--120 potential new retail stores would not open
--$11 million potential increase in retail sales would not be enjoyed

Economic boycott, school closings, mass violence--the terms are beginning to sink in. Our community has not had to cope with any of these pressures up until now; however, we were called here today to propose a solution to meet the threat of economic boycott. We realize that we are accepting, however reluctantly, an enlarged role in Southern race relations. Though most Southern businessmen clearly would prefer to maintain segregation and the status quo, many are coming to the conclusion that there must be some give in response to increased Negro demand for change. A charge is being given us. The large scale entrance of the Southern businessman on the desegregation scene may represent, in the long run, one of the most significant developments in Dixie race relations since the Negro began his organized efforts to attain expanded civil rights more than a decade ago. For in many communities, the businessman could readily wield the balance of power between the segregation extremists, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the "teachers and preachers," who up to now have been the backbone of the white moderates.

"We are not integrationists at all--we are moderate realists," resounds the speaker's voice. "We cannot wait for violence. Birmingham business leaders have been condemned by a local attorney for setting the community back five to twenty years economically because of their head-in-the-sand attitude. In 1960, businessmen invested $51.8 million on new plants and expansion; in 1961--the year white mobs beat 'freedom riders' in Birmingham--such outlays fell to $23.5 million; last year they dropped to $11.4 million."

The speaker continues, "The slow and cautious approach is not advisable; although, hesitancy is understandable, since any alliance with the Negro rights movement invites economic and social reprisal from white extremists. Ku Klux Klans, White Citizens' Councils, and even state governments may necessitate a go-lightly policy. Such deliberate slowness should only occur in exceptional cases; although, I do feel that secrecy should prevail throughout the talks. The pressure on white businessmen working for racial amity lends them to try to maintain secrecy and tends to lessen the power the business comunity would normally enjoy. Aside from the danger of reprisals, businessmen have other reasons for preferring to work as quietly as possible. When two races sit down together with no publicity, the chances

of success are much greater; extremists on both sides are not alerted to future desegregation actions and, thusly, are less able to forment trouble."

The speaker is seated. A Negro member rises to state his case: "Letting sleeping dogs lie was a comfortable and non-controversial policy for business while community customs remained static or changed slowly. Industry's problem now is that community customs are changing fastly. I wish to impress to any racially-discriminating industry that the problem of change is primarily internal, regardless of the nature of that change. I realize that it is very difficult to exact a charge of racial discrimination and apply it to any industrial organization, for, as opposed to racial segregation in the community, this segregation has not been an absolute yes/no matter. Talents and willingness to work are intimately involved here in position and place. Few of the unions that represent the bulk of organized industrial employees practice racial segregation officially. A conscious assessment of existing conditions is in order on the part of management. This effort makes sense, because, from a legal standpoint, the vast majority of managers want no part of a struggle in the courts. Yes, Negroes will be arriving on the scene in ever-increasing numbers in positions of importance. The Negro is now ready technically. Industry necessarily discriminates on the basis of ability. Formerly, this alone would have left most Negroes outside the gates or in the lowest paid jobs. Until the separate-but-equal strategy developed as a defense against school integration, few Negroes could get a decent education, and even fewer were prepared for jobs in industry. But World War II, with its demand for massive hiring regardless of any qualifications, has changed all that. Twenty years later the white managers are used to seeing well-dressed Negroes on the social and business scene. He accepts the changes being made, being aware that companies other than his are changing. I only hope that our industries can outflank prejudice in the manner that the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, did. Negroes there now manage, supervise, and lunch beside the whites. How did this pattern, which would be unusual even in a Northern city, come about here in the South? First, the company was committed to a policy of equal opportunity. Next, Winston-Salem is noted for good race relations; schools and other public places desegregated without incident. Finally, the Whitaker Park plant in which this occurred is new; thus, the place of the Negro had no prior structure. In all good confidence, I think that our industry can follow the same precedent."

The Negro member is replaced on the floor by the local newspaper editor, a man noted for championing the liberal side of the truth. "For generations," he begins, "the businessman in the South has been obliged to set his buying, his marketing, and his hiring policies according to racial rules, written or unwritten. Today he finds himself an involuntary and sometimes confused principle in the forced change of a way of life. The changing times expressly affects retailers, who are under boycott and sit-in pressures, and government contractors, who come under President Kennedy's executive order not to discriminate. These two businesses account for much of the greatest volume of dollars at stake in the integration struggle. Both the pressures and the resistances to change are increasingly great, but, as I heard one retailer remark, 'I don't like Federal government pressure, but in this case it's necessary to speed things up. When people can hide behind the government, not taking the blame themselves, they will do things.'

"Merchants have been logically the hardest hit in the struggle. Stores were damned either way: if they gave in to Negroes, they risked violece from white extremists and loss of patronage from other white customers; if they stood pat, they antagonized Negroes and perhaps brought on Negro boycotts, a measure that drives consumers to suburban shopping centers and amounts to a loss in Negro business

that may amount to a 6% loss in total volume in the larger department stores. Our reaction to the Negro demands should be geared to the community feeling, which I, personally, gauge as favorable. Whatever the reaction, this is a social revolution, and we can't have it painlessly.

"Negro demands for a change in employment practices are reasonable and well-founded. Here it is true that Negro factory workers complain that their jobs are the hot, dirty, noisy ones that white men don't want, or else they are restricted to all-Negro plants or segregated production lines. They want freedom to obtain every kind of job and assurance of a fair chance at promotion. Here it is also true that it is easier to get white-collar employees to accept Negro colleagues than to persuade the men in the shop. Characteristic of our community is the generalization that employment opportunities for Negroes tend to be better among Southern based companies than among Southern branches of national companies. A local company may know better what it can do within the limits of community opinion; a Northern company may lean over backward to avoid arousing latent local hostility.

"I have thus described the tempo of our community; but, now listen to our inherent limitations, which impede us from a rapid solution to all our desegregation problems. After decades of inadequate schooling, thwarted ambitions, and scarcity of job opportunities off the farm, Negro leaders concede that there are not nearly enough graduates of Negro colleges and technical schools to fill the jobs that the President's order theoretically makes available to them. And many of the skilled Negroes that the South does produce want to go to other parts of the country. Clearly we must put an end to job discrimination, regardless of any temporary expense. The economic losses resulting from discrimination are twofold: (1) inefficiencies in the use of the labor force resulting from failure to utilize fully the existing skills of our population; and (2) the failure to develop potential skills fully. Projecting thses losses on a national plane, we may question ourselves as to how much the Gross National Product, or GNP, would increase if the non-white were able to utilize his present potential (as measured by years of education) as fully as is the white, and if the non-white were able to develop his capacities as fully as is the white. The answers are astounding. Major considerations involved, the gain in GNP might well be as much as 2.5%, or about $13 billion at today's levels of GNP (not including the gains made from raising the educational level of the non-white). If the non-whites had the same educational levels as whites and if the economy fully utilized their education, GNP today might be perhaps 3.2% higher (inclusive of the previous 2.5%), amounting to about $17 billion at today's level of GNP. Among the qualitative gains in national welfare resulting from the elimination of racial discrimination is the fact that wage and salary incomes of whites in the lower paid occupations (with higher proportions of non-whites) would tend to rise while the opposite would be true in the higher income occupations. Thus, the low income white population would also benefit and a more equal income among whites would result. Finally, the community responsibilities of tax-paying and of military service could be more equally shared among all citizens of the nation.

"How? By what method? Answers will not be found in old frameworks, nor expressed in old terminology. For the South is no longer an economic entity in itself: for better or worse, the thousand strands of its varied economic interests have been woven inextricably into the warp and woof of the nation's economy. The South must be prepared to adopt not only the external, physical, and institutional arrangements appropriate to this new and irrevocable position, but also the attitudes, customs, practices, and obligations implicit therein. This position requires a provision of adequate, quality services for all citizens, an equitable

distribution of the tax burden among various classes, public officials of great honesty and propriety of character, political equality of all citizens (the equal vote), and a state of social tranquillity.

"Now, particularly for you businessmen, your job should include an attempt to raise the South from the muck of poverty, an area whose richest section had a per capita income of 90% that of the poorest are outside the South in 1958. You are operating under two handicaps: (1) your workers do not have enough to offer in the national labor market because they are poorly prepared by experience and education for modern industry, and (2) Southern workers, both whites and Negroes, are often unable to offer a Southern employer the skills that they have. Seek industry for these people, but remember that more textile mills and sawmills will never elevate the living standards of the South and the rest of the nation. Three drawbacks which you can overcome include the falsehood that white workers can become better off by enforcing restrictions which make Negroes worse off, discrimination by blind employer prejudice, and the reluctance or refusal of white workers to accept Negroes as fellow workers on some jobs, which is essentially the heart of economic discrimination, and getting them to work side by side at the same type of job with no frowns involved.

"Though this evil of economic discrimination has become complicated, frustrating easy solutions, I challenge you to hold true to the following advice:

1. Whenever Federal, state, or local funds are spent to attract new firms to the South, new jobs must be filled on the basis of individual merits, and a division into white and Negro jobs must not be accepted.

2. Existing Federal executive orders which forbid job discrimination by employers who accept government contracts ought to be effectively enforced.

3. More publicity should be given to the many instances where Negro workers have quietly and successfully moved into jobs previously closed to them.

4. The divisions of workers in certain labor unions into segregated white and Negro locals should be ended.

5. Men of good will must continue, in the face of community indifference or hostility, to speak and act against fear, ignorance, and hostility.

Thank you."

The meeting is adjourned. Upon stepping outside into the city, the familiar sights are now viewed in a new light. Another business decision is in order, but this one has an established precedent. The unknown loss incurred in the transition period after integrating facilities will have to be absorbed in lieu of the known large economic loss as a result of sit-ins and boycotts. It's getting to be so that it's not so much of a gamble anymore. I guess that I'll stay with the pack when we decide when and how to liberalize our employment policies. The extent of my knowledge of Southern economic history I have here on my note pad from the meeting today; but facts are facts, and the businessman must bend before the weight of greatest economic pressure. Therefore, I am resigning before the truth.

--Steve Johnston
North Carolina State College

PORTRAYAL OF AN ANTI-SEMITE

I am an anti-Semite, who also discriminates against Catholics and Negroes, and I am often found in such hate organizations as the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens' Council, and the American Nazi Party. I am a white Protestant supremist. The extreme bigot, which I represent, appears most frequently when his society is undergoing political and economical conflicts and changes. Both conditions are found in our society today, which accounts for the presence of these bigots in our country.

In Anti-Semite and Jew, Jean-Paul Sartre describes the anti-Semite, but his words can be used to describe any person who is dependent upon bigotry for his strength:

> He is a man who is afraid. Not of the Jews to be sure, but of himself, of his own consciousness, of his liberty, of his instincts, of his responsibilities, of solitariness, of change, of society, and of the world--of everything except the Jews. He is a coward who does not want to admit his cawardice to himself; a murderer who represses and censures his tendency to murder without being able to hold it back, yet who dares to kill only in effigy or when protected by the anonymity of the mob; a malcontent who dares not revolt from fear of the consequences of his rebellion. In espousing anti-Semitism, he does not simply adopt an opinion, he chooses himself as a person. He chooses the permanence and impenetrability of stone, the total irresponsibility of the warrior who obeys his leaders - and he has no leader. He chooses to acquire nothing, to deserve nothing; he assumes that everything is given him as is his birthright - and he is not noble. He chooses finally a Good that is fixed once and for all, beyond question, out of reach, he dares not examine it for fear of being led to challenge it and having to seek it in another form. The Jew only serves him as a pretext...The existence of the Jew merely permits the anti-Semite to stifle his anxieties at their inception by persuading himself that his place in the world has been marked out in advance, that it awaits him, and that tradition gives him the right to occupy it. Anti-Semitism, in short, is fear of the human condition. The anti-Semite is a man who wishes to be pitiless stone, a furious torrent, a devastating thunderbolt - anything except a man.

The rest of my paper shall consist of some of the rationalizations of a person's bigotry against Jews, Catholics, and Negroes.

I love this country; I'm not ashamed of my being a patriot or of admitting my feelings. I am for anything that will keep the United States as great a country as she has always been - this is why I'm against Jews, Catholics, and Negros.

This country was founded by people from England, Anglo-Saxon Protestants. They made it great. Every advance and every achievement in this country has been done by them. If this country is to remain great, the white Protestants must remain in power, because they are superior in every way to any other ethnic, religious, or racial group.

The Jews are racially impure and weak. Only those people directly descended

from the Germanic tribes, such as the Anglo-Saxons, are pure and strong enough to continue in power. The Jews are a mongrel race, because they have intermarried with the Anglo-Saxons in an attempt to bring us down to their level so that they can take over the world.

The Jews are also religious heretics. They not only murdered Christ, but they still continue to deny the truth that He was the Messiah! Even worse, they consider themselves to be God's Chosen People! They place themselves over us! This is impossible and blasphemous! Our God would not choose those degenerate communists who deny the existence of His Son as His Special People!

The Catholics are incapable of being loyal to anyone aor anything except the Pope and the Catholic Church. If the Pope told them to go murder all the Protestants, including their friends and relatives, they would. No Catholic can, or should be trusted with any job involving patriotism and loyalty to a country.

Most Catholics are from the Latin countries, and everyone knows that Latins are so emotional that they cannot think as well as the Anglo-Saxons - this is the reason that they have the Pope do their thinking for them.

The Negroes are inferior in every way to any white man, expecially to the Anglo-Saxons. They are little better than savages, even after having been exposed to our great civilization for over three hundred years. Why, even their color shows their inferiority. It is a proven scientific fact that Negroes are not as intelligent as the white man; a brilliant Negro is about as smart as the average white man.

The Anglo-Saxon Protestants should be the only people allowed to vote or to have complete freedom. They are the smartest people, the only ones capable of handling the responsibilities of a democracy. They are the only people who can be trusted not to betray our nation to some foreign power.

--Gladys Knight
Troy State College

THE KU LKUX KLAN

The first Ku Klux Klan was an outgrowth of the tense feelings in the South during the Reconstruction Period after the Civil War. The next Klan was formed during World War I and attained its greatest strength in the nineteen-wtenties. The third Klan resulted from disbandment of the second in 1944 and, in the Post-World War II period, operated as a loose combination of locally autonomous groups rather than as a unified body.

The first Klan started in 1866 in Pulaski, Tennessee, as a social club of young men. Using a weird ritual and a strange uniform, members accidentally discovered that their mysterious antics and hooded robes had a sobering effect on lawless, but often superstitious former slaves. Soon the club expanded into a federation of regulators whose purpose was to curb the activities of the recently emancipted Negroes. Influenced by the success of the Klan, other similar societies, such as the Knights of the White Camellia, the White League, the Invisible Circle, and the Pale Faces were founded in 1867-68 and spread rapidly throughout the former Confederacy. In common usuage, the name Ku Klux Klan applies not only to the specific secret order founded in Pulaski, Tennessee, but to these other societies as well, since their goal was to afford protection for whites, oppose the Reconstruction measures (1868-75) of the U.S. Congress, and effect the overthrow of local Reconstruction governments.

The period of greatest activity by the secret societies was from 1868 to 1870. During this time, nearly all southern whites (except the "scalawags") took part in some way in the KKK movement. Ultimately, some of the societies fell under the control of violent men who transformed them into outlaws, making them dangerous even to former members and exciting the North to vigorous condemnation. In 1870-71, Congress enacted a series of Force Laws, which were designed to break up the secret orders. Although several arrests were made and most of the violence was checked, the KKK movement continued until it largely accomplished its chief objectives of reducing the Negro vote, restoring white control over the local government, and expelling the Carpetbaggers and Scalawags.

The first national meeting in April, 1867, was held in Room 10 at the Maxwell House, Nashville's big new hotel. Confederate generals, colonels, and substantial men of church and state fromm all over the South, along with the group's leader, Nathan Forrest (the strong man of the Fort Pillow Massacre) established their plan to reduce Negroes to political impotence through the boldest and the most ruthless political operation in American history: by stealth and murder, by economic intimidation and political assassination, by whipping and maiming, cutting and shooting, by the knife, by the rope, by the braining of the baby in its mother's arms, the slaying of the husband at the wife's feet, the raping of the wife before the husband's eyes--by fear! Soon the South was honey combed with secret organizations, the Knights of the White Camellia, the Red Shirts, and the White League.

The secret organizations ran underground, and, above ground, there was a different strategy. In every state, Democrats attempted to control the votes of each state. There was real humor in the situation: ex-slaveholders and racists sitting on platforms with Negroes, reminding them that the southern white men had always been their friends and that the North was responsible for slavery.

The second organization, known as the Invisible Empire, Knights of the KKK, was founded by William J. Simmons, a preacher and promoter of fraternal orders,

on Stone Mountain near Atlanta, Georgia, in 1915. Heralded by its founder as a high class mystical, social, and patriotic society devoted to the protection of white womanhood and the maintenance of white supremacy.

At first the order grew slowly. In 1920, Edward Y. Clarke, an advertising man, instituted a promotional campaign which proved so successful that by October 21st membership had risen from a mere handful to 100,000. Yet, a salesman alone did not account for the Klan's success; the Order had a natural appeal to a nation suffering from the tensions of World War I and served as a repository for the post-War hatreds and fears of many. The Klan was national in scope, but it was strongest in Tennessee, Alabama, North Carolina, Florida, Georgia, and the middle-West with an estimated membership which ranged from 2,500,000 to 4,000,000 by 1926, and its influence over the politics of several states permitted it to control some U.S. senators, congressmen, and state officials.

Beginning in 1926, the power of the Klan began to fade. Disintegration was mainly the result of the declining post-war hysteria, rising prosperity, factional strife within the order, and corruption involving high Klan officials. In particular, the numerous acts of violence performed in the name of the Invisible Empire had aroused much adverse public sentiment, and, by 1930, the Klan had shrunk to 30,000 and its power had disappeared.

With the onset of the Depression, the organization found it difficult to recoup its losses. During the 1930's, it attempted to capitalize on the New Deal socialism and the labor turmoil of the C.I.O. The admission in 1937 by Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black that he was a former Klansman and then the Klan's association with the German-American Bund in 1939-40 served to keep the organization's name before the public. By 1940, a few floggings and cross-burnings in widely scattered sections of the country were started.

The first Klan had severely penalized anyone conspiring to impede the effects of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, gave Congress complete control of congressional elections, and authorized the President to suspend the Writ of Habeas Corpus and established military law in localities where it seemed necessary. As enforcement was in the hands of federal courts, there were many indictments, and, in one case, Grant declared nine counties of South Carolina in rebellion and placed them under martial law in October, 1871. Grant, who was now completely under the control of radical groups, made a real effort to enforce these acts, and the Ku Klux Klan eventually disbanded. The final results, however, were nil. By 1876, white supremacy had been virtually restored in all the states except South Carolina and Louisiana, where federal troops maintained the carpetbag governments.

As the years went on, the restoration of white rule was aided in a number of ways. The Freedmen's Bureau went out of operation in 1872, removing important protection to the Negro. In the same year, Congress passed the Amnesty Act, which restored political privileges to all but a few hundred confederate veterans, bringing back into the southern political life a more conservative and responsible type of southern white. Now, as opportunity arose, the Supreme Court, which had always been skeptical of congressional reconstruction, threw out as unconstitutional various parts of the Enforcement Acts. This culminated in 1883 in the decision of the United States in a case involving a group of white men who had taken some Negroes from law officers and had ill-treated them. The action seemed certainly a violation of the Ku Klux Klan Act, but the court questioned the constitutionality of the Act on the grounds that the Fourteenth Amendment, in the words "No state shall make or enforce," had laid restrictions upon the states and not the individ-

ual. As this was an act of individuals, and not of a state, Congress had no power. The same stand was taken shortly thereafter when the court declared the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional. This act had attempted to insure the Negro equal rights in public conveyances, hotels, and theaters, but the court pointed out that violations of this act had not been committed by the states.

Eventually the southern whites found numerous ways, legal and illegal, of nullifying not only congressional legislation but also the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. A poll tax and/or other taxes automatically eliminated a good proportion of the poverty stricken Negroes. Where that was not sufficient, a law like that passed in Mississippi accomplished the same purpose; i.e., it provided that every voter must be able to read any part of the Constitution or to give an interpretation of it when it was read to him. This type of law was designed to debar the black illiterates, but it still allowed the white illiterates to vote. An even more forthright method of excluding Negroes was a Louisiana law of 1898, which included the well-known grandfather clause: Under this act, any citizen, regardless of porperty or educational qualifications, who had voted before January 1, 1867, might still vote, along with his descendents. This law was later declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. In some states, gerrymanderying was used; for example, in Mississippi, where one election district composed largely of Negroes was laid out three hundred-twenty miles wide, intimidation could always be used where the preceding devices were inadequate.

These were the things that happened in the past, but some of them are still taking place today. For the year 1960 marked a sharp increase in Ku Klux Klan membership; the total Klan membership is estimated at 35,000 to 50,000.

There are two major competing Klan groups in the the South--the U.S. Klans and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which was formed in Februrary probably as a response to the sit-in movement and spreading school desegregation. The sit-in movement was launched at Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 2, 1960, and a few weeks later, on the weekend of February 27-28, representatives of splinter Klan groups from seven southern states met at the Henry Grady Hotel in Atlanta and formed a National Klan Committee "to coordinate their activities." While there is no proof of a causal relationship, the general evidence seems to support the assumption that sit-ins, as well as the continuing spread of school desegregation, spurred that Klan action.

The National Knights have since shown that it means business. At the original meeting in Atlanta, a proposal was made that the new Klan confederation show its strength by burning crosses throughout the South on the last weekend in March. Newspapers in the South reported that on Saturday, March 26, more than 1,000 crosses were burned in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, and several other states. There was every indication that these cross burnings were a coordinated effort.

At the big U.S. Klan's meeting in a downtown Atlanta hotel on November 30, Davidson declared that the U.S. Klan would do anything possible to preserve segregation and, "If it takes a blackshot to keep the black race down, Klansmen will use it." News dispatches also quoted an Atlanta attorney, identified as the Klan legal advisor, as calling on Klansmen to burn the school if necessary to prevent integration. Reverend E. E. George, Baptist evangelist and chaplain to the U.S. Klan, was quoted in the press as saying, "If it takes saving the American way at the cost of our lives, then let's make that sacrifice." An Atlanta reporter wrote that the Klan speakers professed love for all races while shouting of "Jew boys"

and "niggers," and that they talked of respect for law, order, and constituted authority, while shouting of using buckshot, burning schools, and sacrificing lives in the Klan's cause.

It does not take any special powers of observation to state flatly that the American South is in a period of acute racial tension and that such tension will increase. The progress of school desegregation has spread, however slowly, and the Deep South is now the area of crisis. If New Orleans is the crucial scene today, Atlanta may be the tension spot tomorrow, and another southern community may follow the day after. The continuing sit-in movement is another potent factor pointing towards new tension situations. Finally, to also add to the tension, there is the weapon of physical force, intimidation and violence, which has been employed throughout the South by the Klans and other extremists for the last six years. Hundreds of bombings, beatings, crossburnings and other threats have taken place since the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954.

It ought to be noted that the present Klans have not gained any appreciable measure of public acceptance or respectability in the South, and that they are not likely to achieve the mass followings that they boasted of in the 1920's and '30's; they are still the targets of denunciation from responsible quarters and from reputable newspapers. But, it may well be that in the 1960's, public acceptance and respectability will not be an essential ingredient for Klan growth, Klan activity, or Klan violence.

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THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

It has been repeatedly said, "History repeats itself." Nowhere is this saying more true than in the annals of American history, which are filled with recurring themes of "right fundamentalism," or what is more popularly referred to as "radical right" movements. In the mid-1800's, it was the "Know Nothing" movement; in the early part of this century, it was the Ku Klux Klan movement; in the thirties, it was Coughlinism; and, in the fifties, it was McCarthyism. These movements are identified with conservatism and usually originate amidst conditions which promote frustration and dispair. There are a number of other characteristics which rightist groups also exhibit. First of all, these groups "tend to see complex problems simply and to define problems in terms of either-or choices."[1] Then, they are strict adherents to the conspiratorial theory of history, and thus they "tend to attribute every frustration to betrayal by traitors."[2] Furthermore, the rightists have a deeply-rooted distrust of those who lead the dominant social groups.[3] Moreover, they are skeptical of the democratic institutions and process, which amounts to "a distrust...of the people."[4] They reject those programs for handling social, economic, and international problems that the rest of society agrees upon. Finally, "to break the net of conspiracy, they advocate 'Direct Action...often through secret organizations, push-button pressure campaigns, and front groups."[5]

This discussion shall be concerned with a brief analysis of the John Birch Society, which is having a tremendous impact on contemporary America. We shall look at its purposes, leaders, organization, methodology, supporters and friends, and the criticisms that have been launched against it. We shall finally try to ascertain whether the Birch Society answers to the discription of the typical right-fundamentalist group given in the preceding paragraph.

> Be he truck driver or salesman, he is convinced that something is wrong with the big shots who run everything...He knows for sure that he is earnestly fighting Communism, so why should anyone but Communists be scared of him? At his chapter meetings, he throbs with good old foot-stomping patriotism when the phonograph bellows out "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." He gets a lift from the pledge of Allegiance and comes out strong on the "under God." He feels a healthy tweak of discipline when he stands up to applaud his leaders.
> He is a student in the most thorough indoctrination school this side of the Communist party.[6]

Who is he? He is a Bircher!

In December of 1958, retired candymaker Robert Welch decided to do something about his suspicions of Communist infiltration in the United States. He called together a group of eleven wealthy individuals, whose Indianapolis Conference gave birth to the John Birch Society, in honor of a young American who was killed by the Chinese Communists in 1945. Since its origin, the Birch Society has grown by tremendous leaps to become one of the best organized and potentially powerful groups in the United States.[7] By 1961, the Birch Society had chapters in at least 27 states and the District of Columbia.[8] Today, the Birchers may well have over 500 chapters and a membership of nearly 60,000.[9]

Founder Robert Welch is a resident of Belmont, Massachusetts, and, until his retirement in 1957, was vice-president of the Welch Candy Company. Welch, who is

married and the father of two sons, has devoted himself full-time to fighting Communism since retiring. He travels constantly throughout the country, making speeches wherever a group will sponsor him and an audience will listen.[10] He also edits and publishes American Opinion, the monthy publication for the Society.

It is Welch's contention that "Communism is the deadly enemy of America... and many of the most important figures in American public life have abetted the Communist conspiracy for nearly three decades..."[11] Specifically, the Communists have infiltrated almost every branch of the national government; Chief Justice Earl Warren ought to be impeached, since he is one of the leading Communists in the country; and 7,000 of the country's Protestant clergymen are Communists or "Comsymps," Welch's coined term for Communist sympathizer.

The avowed purpose of the John Birch Society is to "promote less government, more responsibility, and a better world."[12] Therefore, the Society has committed itself to fight, throw back, and, finally, stop Communism in this country. This goal is to be achieved by acting in a manner similar to that of the Communists. Accordingly, the Society thrives on secrecy and authoritarianism. It does not hesitate to use unscrupulous methods if they advance the cause. In defending the use of questionable tactics, Welch has states:

> It is one of our many sorrows that, in fighting the evil forces which threaten our civilization, for us to be too civilized is unquestionably to be defeated. The Communists...want us to be too gentle, too respectable...(but) this is not a cream-puff war...and we do mean business every step of the way.[13]

The Welch doctrine has proved appealing to a varied segment of the population. Birchism's greatest strength is in the West and South. In the suburbs of Los Angeles, for example, "the JBS has become the new force to be reckoned with. Any candidate for GOP nomination must make peace on Birch terms or take on battle."[14] By and large, the Birch Society appeals primarily to well-to-do Republicans, and somewhat more to Catholics than to Protestants. This factor suggests that Birchism appeals most to those to whom economic conservatism and fear of Communism are crucial issues. According to the California Poll, Birch supporters are less willing to grant civil liberties to Communists, pacifists, and atheists than the opponents of the Birch Society; furthermore, they are less likely to insist that policemen have search warrants before entering a house and more likely to deny the right of public meetings than those opposed to the Society. It is to be noted that the Society has little appeal to the economically deprived, as it advocates economic conservatism.[15] California Attorney General Stanley Moss has described the Birch supporters as "wealthy businessmen, retired military officers, and little old ladies in tennis shoes."[16]

The group is neither anti-Negro nor anti-Semitic. However, the Birchers are strongly opposed to "forced integration," which they construe as a Communist plot.[17] In spite of this, the Birchers boast of four chapters with Negroes: two segregated chapters in the South and two integrated ones in the North.[18] On the question of anti-Semitism, Robert Welch is definitely opposed to it, but his opposition is not characteristic of all of the Society members. For example, Welch has the right to drop anyone from membership at his discretion. Of the two instances in which he has exercised this right, one involved a man who had taken over a certain local and was trying to convert it into a pit of anti-Semitism.[19]

The Birch Society is highly secretive; Welch even refuses to reveal its total membership and its actual income. Provisions of the chapter make Welch the abso-

lute leader of the Society:

> There is no accounting of dues or contributions; there is no representative process or democratic system for selecting programs or defining positions; and Welch has the power (which he has used) to expel any member or chapter for reasons sufficient to him, without right of hearing or appeal on the expulsion.[20]

In the founding document of the Society, The Blue Book of the John Birch Society, Welch states:

> The John Birch Society is to be a monolithic body. A republican form of government or organization...lends itself too readily to infiltration, distortion, and disruption. The John Birch Society will operate under completely authoritative control at all levels...[21]

In addition to Welch, there are 28 full-time employees at Society headquarters in Belmont, Massachusetts. Around the country, there are nearly 100 full- or part-time volunteer coordinators or workers, who are apparently responsible for organization in specific parts of a state. The volunteer coordinators are, in turn, supervised by approximately 35 full-time salaried employees serving as "area coordinators." The area coordinators are responsible directly to Welch. Finally, there are the chapter leaders in their respective home towns, who assume responsibility for the daily operations of the Society.

The primary governing agency of the Society is the National Council, consisting of 26 Birchers appointed by Welch. The Council presently includes Lt. Gen. Charles Stone, USAF (Ret.); M. T. Phelps, former Chief Justice of the Arizona Supreme Court; Col. Laurence Bunker, retired former personal aide to Gen. MacArthur; Cola G. Parker, former head of the National Association of Manufacturers; Spruille Braden, former Ambassador to Brazil; and T. Coleman Andrews, Eisenhower's Internal Revenue Chief.[22] From this Council, four are chosen to serve with Welch on the Executive Committee. Further, a Committee of Endorsers, composed of individuals from the various states, may be considered as a part of the leadership of the Society. One should constantly bear in mind that the John Birch Society is organized from the top down and that the only real leader is Welch.

The organization of the Society resembles a pattern of concentric circles. The "inner circle" includes the National Council and the paid area and major coordinators and headquarters staff. The Committee of Endorsers and the full- and part-time volunteer coordinators compose the "second circle." The "outer circle" consists of the chapter leaders and the ordinary members of the Society in the local chapters.[23]

Membership dues are $24 annually for men and $12 for women. "Life membership" in the Home Chapter (Belmont) can be bought for a $1000 fee and carries with it the perogative of automatic membership in any local chapter. In addition, voluntary contributions from the members are solicited. There are no detailed financial reports available, but the following has been speculated:

> Welch can count on at least $30,000 to $50,000 a year from life members, not including any supplementary contributions they might make.
>
> The payroll and expenses for the nation-wide staff of approximately 63 men and women--plus his extensive printing

and mailing operations--tend to support the impression that the John Birch Society is probably a $1,000,000 a year operation, or more.[24]

Several observers have commented that the Birch Society is unique in that it is the best organized right-wing extremist group in American history. Furthermore, the Society is adequately financed by dues on a continuing basis; hence, unlike many right-wing organizations, it is not entirely dependent upon the financial support of one, or a few wealthy individuals.

The operating guide of the Society is Welch's Blue Book of the John Birch Society. In addition, some of Welch's other writings are identified with the Society, e.g., The Life of John Birch, May God Forgive Us, and A Letter to the South on Segregation. The monthy Bulletin contains the agenda of activities. Welch personally edits American Opinion, a monthy publication, for the Society. Another one of Welch's writings, The Politician, which he insists is a "private letter," has been denied as being one of the Society's official works.

In The Politician, Welch levels the charges against several outstanding personalities which have made him such a notorious crusader. One authority has maintained that the book is to the Society "what Leninist dogma is to the Communist-front groups in Western nations--it is the ultimate truth held by the founder and his hard core, but it is too advanced and too powerful to present, as yet, to the 'masses' being led."[25]

The Politician supposedly names the Communists and "Comsymps" in this country. Perhaps the most startling accusation in the well-filled book is the one stating that "...Dwight Eisenhower is a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy."[26] Welch also stated that "the chances are very strong that Milton Eisenhower is actually Dwight Eisenhower's superior and bodd within the Communist Party."[27]

Welch further charges that Chief Justice Earl Warren "has taken the lead in converting this country to democracy," which, for Welch, is a "perennial fraud."[28] Hence, Welch has launched a massive campaign to impeach Warren, and, in 1961, the Birchers offered a $2300 prize for the best college essays on why Warren should be impeached. Welch also constantly circulates petitions demanding Warren's resignation.[29]

The Birchers have also included in their list of Communist conspirators ex-Secretary of State John F. Dulles, Nelson Rockefeller, Dag Hammarskjold, Arthur F. Burns (the head of the Council of Economic Advisors under Eisenhower), Franklin Roosevelt, and Harry Truman. Communist influences are supposedly very powerful in the educational system, the religious organizations, and the labor organizations. Welch further declares that "treason is widespread and rampant in our high army circles."[30]

The Society opposes a number of organizations and programs on the grounds that they are leaning toward Communism. Among these are Social Security, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Federal Reserve System, the National Labor Relations Act, reciprocal trade agreements, foreign aid, membership in the United Nations, the Americans for Democratic Action, the Supreme Court, the National Council of Churches, compulsory integration, government bonds, urban renewal projects, medicare, and the graduated income tax. By and large, the Birchers are fundamentally and temperamentally a group of "aginners."

A close look at contemporary America shows that it is being infiltrated by the Birchers and their doctrine. In 1961, Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker was relieved of his command when it was discovered that he "had established an 'anti-Communist' program that included the wholesale distribution of Birch Society literature."[31] In the same year, it was found that a Birch-sponsored filmstrip was being shown in at least a dozen military installations.[32]

The Birch Society is also beginning to feel its weight in political circles. It has claimed two Republican Congressmen as members: John Rousselot and Edgar Hiestand of California, both of whom lost re-election last year. It is now in control of the Young Republicans of California; and the Society made a determined, although unsuccessful, bid for control of the California Republican Assembly.[33] Senator Stephen Young reported the incident in which a school board member, whose only "crime" was that he permitted a meeting in him home at which the speaker tried to build sentiment for the abolition of the House Committe on Un-American Activities, lost his position as a result of the pressure exerted by the Birch Society's local chapter.[34]

These are but a few of the many instances in which the Birchers have used questionable tactics to achieve their goals. A prominent critic of the Society has written:

> Their tactics are the big lie and the wanton smear...Unable to impeach Chief Justice Warren, they are willing to settle, temporarily, for the head of a schoolteacher in Maine or a clergyman in Texas...(They) sell their followers the diagnosis that internal Communism is the disease which causes all ills; and then prescribe local vigilante action as the cure.[35]

Senator Young of Ohio goes on to describe the John Birch Society as "the most dangerous organization in America", because it "has introduced a new intelligence to the lunitic fringe by developing a formal structure more sophisticated than any other right-wing group."[36] President Kennedy has stated that "Birch officials... have not exercised judgment...based on the kind of challenges we face."[37] Life magazine observes:

> The basic dilemma of modern Whiggery is how to combat a monolithic Soviet enemy with an eighteenth century style minimum of government and budget. The Birch escape from this dilemma is to internalize a menace which is in fact predominately external; i.e., to find as many Communists at home as abroad.[38]

Attorney General Robert Kennedy has dismissed the Birch Society as "in the area of being humorous."[39]

Does, then, the John Birch Society exhibit those general features that characterize those historical "radical right" movements? Referring to the criteria set in the introduction of this paper, it is clear that the Birchers are inclined to simplify the complex problems of this country. The simple national problem is Communist infiltration. This infiltration is made possible by conspiracies on the part of those who lead the dominant social groups, such as Eisenhower, Warren, and Dulles. Furthermore, these traitors would transform our glorious republic into a democracy, which is only "a deceptive phrase, a perennial fraud, and a weapon of demagoguery." Such socio-economic measures as the Tennessee Valley Authority, Social Security, government bonds, et cetra are but manifestations of Communist in-

filtration and control and should rightly be rejected by every loyal, red-blooded American who desires his republic to remain a republic. Conclusively, the ideology of the Birchers indubitably conforms to the general traits of the right-wing movements in this country.

The future of the Birch Society is a matter of speculation. On the one hand, the successful organization and financial security of the Birchers would seem indicative of greater days ahead for the Society. There is the very real possibility that many Americans--Northerners, as well as Southerners--will be attracted to the Society as the federal government assumes more authority in granting to the Negro his civil liberties. However, the authoritarian character and control of the group by Welch, coupled with the extreme positions taken by Welch on issues which Americans generally approve, may have the effect of dealing a death blow to the Birch Society and its ideology. Only the future holds the answer.

FOOTNOTES

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2. Barth, ibid., p. 1.
3. Daniel Bell, The Radical Right, (New York: Doubleday, 1962), p. 203.
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5. Bell, ibid., p. 203.
6. George T. Harris, "The Rampant Right Invades the GOP," Look (July 16, 1963) Vol. 27, No. 14, p. 23.
7. Benjamin R. Epstein, "Democracy and the John Birch Society." Reprinted from ADL Bulletin (June, 1961), p. 1.
8. _____ "The John Birch Society," Facts (November-December, 1961), Vol. 14, No. 5, p. 221.
9. ibid., p. 222.
10. "On the Road," Newsweek (May 1, 1961), LVII No. 18, p. 42.
11. "The John Birch Society," Life (May 12, 1961), L No. 19, p. 124.
12. "The Unhelpful Fringes," Life (May 12, 1961) L No. 19, p. 32.
13. Bell, op. cit., p. 209.
14. Harris, op. cit., p. 209.
15. Bell, op, cit., p. 42.
16. "Turnabout," Newsweek (March 11, 1961), LXI No. 10, p. 28.
17. "On the Road," op. cit., p. 42.
18. Bell, op. cit., p. 210.
19. Facts, op. cit., p. 225.
20. Bell, op. cit., p. 212.
21. Epstein, op. cit., p. 1.
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23. "The John Birch Soceity," Facts, op. cit., p. 222.
24. ibid., p. 223.
25. Alan F. Westin in Bell's The Radical Right, pp. 205-206.
26. "Birch Bark," Newsweek (April 24, 1961), LVII No. 17, p. 43.
27. Bell, op. cit., p. 206.
28. Epstein, op. cit., p. 1.
29. For a California editor's adverse reaction to the "Impeach Warren Campaign," consult Time (November 17, 1961), pp. 40-42.
30. Bell, op. cit., p. 207.
31. "Birch Bark," op. cit., p. 44.
32. "Red Greenland," Newsweek (May 1, 1961), LVII No. 18, p. 42.
33. Stephen Young, "Danger on the Right," The Saturday Evening Post (January 13, 1962),

Vol. 235, No. 2, p. 6.

35. ibid., p. 6.
36. ibid., p. 6.
37. "Red Greenland," op. cit., p. 40.
38. "The Unhelpful Fringes," op. cit., p. 32.
39. Young, op. cit., p. 6.

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A LIBERAL NEWSPAPER EDITOR

"The South is changing. How shall it live through the change?" This question was asked by a perceptive southern editor before the crucial 1954 Supreme Court School decision. Reporting and interpreting the change and playing a large role in determining how the South will live through that change is the job of the press and its editors. An analysis of press effectiveness in creating new attitudes, strengthening old ones, compounding chaos or guiding the way to reason requires a subjective approach; this is what I intend to utilize in my role as a liberal newspaper editor.

In my role, I do not intend to make any dogmatic statements in regard to liberalism; instead, I will define everything as relative. People have always evaluated liberalism as they feel it, and this is also my aim. Traditional liberalism is relative to various regions: What is liberal in the South is not necessarily liberal in the East, West, or North; what is liberal for Florida may not be liberal for Louisiana. My role deals also with giving you as true a conception as possible of a national newspaper in contrast to a southern newspaper and the basic ideals of a newspaper editor.

Liberalism is a cult, but it is the cult of the "real." In the South, it is the cult of Americanism, of courage and truth. It is destructive, yet it is preservative. The newspaper editor who finds himself in a liberal position on the racial question eats heartily at the table of basic human rights. He holds the belief that the Negro is a man; furthermore, he subscribes to the opinion that, since the Negro is an American, he should enjoy the privileges and immunities guaranteed by the American way, not necessarily by the Constitution, and, being further committed to the belief of freedom of expression, such an editor pledges allegiance to the tradition of liberalism - that is, to the freedom of man, to basic human dignity, and to a search for truth. His shepherd is his conscience, and, if he walks through the shadows of death, he fears no evil, for the kingdom is freedom, the power is truth, and the glory is the free expression of this truth.

The newspaper editor is in dire need of a vehicle, for without one he cannot be heard. This vehicle is a liberal newspaper--a paper that stands for objectivity, a paper that searches for truth. But, the concept of a newspaper is sometimes distorted to most because of the people who create it. However, the beginnings, development, and expansion of this vehicle of communication occured during brief periods of great liberal activity. The newspaper was conceived as a mode of free expression; it was to air all views and facts regardless of their meaning. This concept is carried to an utopian form when the newspaper is totally unfilled with biased news. But this ideal must be limited to fit the purpose of the paper, since what may be news to some is not news to others. Papers designed for a specific audience do not necessarily have to meet the same standards as do papers which are designed for the general public.

As a general rule, the liberal newspaper prints news as it occurs, saving editorials for those sections specifically designated for them. This doctrine breaks down when one human factor enters: what one person may consider important may be totally out of balance with the general scheme. This factor enters the picture as a form of editorializing on a newspaper. The liberal tries to minimize this in his mind by reporting the news as it occurs, without attempting to evaluate the significance, because human events have a tendency to editorialize themselves.

After the news is reported, the staff takes over and, without distortion, attempts to analyze and to comment on those events that it deems important. All of

this work is done with the liberal principles in mind. So, what is the difference in this view and the conservative view? The answer lies in the position of the two: The liberal evaluates things or events as to whether they are good or bad by liberal principles; whereas the conservative tends to maintain that goodness lies in the maintenace of the status quo and to regard anything detrimental to the status quo as being bad. Without necessarily seeking an end to the status quo, the liberal evaluates anything that is detrimental to man as an evil that should be corrected.

By and large, all newspapers hope that their views will recieve at least grudging acceptance in their communities. Any other reaction would indicate that the editor has failed to persuade his readers or to provoke them to serious thought. Certainly, there is more anguish and confusion in the world than there should be, and, if we were better at our jobs, some of these troubles might be alleviated. We can only hope that there is less trouble than there would be if we were not around at all.

The concept of a southern newspaper is somewhat different. While it is true that a large majority of white-owned southern newspapers have opposed the 1954 decision, it is also true that a significan minority have supported the decision. However, when related issues are brought up, often the division is not nearly as one sided; for example, in the early days of the White Citizens' Council, a large number of newspapers opposed this organization with almost the same vigor as they had previously opposed the Ku Klux Klan. Interracial violence has been deplored almost universally by southern newspapers.

It should be noted, also, that all southern newspapers have given their readers a fuller coverage of the desegregation story than newspapers in other sections of the country. While much of this coverage has lacked objectivity and while there has been a general timidity among many editors to cover the speeches and activities of desegregationists, no one who has travelled widely throughout the South since 1954 can doubt that the southern newspaper reader is being exposed to more news about desegregation than his counterpart in the North.

Because there is such a wide range in the handling of racial news by various southern newspapers, a survey was taken of six southern newspapers, which shows just how the papers reported, edited, headlined, and displayed the news dealing with racial incidents: (1) It is obvious to even the casual reader that a great amount of space is being given to racial news. (2) Racial conflict still gets greater coverage than racial cooperation, for both the newspaper and its readers still consider conflict more newsworthy and more readable than lack of conflict. (3) Chief source of the news is the wire service, with some slight effort to add local interviews or tie-ins when pertinent. Mews may be made more or less sensational by the way that wire service stories are cut or by the way headlines are placed above the story. (4) Southern newspapers are not taking advantage of their opportunity to secure color and human interest stories, in addition to the principle stories of an event from the wire service. (5) Southern newspapers are still unaware of the effect some of their racial stories may have on readers in other countries. (6) A story of racial news may be pushed out of place by an important local story, such as the session of a state legislature or the running of a Kentucky Derby. (7) The southern newspapers are conforming more closely to the accepted standards of good journalism than the atmosphere of the times or the changes of their critics would indicate. (8) Attentive reading of a Negro newspaper in the South would give southern readers a very different conception of Negro attitudes and emotions. (9) By-line stories by a newspaper's Washington correspondent or of a local reporter sent to cover a nearby racial news event are more likely

to show bias than the principal story from the wire services. In short, the southern newspapers are doing a better job of giving their readers the facts about racial events than in revealing their meaning and interpreting the view-points of the people involved.

The interpretation of facts and perspectives is the responsibility of the editorial staff. In the liberal newspaper, this responsibility should be handled in the sphere of the liberal tradition, which is objective and which leads us to wonder about the position of the editor of a liberal southern newspaper. He can be called liberal only when his thought is guided by the liberal ideals. These ideals demand the correct statement of fact and an analysis of a situation within the confinement of those facts. The commentary must then be guided by the liberal traditions. In the South, the liberal must pursue a course that leads directly to total liberation of American citizens who happen to be Negroes. His newspaper must first fit the concept of A Newspaper; it must not be an excuse, but a paper; it must not editorialize on the newspaper; it must not report as fact an opinion held by the paper, but it must report the news as it occurs. When such standards are upheld, the liberal newspaper editor can then use his paper to further the liberal cause, which, in this case, is the full equality of the Negro. In doing so, his paper becomes a cause--a cause for the truth. The liberal newspaper editor realizes this and, in effect, pursues a never ending quest for this truth, no matter where it exists or whatever is weakened by this truth.

Thus, in Gainesville, Georgia, Sylvan Meyer, the Georgia-born editor of the Daily Times, has won awards for his forthright editorials on various aspects of the desegregation question. "I have long felt," he said not long ago, "that a newspaper editor needs a set of standards to which he can refer on racial issues. You ought to be able, for example, to reduce your position in every case to some fundamental belief on which most people agree." Among Meyer's self-imposed standards are freedom of speech, equality under the law, freedom of choice, local self-determination, andopen communications between the races. He has gone even further to make his newspaper conform with his own standards for fairness: he has dropped the conventional southern designation of Negroes in news stories "except where it is an integral part of the story." Unlike most southern newspapers, the Times does not segregate white and Negro obituaries. The results are a healthy, lively newspaper in a city whose commissioners have appointed two Negroes to the local board of education since the 1954 decision.

In other cities, other newspapers and other editors have taken similar stands. In Little Rock, Arkansas, Harry S. Ashmore, executive editor of the Arkansas Gazette, has kept up a steady drumbeat for compliance with "the law of the land." In Greenville, Mississippi, where Hodding Carter's Delta Democrat-Times has conducted a running battle with the Citizens' Council and has described the Supreme Court's decree and inevitable one, editorial positions have been taken against abolishing the public school system and favoring the improvement of all schools in the state. A square-cut, powerful Georgian by the name of Ralph McGill has long been respected as one of the most forthright and liberal editors. His editorials in the Atlanta Constitution, his commitment to the improvement of race relations, his belief that his place is in the South is evidence of his integrity.

It has been said that a liberal newspaper editor never stops his quest for truth; he does not editorialize on the news except in places clearly designed for editorials; he lets the news edit itself, and, when he does editorialize, it is within the concepts of liberalism. In short, the liberal newspaper editor wages a relentless battle against tyranny over man's mind and body.

--Janice Rouzan
Xavier University

THE NEGRO PROTEST-INTELLECTUAL

Mr. President, Miss Chairman, and Kiwanians, it is indeed a privilege to be asked to speak to you and to share with you some of my feelings on this occasion of "Brotherhood Week." I thank you for this opportunity, for I cannot help thinking that it is a rare occasion when a Negro meets with you. But why is this so? Here you are, the civic leaders of Potropolis, a city of 100,000 with a Negro population comprising 30 per cent of your citizenry. Is it that there are no Negroes who meet your high and noble qualifications for membership? or is it that you have had no Negro civic leaders? Well, whatever the reason, it is now Brotherhood Week. What does it mean to you? Are you doing anything particularly brotherly this week, or are you just having someone speak about it? I am not accusing you, for I certainly do not know your club's program. Frankly, I think that Brotherhood Week is a farce. Maybe there is a little more talk about who our brother is, but, as far as getting to know him and what we can do for him, there is not much being done. As trite as it might sound, Brotherhood Week ought to be every week; therefore, why have one, if we're not going to do anything about it?

Since I'm not a citizen of your community, I can imagine the question in your minds, "Where are you from?" Well, it really does not matter, because I'm an outsider to you, someone who has ideas different from those of the natives. Of course, if the outsider is born, reared, or even a temporary resident from north of the Mason-Dixon Line, the suspicions are confirmed. But, for the sake of your questioning minds, I was born, reared, and educated in Alabama. I know "the situation;" I have borne the brunt of the "Negro problem" far more acutely than any of you. But I still don't understand the stupid, lazy, good-for-nothing niggers that you have to cope with right here. If only the Negroes around here were like me--somewhat educated, wearing a suit, talking to you--you might change your minds. However, in your terms, my family is exactly like the Negroes that you right here in Potropolis.

Mr White introduced me as a "protest intellectual," and, by the end of my talk, he will probably want to retract the statement and to call me a "bitter protester." Hence, at the beginning, I will help him save face by saying that I am not an intellectual, a protester, yes, but an intellectual, no. In the first place, I'm not any more intelligent than a lot of my friends, and, in the second place, an intellectual connotes a person who is completely rational and in control of his emotions while enduring the injustices of every day life. How any Negro can be this way, I cannot understand. How any Negro can walk in a demonstration calmly observing the nonviolent principles of turning the other three cheeks, while violent hecklers spit, slap, kick or whatever they might want to do, I cannot understand. Yet these saints always have an open ear and an understanding mind ready to hear what these hecklers might say in any attempt at reconciliation. Well, I'm sick of turning my other three cheeks--I've been forced to do that all of my life, and I just can't endure it any more.

Now, gentlemen, don't misunderstand and think that I'm not a sympathizer with these people; if they can protest in this self-inflicting way, more power to them! But, Martin Luther King, Jr., might call me impotent in my protest. He might say that I am too sensitive and so overcome by the situation that I can't achieve the way that he does. I can only feel and know the situation, participate and observe, and relate to you and to others my feelings. If only I could do more and do so in other ways--but, I cannot!

Yet, on the other hand, I cannot agree with the Black Nationalists' method either. For instance, the Black Muslims seem to think that they can reject our

entire past existence in this country. To a certain degree, all of us Negroes want the same thing that the Black Muslims do. We all want to shake off the present day shackles which originated in the past and which keep us from being true Americans; it is this part of the history books which we want to erase because it binds us today. These shackles affect our personality--how could it help but to do that? You expect us not to be marred by those things which you inflicted upon our ancestors; but that is not even true. You might say that you want us to pull ourselves up by our bootstraps and to be equal to you, which might be wonderful assuming that we want to, but you don't want that either. You really want us to remain scarred so that we can be as low and as inferior to you as possible and for as long as possible. You try to delude yourselves and to say that this isn't so; but, I know it is. Too long have we Negroes been kicked in the teeth and far worse whenever we try to climb your ladder of opportunity; this is the past of all Negroes, whether they are Black Muslims or Uncle Toms, want erased, because it still prevails and influences us today. Neither blacks nor whites can live apart from each other as they would like to think.

However, what the poor Black Muslims don't realize is that we cannot eradicate our past nor can we eliminate that part of the past of which we Negroes are proud--our history of protest. We began our protest the minute that we heard that slave traders wanted to make us captives; in fact, the descendants of some of the first protesters are still in Africa, while some of the other protesters are on the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean, those who were on that first ship bound towards this wonderful country of wealth, opportunity, and freedom. Protesting has continued to this day, and it will continue for many years to come. What you white folks can't realize is that this is the story of every single Negro in the United States since 1619. It's not just the cry of a new breed of people, the New Negro of 1963; it's the demand of every Negro American. The only difference today is that you are finally beginning to hear us. Before, if we protested verbally or physically, you slapped us in the mouth, kicked us down, or killed us--heaven knows a lot of us wouldn't take that risk. But, finally, you have to concede to the fact that we are saying something, which some of you still won't grant. Finally, we're able to stand up and make a noise, and that vibration is finally penetrating into your minds. You don't know what we're actually saying, but at least you know that we're speaking and now you have to listen. You could turn us off before, like a radio, but now you have lost that privilege, and some of you are shaking in your boots, having minute tastes of what we Negroes have feared for 350 years. But you'll never know that fear the way we have felt it, because we have known fear for no just reason. If you ever do know this fear as acutely as we Negroes have, then there will be justification. However, I seriously doubt that you will ever have to know this fear as poignantly as we have, because we Negroes have become too whitehearted and soft-hearted. We have had to accept you throughout our history every minute of our lives; we have had no choice.

Love is completely out of the question. We can't love you because you won't let us; in fact, I have very serious doubts whether you even know what it means to love--brotherly love, anyway--if some little external factor or physical difference can halt your love for a person. Love certainly penetrates the outside surfaces, but you have the audacity to say that you love some Negroes, that you have a good friend who is a Negro. Well, what sort of relation is this friend to you? Is she dear ole Bessie, your cook, or is it John, who cleans your office. Sure, you love them and they love you. Well, you're only fooling yourself. It may seem that they love you because they have no other choice, that is, if they want to keep their jobs. We Negroes know a heck of a lot more about you than you do about us. We can see you as you really are, since you won't even see yourselves. By chance, if you do see your real selves through some action on our part, you're

angry with us. As for your seeing us as we really are, first of all, you will not let us really expose our personalities, and, second of all, you don't give us credit for having a complex personality whose depths can be plumbed. For instance, we Negroes never let ourselves believe in the American dream of success or of your ideals of equality and freedom. We knew that they weren't true when we were denied these myths, or when we saw certain ones of you withholding these ideals from other white people. You see, we Negroes do not have such a tremendous gap between our ideals and our realistic practices as you whites do, which is why we have a much more realistic outlook on life than you do.

But, getting back to the love you show for your so-called "Negro friends," I know that you can tell me of many incidents wherein you showed your love, even beyond the call of duty. Sure, you bailed dear old John out of jail when he was arrested for being drunk, and maybe you even helped Bessie with her doctor bills. No, you certainly did not have to do this, but you did, you wonderful, moral, upstanding people. Well, I don't call it love. I call it paternalism or expiation for guilt. Guilt? You feel guilt? Maybe it is subconscious, but I think it is existent. Even though you don't realize it, you feel guilt for helping to perpetuate this cruel system of segregation and deprivation. By helping those who are most obviously oppressed, it dispels any feelings of remorse which might creep into your conscious minds. You are an aid and accomplice to this system by allowing it to continue. No, you aren't half as guilty as your ancestors who owned slaves--though I am not quite sure that I'll agree. I don't care how liberal you are, unless you're doing what you personally can to the utmost of your abilities, you are allowing this system to perpetuate itself.

Yes, I have heard that we are all victims of southern prejudice. Only too well do I know what it means to be the victim of this prejudice! But you poor white people, prejudice has been handed down from generation to generation, and you just can't seem to do anything about it. You're the victim! Perhaps you blatantly admit the fact or maybe you are proud of it, but I will tell you that your day of reckoning is coming when you are going to be forced out of this attitude. Why don't you do something about it? Why don't you look inside of yourselves, see why you are prejudiced and what you can do about it? I'll guarantee you that if you do, you'll grow! Maybe some of you don't even realize that you are prejudiced. You're only deluding yourself; you think morally and rationally one way, but, somehow, emotionally you act another way. Maybe you're only somewhat prejudiced and you're trying to overcome this. Nothing is as sickening to me as the person who has to prove that he is a "good egg" about the racial situation--coming to sit beside me on the bus on a hot day when practically all of the other seats are vacant, sitting and nervously babbling and very carefully watching what he says so that he will not slip and offend me because of my race. He cannot eliminate the barrier within himself, and he cannot admit that the barrier is still within. He is so afraid that I will think that he is discriminating against me because of my race, rather than because of my personality or the fact that we do not even know each other. So, to further prove himself, he tells me about his Negro friends, and he cannot understand why I don't know every single Negro in the community.

So you're prejudiced; admit it and get on with doing something about it. Sure, you will be aware of guilt, but look at yourself as you really are and find out why you have been prejudiced. You are the victim of our system, and, once you realize your prejudice, you can begin to work on it. Get to really know some Negroes and discover what their feelings are. Just because things have always been a certain way does not mean that they will remain on a status quo basis.

It has always been a mystery to me how you can love your God, whom I assume to be the same as my God, and not love your fellow man. How can you keep Negroes out of your churches and not be concerned with his deprivation of opportunity, if the same God created all men? Does He not ask you to love your fellow man? Does He not ask you to at least allow your fellow man to worship with you? Of course, I am assuming the Negro to be your fellow man or your brother. Do you have a monopoly on Him? Maybe God is a good fellow, but He just doesn't understand the nature of these people who may or may not want to worship with you. In fact, how can you be sure these people really want to worship, especially if they come in small groups? Why they might just want to prove a point--that they can get in. Or, perhaps these people aren't the middle class lovelies that all the members are. Or, maybe you don't really mind, it is just that dear old Mr. Van Landingham won't continue to pledge $8,000 a year if we let some Negroes worship with us. But maybe I'm assuming too much. I assume that you rationalize the fact that Negroes are not admitted to your churches.

I have often heard it explained that Christians cannot correlate Christianity with the Negro situation. This reason is the exception, for things have always been this way. If a minister is prejudiced and he doesn't do anyting about it, what can you expect from the congregation? Somehow God just doesn't seem to ask brotherly love for the Negroes. Now it might be another matter if it's an African Negro; you want to help them to gain independence, you send contributions to help them better their living conditions, and, if an African comes to speak at the church, your wife is dying to have him stay in your home, though she has to be told that he's an African before she can distinguish him from other Negroes.

I guess that by now you think that you know my feelings. But, I have not shared them with you; I have tried to let you see yourselves as a Negro see you. Well, I'll tell you how all Negroes feel: All Negroes at one time or another hate white people. Now, you think that is unjustified. How can we help it when you deny us participation in American life as it is for you? The nasty and cruel things that you say and do to us when we are defenseless, so that we begin to hate ourselves if we hear or feel it long enough. You continue to lynch us, not in the crude way you did prior to 1959, but in more sophisticated ways. You might do it legally (which is to say that the law is on your side), in the courtroom, or at the polls. Economically you lynch us because we are supposedly not qualified for the jobs of civil service, etc.; you keep our men in menial or feminine low-paying jobs. You will not grant us the rights guaranteed by our Constitution. Then, there are some rights you deny us which are not civil rights--they are not even human rights--they are not more than animal rights. There is not an animal in this country which cannot eat, sleep, and go to the bathroom wilfully. How do I tell my children that there are certain limits which they cannot go beyond whereas other children can? How do I explain my nervousness to the children when they innocently buck those limits. I want them to be protected from the horrors I knew, yet my parents were the same way. They did not want me hurt, but I, being young and naive, could not understand. No, I could not understand until I had my own children. How do I tell my children why so many of their friends' parents are separated or not living with them? These are the reasons we hate you white people; because we can see no other reason for all these injustices and cruelties, we hate you. And I dare ask, are we unjustified? But you know, I pity you more--you who are the anesthetizedly prejudiced, you who are incapable of doing anything about the way things are and have been and will be in the future. I wonder how you tell your child when you walk out of church that what the preacher said was fine and good, but in reality we do otherwise. Your children must be confused; and, when they mature, they continue to be confused but they begin to delude themselves about their confusion. No, I cannot hate you whites, at least most of you, any longer.

If I continued to hate you, I would be hindered from many relations I might be able to have with you, opportunities to get to know myself and yourselves better. I would no longer be able to observe the situation very realistically, since I could not participate in it. How I pity you in your ignorance of yourselves and in your not being able to accept love.

I guess by now the psychologists in the group might be thinking that I am projecting my own guilt to you white people. Maybe subconsciously, for I do feel some guilt in view of the demonstrators' actions and in view of the strength of the Black Muslims' convictions. Maybe outwardly I am not contributing as much as they are to the situation, but I can only do what I feel that I can.

What I have been saying is what all Negroes feel, to a greater or lesser degree. We are all Americans and love this country. What I said about the inescapability of our past is also true of our own experiences and personalities; we cannot flee those parts of ourselves which we most avidly rebel. The eminent James Baldwin realized this very acutely after he fled to Paris to try to escape the race situation; he finally realized that he could not escape that part of himself and returned to America. That part of ourselves against which we rebel the most is the part of our personality which is the most incorporated in us, and we cannot flee from this because we cannot get away from ourselves. We have to accept these things as best we can and then begin to do something about them.

There is one last misconception that I think you whites have. You seem to think you are holding all sorts of little goodies which we Negroes want, maybe it is to marry your daughter or to embrace the mythical ideals you hold true. But, we don't want these wonderful gifts you seem to think that only you can give. In the first place, we have a more realistic outlook of what these things really are; secondly, we are going to gain certain things whether you want to give them or not. The only thing you white people have that we Negroes really want is power--the power which has kept us from participating in the American way of life. Sooner or later, you are going to lose this power, which seems to be based on some wonderful quality you possess--perhaps nothing more than your fair skin. Yes, some day we Negroes will have this power in so much as it affects us personally and individually. Sure, you can help draw out that time so that your so-called security is preserved and as long as we Negroes do not pose a threat to you. But, month by month, you see that we are slowly gaining this power of self-determination. You are forced into this recognition.

But why must this be done by force? Can it not be done by brotherly concern on the part of each of us? I doubt it seriously, but, if it could, how happy we all would be. If we could try to know each other, then maybe we could be concerned and, possibly, even love our fellow men. But to love those who are different requires a trust, which neither of us has for the other. It also involves a risk and possibly a threat which neither of us wants to take. But, for that risk, we will grow. We are all in this predicament together, some more than others; we are all involved and we cannot escape that fact.

Well, here it is Brotherhood Week. What are we going to do about it--talk a little while? What are we going to do this week and the days to come? Do you want to put away brotherhood until next year, like our Christmas decorations? Well, I know one thing, we both need each other to make America what we would like for it to be; all I can say is, "Know your brother, and your love will set you free."

--Susan Hall
Hollins College

9-12-63

Dr Tenzroup Org. Misc WD PA SB BP

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For Immediate Release

NEW YORK, Sept. 12 -- Two attorneys of the American Jewish Congress have flown to Plaquemine, La. to help map legal strategy for the Congress of Racial Equality in its demonstrations against segregation in the Mississippi River delta town.

Marvin Karpatkin, Chairman of the Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress New York Metropolitan Council, and Leo Pfeffer, general counsel of the Jewish Congress, will meet with CORE attorneys in Plaquemine tomorrow (Friday) to plan the next legal moves in the case.

The two lawyers responded to an appeal by Carl Rachlin, general counsel of CORE, for help in CORE's current litigation in the Federal District Court in Louisiana. Judge E. Gordon West is expected to issue a permanent injunction before Sept. 20 prohibiting anti-segregation meetings, street demonstrations and similar activities by CORE in Plaquemine. A temporary restraining order, issued by Judge West Sept. 1, is still in effect.

Pro-Segregation Forces Invoking Anti-Ku Klux Klan Law

The case is considered particularly significant because it is believed to mark the first time that pro-segregation forces in the South have invoked a Federal civil rights statute to block anti-segregation demonstrations.

In seeking the permanent injunction halting CORE demonstrations, Plaquemine and Iberville Parish authorities cited Title 42, Section 1985 of the U.S. Code, which covers "conspiracy to interfere with civil rights." This statute, which dates from 1871, was originally aimed at preventing Ku Klux Klan raids and other anti-Negro actions during the Reconstruction days following the Civil War.

Oral argument on the premanent injunction took place Sept. 9 and 10. Judge West reserved decision and promised to issue a ruling on or before Sept. 20.

MORE

At the hearing, police and civil authorities in Plaquemine argued that the effect of the CORE demonstrations was to deny the resident of Iberville Parish the equal protection of the laws as guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment. Their motion seeking a permanent injunction also said the demonstrations had resulted in "denying their civil rights" as protected under the 1871 statute.

The statute declares unlawful the action of two or more persons who "conspire or go in disguise on the highway or on the premises of another, for the purpose of depriving...any person or class of persons of the equal protection of the laws."

Signing the application for the restraining order were C.A. Griffin, Jr., Sheriff of Iberville Parish, Dennis Songy, Chief of Police of Plaquemine; Charles P. Schnebelen, Mayor of Plaquemine; and Edward T. Supple, President of the Iberville Parish Police Jury.

Appeal to U.S. Supreme Court in Prospect

Mr. Karpatkin and Mr. Pfeffer will work closely with four Negro lawyers who have ben representing CORE in the case. They are Robert F. Collins, Nils R. Douglas and Lolis K. Elie of the firm of Collins, Douglas and Elie in New Orleans and Murphy Bell of Baton Rouge.

When the expected injunction against CORE is issued by Judge West an appeal to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, which sits in New Orleans, will be taken. Should this appeal be denied, the attorneys have indicated they will then ask the U.S. Supreme Court to set aside the injunction against CORE.

Last month the American Jewish Congress formed a panel of volunteer attorneys to provide free legal counsel for persons brought before the courts on charges arising out of anti-discrimination actions

Demonstrations Began Aug. 19

The anti-desegregation demonstrations in Plaquemine have been le by James Farmer, national director of CORE. On Sept. 3 Mr. Farmer wa convicted on charges of disturbing the peace and obstructing streets and sidewalks. Each conviction carries a sentence of $100 fine and 30 days in jail. He has been released on $300 bond, pending appeal.

Two days earlier -- on Sept. 1 -- State troopers on horseback and Sheriff's deputies dispersed a crowd of 1,000 Negro demonstrators with tear gas and fire hoses. Six Negro ministers were arrested. Police lobbed tear gas bombs into the sanctuary of the Plymouth Rock Baptist Church.

Mr. Farmer charged that police brutality in Plaquemine was "an outrage to the sense of decency." He said he had seen horses allowed to trample and kick children.

The first court order barring CORE demonstrations in Plaquemine was obtained by local officials on Aug. 22. That order was stayed or Aug. 29 by a decision of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, which scheduled the the Sept. 9 hearing. On Sept. 1, however, a new temporary restraining order was issued by Judge West. The order was served on the Negro leaders moments after the start of a major demonstration that evening. After an orderly 20-minute march, the CORE demonstrators were dispersed by troopers on horseback and deputies on foot firing tear gas.

Some 400 persons have been arrested in Plaquemine since civil rights demonstrations began there on the night of Aug. 19, when policemen used tear gas to break up bands of Negroes marching on City Hall. The CORE demonstrations are in support of Negro demands for a biracial council and for inclusion of two Negro communities in Plaquemine proper.

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Intergroup Org. Misc.

VJ
SB
PA
MLV
BP

INTER-CITIZENS COMMITTEE, INC.
BOX 1443
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

REPORT ON BIRMINGHAM

SEPT. 20, 1963

Return to Research

DEAR FELLOW-HELPER,

Many months have passed since I wrote you about the progress of the Committee. The reason is that the work load has become so heavy, particularly since The Demonstrations last Spring, that it is impossible to keep up with all of the rights violations.

The savage, brutal, murderous, and ungodly bombing of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church on Sunday morning Sept. 14, has revealed to the whole world the evil of racism. Those few terrifying moments of the blast said what we have been trying to say to the nation for years, that there exists in Alabama the most unconscionable disregard for man and God on the part of some. If white supremacy consists in the wanton and brutal destruction of worshippers of God in the very house of worship, then I must confess that the church bombers are the most supreme murderers and cowards the world has ever seen. Only the diseased mind can aspire to reach such depths.

On the morning of the bombing I stood across the street from the church behind carbine bearing policemen and watched as the covered bodies were placed into waiting ambulances. Policemen drove a small crowd off the street. I got on a nearby porch. Women seeing the covered bodies being brought from the church cried and screamed without restraint. I could not bring my mind to believe what my eyes saw. It still seems like a tale from some distant land where people know nothing about freedom and democracy.

On Sept. 19, 1963 I sent a telegram to President Kennedy cataloging some of the horrible incidents which have afflicted and continue to afflict our city and our citizens. I share that list with you.

1. March, 1963 - a Negro home destroyed by a bomb.
2. May 11, 1963 - the A. G. Gaston Motel bombed.
3. May 11, 1963 - the home of Rev. A. D. King bombed.
4. August 14, 1963 - a tear gas bomb dropped in Loveman's Department Store following desegregation of eating facilities.
5. August 20, 1963 - the bombing of attorney Arthur Shores' home.
6. Sept. 4, 1963 - the second bombing of Arthur Shores' home, injuring his wife.
7. Sept. 7, 1963 - the fire-bombing of the home of Dr. A. G. Gaston.
8. Sept. 15, 1963 - the bombing of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, taking the lives of four girls and injuring several.
9. June 27, 1963 - the fatal shooting of Blain Gordon Jr. (16), a mentally ill youth, by Birmingham policemen.
10. August, 1963 - the fatal shooting of David Scott by a Birmingham policeman.
11. Sept. 4, 1963 - the fatal shooting of John Coley (20) by Birmingham police following the second bombing of attorney Shores' home.
12. Sept. 15, 1963 - the fatal shooting of Johnnie Robinson (16) by Birmingham police following the bombing of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church.
13. Sept. 7, 1963 - the shooting of Charles Gray by Birmingham police.
14. Sept. 5, 1963 - the shooting of a mentally ill youth Sylvester Alexander by Birmingham police.
15. Sept. 4, 1963 - the shooting of Lyman Thomas, who was near John Coley when he was killed by Birmingham police.
16. Sept. 15, 1963 - the shooting of Billy Charles by Birmingham police following the bombing of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church.
17. Sept. 15, 1963 - the beating of Ben Bolden on Sunday night by Birmingham police.
18. Sept. 15, 1963 - the injuring of George Benjamin Sr. on Sunday night by Birmingham police.
19. Sept. 15, 1963 - the shooting in the head of Charles Lane by State Troopers.
20. Sept. 15, 1963 - the firing of 12 shots into the home of Francis Garrett by Birmingham police attempting to make people get off the street and into houses.

Your continued interest and support is again solicited.

Sincerely yours,

Rev. C. Herbert Oliver

Secretary

NCRAC

In the Common Cause.....

Highlights of Joint Planning and Cooperation in Jewish Community Relations

issued quarterly by the

National Community Relations Advisory Council

55 West 42nd Street New York 36, N. Y.

Intergroup org. Misc.

No. 31 Summer 1963

Plenary Session is Biggest, One of Best

By all odds the best attended and most representative and by general consensus one of the most stimulating and productive Plenary Sessions in the history of the NCRAC was held last June 27–30 at the Shelburne Hotel in Atlantic City.

Some 250 delegates from all the six national member organizations and most of the member community councils resisted the blandishments of sand, surf, and salubrious sea breezes for four days of intensive deliberations on currently pressing community relations problems.

The program—which was arranged by an Agenda Committee under the chairmanship of Herbert A. Leland, past chairman of the San Francisco Jewish Community Relations Council and an NCRAC vice chairman—included addresses by outstanding authorities, panel discussions, workshops, reports, and—above all—exchanges of experiences and views among the delegates, which is the unique contribution of the NCRAC process to the common cause of better Jewish community relations.

As soon as possible, a complete summary of the proceedings will be prepared from the verbatim transcript of the Session. Meanwhile, this issue of IN THE COMMON CAUSE presents some of the highlights.

The American Dilemma One Hundred Years After Emancipation

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was the invited speaker at a major session. A hushed and attentive audience of delegates and observers heard him review the harsh discriminations and oppressions under which American Negroes have lived and assert the justice and rightness of their demands for equality without further delay.

Mr. Wilkins termed the civil rights program proposed by the National Administration the most far-reaching ever advanced by a President. But he added that even that program was inadequate to the needs of the present and warned that Negro frustration and impatience might burst the restraints under which they have been largely kept by responsible leadership if the President's program failed of enactment.

Negro citizens, said Mr. Wilkins, "are united as never before. Their organizations of every type in every section of the country are squarely and firmly for unrelenting action to secure the whole package of freedom. They will continue to demonstrate locally and nationally, until their goals are achieved. Anyone who interprets a difference of opinion here and there as a major split in Negro ranks is making a grave error."

"I hope," Mr. Wilkins concluded, "that the Negro is going to act wisely, to use some statesmanship in this struggle....I hope he is going to assume his obligations as a citizen. I hope that, on the long road ahead, Negroes will – as the Jewish group has done – make contributions to the arts, to science, to the professions, to social movements... The Negro now looks to understanding. And, if he does not get it, I predict that his faith in the structure of justice will be very much shaken.

"We can't have him losing faith in democracy. We can't have him offering overt or subtle assistance to the enemies of freedom. It is my concern to see that he gets the justice he seeks, so that his faith will result in the protection not only of him but of all of us."

Chairman of the session at which Mr. Wilkins spoke was Aaron Goldman, NCRAC Vice Chairman and Past President of the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington.

PRES. KENNEDY SENDS MESSAGE

A message from President John F. Kennedy, who was in Europe at the time, was transmitted through the White House by telegraph to Chairman Lewis H. Weinstein at the Shelburne Hotel. The President sent his "warmest personal good wishes" to Mr. Weinstein and observed that the "national and local member organizations of the NCRAC have been working to insure a better life for all Americans.

"Your motto, 'in the common cause' was never more timely than it is now, and I commend your devotion to this objective," the President said.

Five Communities Join, Roster Now Sixty-Nine

The list of Jewish community relations councils affiliated with the NCRAC rose to sixty-nine with the admission of five new member councils by action of the Plenary Session as its first order of business. The new members are:

- Jewish Community Council of Birmingham, Ala.
- Jewish Community Council of Dayton, Ohio
- Jewish Federation of Palm Beach County, Fla.
- Jewish Community Council of the Plainfields, N.J.
- Community Relations Committee of the Jewish Welfare Federation of Portland, Ore.

Workshops Discuss Role of CRCs in Dealing with Dilemma of Racial Equality

Following the NAACP leader's address, the delegates gathered in three concurrent workshop groups, according to the size of the Jewish population in their respective communities, to consider the role of Jewish community relations agencies in helping to resolve the dilemma in civil rights.

The large cities workshop had as chairman Jordan C. Band, chairman of the NCRAC Committee on Work with Labor, Veterans and Other Special Groups and chairman of the Community Relations Committee of the Cleveland Jewish Community Federation; and, as discussant, Robert K. Greenfield, president of the Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia.

The intermediate cities workshop was under the chairmanship of Ralph Lockwood, of the Bridgeport Jewish Community Council's Community Relations Committee; discussant in that workshop was Alexander W. Erlen, community coordinator of the Conference of Jewish Organizations of Louisville, Ky.

The small cities workshop had Dan May, past president of the Nashville Jewish Community Council, as chairman; and Peter Marcuse, past chairman of the Community Relations Committee of the Waterbury (Conn.) Federation, as discussant.

Conclusions and recommendations of the workshops were synthesized in a report submitted to the Plenary Session the following day by Stanley J. Winkelman, past president of the Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Detroit. Mortimer Brenner, of the Brooklyn Jewish Community Council who is NCRAC co-chairman of the Joint Advisory Committee of the Synagogue Council of America and NCRAC, was chairman of this report session. Copies of the report may be had upon request.

The report said that "Jews have been deeply moved by the passionate determination of Negroes to secure justice and dignity and equality of treatment; and the dramatization of the wrongs and denials imposed on Negroes, evoking echoes of Jewish experience of oppression and discrimination, has aroused and deepened Jewish sympathies."

Jewish communal leadership in many places has developed a sense of urgency about the problem, Mr. Winkelman reported, adding that this sense of urgency seems related directly to the volume and intensity of Negro demonstrations and other direct actions. A wide gap, he stressed, exists between the Jewish leadership's recognition of the urgent need for Jewish involvement and the relative apathy and remoteness of Jews generally.

"There was widespread agreement in all three workshops," he reported, "that a very high priority should be given by CRCs to closing this gap through an intensive program of internal Jewish education, involving all the agencies and institutions of the Jewish community, on the broadest possible front."

Jewish community relations councils cannot remain aloof from demonstrations and other direct actions in behalf of Negro rights, but must identify with them, Mr. Winkelman reported the workshops had agreed. While retaining their independence of judgment as to what strategies and tactics are advisable, Jewish community relations agencies should "so act as to make clear their involvement in the struggle for equal rights . . . through participation in properly organized activities . . . Individual Jews should be encouraged to participate more generally than the organized community, per se."

It was also agreed in the workshops, Mr. Winkelman reported, that all Jewish agencies and institutions should scrupulously practice equality in all their operations; and that Jewish community relations agencies have an obligation to assist and counsel such agencies and institutions and also individual Jewish merchants, builders, realtors and others in pursuing policies of racial equality.

Resolutions Range Over Many Issues

The Plenary Session adopted resolutions setting out the consensus of the member organizations on most of the current issues before the field. The resolutions were drawn up by the Resolutions Committee, Louis Feinmark of New Haven, chairman, over a period of weeks prior to the Plenary Session, refined in the course of intensive late hour meetings of the committee during the Session, and further revised in some cases by action on the Plenum floor. Full texts are available on request. Briefly summarized, they:

- Appealed to "the conscience of the world to the end of bringing about the elimination of the injustices and inequities suffered by Soviet Jewry."
- Called for intensified efforts, including "direct involvement of our constituencies" in the Negro's struggle for equal rights.
- Urged Congress to enact President Kennedy's civil rights program "without delay and without weakening amendments"; and called on the President to issue an executive order to assure non-discrimination in all federal programs and services and those subsidized by the federal government.
- Called for a firm Middle East policy by our government that "will bring an end to boycotts, blockades and belligerence," and for "firm security guarantees that will deter and prevent any form of aggression," as well as "steps to ensure that U.S. economic aid is not diverted and misused by Arab governments to acquire offensive weapons and to undertake aggressive adventures."
- Called for prompt enactment of the pending Hart bill (S.747) on immigration, which would introduce "an equitable, non-discriminatory formula for the admission of those seeking to enter the United States as immigrants," replacing the present national origins quota in the McCarran-Walter law.
- Opposed governmental aid to religiously controlled schools—Protestant, Catholic or Jewish—"whether in the form of long-term, low interest loans or outright subsidies, and whether at the elementary, secondary, or higher educational level."
- Expressed opposition to three proposed constitutional amendments currently being acted on by State legislatures, which would (1) nullify the U.S. Supreme Court's recent rulings requiring electoral districts to be equitably apportioned, (2) by-pass Congress in the procedure for amending the Constitution, and (3) set up a "Court of the Union," consisting of chief justices of the states, which could overrule the Supreme Court.
- Hailed the U.S. Supreme Court ruling on bible reading and prayer recitation in public schools as "a victory for religion and for religious freedom," and as "best for American education and American democracy."
- Called upon "all who share our concern for the preservation of religious freedom to join in opposing the spread of compulsory Sunday legislation."

• Urged prompt ratification by the U.S. Senate of the U.N. Genocide Convention.

• Called for home rule for the District of Columbia.

A special resolution on "the cooperative process" asserted that "for the fullest realization of the fruits of cooperation in the common cause, the participation of all Jewish community relations agencies is necessary," and expressed hope for "the successful outcome of discussions now being pursued between our own committee and that of the B'nai B'rith–ADL, with a view toward an agreement that will lead to a resumption of cooperative relationship." The same resolution also expressed the "hope that similar discussions soon may be initiated with the American Jewish Committee."

Speakers Differ on Banning Hatemongers from Campuses

Contrasting views as to whether hatemongers such as George Lincoln Rockwell should be permitted to address student gatherings on college and university campuses were expressed by Morton L. London, National Commander of the Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A., and Sidney Lorber, President of the Minnesota Jewish Community Relations Council.

The two spoke at the first formal session of the Plenum. Louis J. Cohen, Chairman of the NCRAC Committee on Civil Liberties, Defamation and Violence, was chairman.

Commander London contended that "avowed fascists, communists and hatemongers have no constitutional or other right to speak on any college campus" and no violation of academic freedom was involved in barring such speakers.

Colleges and universities have "important status in our society," he asserted, and by granting permission to subversive speakers or giving them such a public platform, such institutions actually reduce their academic status. He called for colleges and universities to adopt the practice established by the University of California in screening speakers to be presented before student organizations.

"If a college's administration does not possess the good judgment to be selective in whom they invite to their academic forums, then the community has not only the right but the obligation to protest this abuse of academic freedom. To maintain its self-respect as much as for its preservation, the Jewish community should protest strenuously when the college opens its doors to avowed fascists or hatemongers," he said.

Mr. Lorber, on the other hand, maintained "that a university student group has a right to invite controversial speakers within limitations set up by the university to insure that the whole truth is presented and not just a distorted segment."

He said such speakers should not be banned, censored, picketed, or boycotted. Rather, he said, they should be countered "by exposing those same students to the truth so graphically and so forcefully that the students will be revolted by the Rockwells and the Davises and their cohorts.

"This does not imply a polite debate; this suggests the right to answer at the same time and as soon as the other speaker concludes by telling and showing graphically to the same audience what the Nazis and the communists have done and are doing."

Jewish agencies "instead of banning these jackals, should expose them for what they are–twisted, warped, sadistic, murderers," he said.

Mr. Lorber concluded: "In the long run, the risk to Jews which would arise from tampering with our bill of rights is greater than the threat we are trying to defeat and which we can defeat by exposing our college students to the full truth."

U.S. Supreme Court Ruling on Bible Reading and Prayer – Analysis and Implications.

An eminent constitutional lawyer analyzed for the delegates the ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court on Bible reading and prayer recitation in public schools; and an outstanding Jewish community relations practitioner discussed some of the implications of that and related rulings and the challenge they pose for the Jewish community.

The speakers were Dr. Paul A. Freund, Carl M. Loeb Professor at Harvard University, and Sidney Z. Vincent, associate director of the Cleveland Jewish Community Federation.

They addressed a session at which the chairman was Irving Kane, Past Chairman of NCRAC and Past President of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds.

Dr. Freund pointed out that the issues decided by the court had been matters of constitutional litigation over many years. "When the courts have acted." he said, "we may still disagree, but we should withhold our abuse."

He found no merit in the contention that the ruling interferes with the free exercise of religion by the majority. "The choice before the Court," he observed, "was whether to draw the line among prayers, upholding some and rejecting others, or to draw the line between all devotional exercises on the one hand and objective studies of a literary or historical kind on the other. Considering the functions of a civil court, it is hardly surprising that the line was drawn in the latter way."

The ruling, he continued, in no way implied any threat to numerous religious expressions in civic life, such as prayers opening sessions of Congress, the taking of oaths of office, chaplaincies in the armed forces, G.I. benefits.

As for the contention that the Court has deprived the public school of an indispensable aid to moral education, Dr. Freund countered this with the observation that it "ignores the essential role of home and place of worship in the full education of the child" and he called "dubious" the assumption, implicit in the contention, that there is "some irreplaceable value in an opening prayer or Bible-reading." As more effective educational alternatives, he suggested the building of moral values into the curriculum and a suffusion of teaching by what he termed "reverence for what we know, humility in the presence of the unknown, awe in the face of the unknowable."

Mr. Vincent, in his appraisal of the impact of the Supreme Court rulings, remarked upon the relative restraint with which they had been received, as compared to the reception accorded the Regents' Prayer ruling of a year ago. "I believe," he said, "we and our agencies can in all modesty take a good deal of credit for setting the stage for public acceptance of the decision."

Turning to programmatic implications of the decision, Mr. Vincent said, "This is the year of implementation."

Court decisions are not self-executing, he stressed. Therefore, conferences with school boards and other school authorities should be initiated at once, he advised. "Delay," he warned, "can result in frozen attitudes." He urged selective attention to objectionable practices, with a distinction made between what he regarded as "devotional" activities, which should be opposed, and such things as "the dis-

tribution of red candy canes or even an occasional Christmas tree, or so-called meditation periods or even milk and cracker grace, or the repetition of 'under God' in a pledge to the flag," which he did not consider devotional.

Recommending continued interpretation of the position of the Jewish agencies on church-state separation to the Jewish community, Mr. Vincent called also for a "far more secure anchorage for our position in a specific Jewish rationale."

"Although we are against religion in the classroom," he continued, "we are in the deepest sense commited to God – as we understand Him being there....

"If you are serious about the alleged Godliness of the schools, I should say to our Catholic or some of our Protestant brethren," he went on, "examine with us what takes place in the teaching of justice and social commitment. Don't settle for so thin and meaningless a formula as a rote addressing of God. Let us be passionately concerned with religious substance, not with stereotyped form."

This approach, Mr. Vincent said, had proven effective at least in some cases; he urged it as a component of the dialogue, which he said should be extended and intensified.

No doubt, he continued, the Catholic pressure for tax support of parochial schools would continue; and he thought that, while the Jewish group must on principle continue to oppose such support, "we should be as involved in the Catholic problem of education as Catholics must continue to be in the problem of public education." He suggested summer and other programs outside the regular school term that would involve parochial and public school pupils in common learning experiences. He cited several such programs being conducted experimentally in Cleveland.

AMBASSADOR HARMAN ADDRESSES ONEG SHABBAT

At an Oneg Shabbat, Hon. Avraham Harman, Israel Ambassador to the United States spoke informally about Israel's achievements, her economic problems and the ways in which they are being surmounted, and the delicate and constantly shifting relationships between her and the Arab states. The talk was not recorded, nor was any record kept of the ensuing questions and answers or discussion.

The Ambassador was presented to the delegates by George Maislen, president of the United Synagogue of America, who was chairman for the occasion.

Chairman Stresses Need for Cooperation in the Common Cause

In his report to the Plenary Session, Chairman Weinstein stressed the indispensability of mutual acceptance among people and groups as a basis for effective living in the complex modern world. He drew upon recent statements by world leaders for support for this thesis, and concluded with a plea for mutual cooperation in the common cause of better Jewish community relations among all the American Jewish organizations working in that field.

Quoting from the encyclical, "Pacem in Terris," of the late Pope John XXIII and from a recent foreign policy speech by President Kennedy, Mr. Weinstein said that both contained a profound thought in common.

That thought, he said, is "that, in the contemporary world, peace can be preserved only through increased and intensified interaction and communication among nations and peoples – that isolation is hostile to peace – that, no matter how inimical the opposing forces may be, however intransigent or irreconcilable they may seem – there must never be any cessation of conversations, negotiations, exchanges of views – for the alternative is the sacrifice of that which all seek – the common peace."

This concept was reflected, Mr. Weinstein said, in the pluralistic American society, in which different religious groups cooperate in causes that they share and maintain a continual dialogue about their differences, with full recognition and acceptance of the right of each to hold and to advocate its views.

"On the world scene," he observed, "the common cause that provides the basis for the ongoing exchange is world peace; on the national scene it is national unity and national greatness. The same concept is relevant to Jewish life, where the common cause is survival – not physical survival in the present situation, but creative survival as a dynamic, viable community within the family of communities that constitute the free society."

He expressed the hope that "e in Jewish life will find the wisdom to maintain – or, rather, to restore – our cooperative relationship in the absence of the immediate threat to our security that gave rise to it in the beginning; that we will now address ourselves with the same joint earnestness to the building of positive programs for creative survival as we did in an earlier era to the building of joint defenses and counteractions against the menacing enemy."

Dr. Samson R. Weiss, executive vice president of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, who was chairman of the session at which Mr. Weinstein spoke, paid eloquent tribute to the value of the NCRAC as a coordinating and joint planning instrumentality and to Mr. Weinstein as a wise and resourceful leader.

Jesuit Speaker Says Ecumenical Council By-Passed Statement Denouncing Anti-Semitism Because Arabs Would Consider It Political.

Rev. Gustave Weigel, S. J., professor of ecclesiology at Woodstock College, near Baltimore, and corresponding editor of the Jesuit magazine, *America*, spoke to the Plenum about the history of the Catholic community in America, tracing its growth and development and exploring some of its positions on such issues as church-state separation.

Father Weigel's illuminating presentation was overshadowed, however, by his answer to a question in the period following his prepared address. Asked whether he thought the Ecumenical Council that is to resume in the Vatican on September 29 would adopt a statement denouncing anti-Semitism, Dr. Weigel replied that such a statement had been prepared for presentation to the last Ecumenical Council summoned by the late Pope John XXIII, but had not been submitted. It had been withheld from consideration by the Council, he said, because of fear that any such statement would be regarded by the Arabs – among whom, he stressed, are many Catholics – as a political act partial to Israel. He gave it as his personal prediction that the forthcoming Council likewise would forego taking any action on such a statement, out of the same considerations.

NCRAC Chairman Weinstein called this "disquieting" information, saying that the failure of the Council to take a stand against anti-Semitism for the reasons cited by Father Weigel was not consonant with the high moral principles of ecumenicity.

Rabbi Edward E. Klein of the Stephen Wise Free Synagogue in New York, a member of the Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, was chairman of the session at which Father Weigel spoke.

Federal Aid to Education and Separation of Church and State - Can Both Be Effectively Pursued?

The American Jewish community is concerned for the adequate education of the young people of our nation and committed to the separation of church and state. Federal financial assistance to local school systems and to higher educational institutions appears a necessity if such adequate education is to be available to all our youth. Yet legislation to provide such assistance has been repeatedly defeated, most recently because of insistence by Catholics that parochial schools must share in any federal aid programs. The Jewish community is thus faced with a dilemma: must it choose whether to compromise its position on church-state separation in order to facilitate federal aid for public education or to maintain its opposition to federal aid to parochial schools even though this may mean dooming our public schools to financial anemia and inadequacy? Or is there some middle ground?

Leo Pfeffer, director of the Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress, addressed himself to this dilemma at a session chaired by Milton I. Goldstein, past chairman of the St. Louis Jewish Community Relations Council.

Mr. Pfeffer's detailed analysis of the issues led him to the following conclusion:

"Compromise on federal aid to parochial schools will not buy peace. Any assumption that acceding to some but not all of the demands of the Catholic Church will mark the end of the struggle is unrealistic. If the Church is correct in principle in claiming partnership in the American public educational system, then it is entitled to a partner's equal share, and if the claim is not valid, then there is no justification for even partial aid.

"Once we accept the principle that parochial schools have a right to share in tax-raised funds for education, we must be prepared to accept the ultimate disintegration of the American public school system. What will develop is a multi-school system in which the non-sectarian public school is but one of many competing participants. It is for this reason that I am convinced that serious as is the need for federal funds for public schools, nevertheless if a choice has to be made between no federal funds for public schools and participation by parochial schools in federal funds, I would urge that the former alternative be chosen and that we forego federal funds for our public schools."

However, Mr. Pfeffer favored allowing a tax deduction for tuition paid to parochial schools. "Once we accept, as apparently most Americans do, the proposition that contributions to churches may constitutionally be deducted in determining one's income tax liability, it seems to me that a strong case can be made for including as a contribution to a church sums paid for tuition in a parochial school," he said.

WORKSHOPS PROJECT JOINT PROGRAM FOR 1963–64

Four concurrent workshops reviewed salient developments of the past year in various areas of Jewish community relations concern and considered their implications for the programs of the cooperating agencies for the year ahead.

Conclusions were summarized and refered to members of the NCRAC staff who are charged with drafting a proposed Joint Program Plan for Jewish Community Relations for 1963–64, to be submitted to the NCRAC Executive Committee for adoption at an early Fall meeting. This is an annual project.

The contribution of the Plenary Session to the project is a major one, since the Plenum is the most widely representative of NCRAC deliberative bodies, including as it does delegates of all community member agencies and national organizations and thus affording an unmatched range of experience and observation.

The four workshops addressed themselves, respectively, to questions of (1) individual freedom and Jewish security and status, (2) equality of rights and opportunities, (3) church-state separation and interreligious relations, and (4) community relations aspects of developments in the Middle East.

Workshop chairmen ware Harold K. Goldstein, chairman of the Jewish Community Relations Committee of Cincinnati; Philip E. Hoffman, chairman of the Community Relations Committee of the Jewish Community Council of Essex County, N.J.; Eugene Feinblatt, president of the Baltimore Jewish Council; and Sidney M. Shevitz, president of the Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Detroit.

A summary report of the conclusions and recommendations of the workshops was presented at the concluding business session of the Plenum by Julian Freeman of the Indianapolis Jewish Community Relations Council, an NCRAC Vice Chairman.

Workshops Discuss Techniques and Approaches

Polling the Jewish Community for Attitudes and Opinions

Several hundred Jewish residents of Oakland, California and environs were polled by mail for their views on civil rights, civil liberties and church-state issues in a project conducted by the Jewish Community Relations Council for Alameda and Contra Costa Counties. Poll results subsequently were disclosed and interpreted at meetings of affiliated organizations, where discussions ensued.

Jack Panitz, executive director of the CRC that conducted the poll, reported on it at a workshop session at which Myron Linder, of the Community Relations Council of Patterson, N.J., was moderator.

Mr. Panitz evaluated the technique as having favorable outcomes, including (1) some insights into community thinking, (2) an opportunity for interpretation of the CRC, (3) opportunities for reaching members of the Jewish community not generally reached through other educational approaches, (4) discovery of potential leadership individuals.

Recorder for the workshop was Ephraim Spivek, executive director of the Norfolk Jewish Community Council.

The Interreligious Dialogue in the Neighborhood Setting

Sidney C. Orlofsky, vice president of The Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia, described for another workshop group the operation of a program of interreligious dialogue meetings in Philadelphia neighborhoods. *(cont. p. 6, col. 2)*

Chairman Weinstein, Other Officers, Reelected.

Irving Kane, Nominating Committee chairman, reported the unanimous renomination of Chairman Weinstein and his fellow officers. Results of the election follow:

OFFICERS:

Chairman:
LEWIS H. WEINSTEIN, Boston

Vice-Chairmen:
LOUIS FEINMARK, New Haven
JULIAN FREEMAN, Indianapolis
MARCUS GINSBURG, Fort Worth
AARON GOLDMAN, Washington
HERBERT A. LELAND, San Francisco

Treasurer:
JOSEPH X. YAFFE, Philadelphia

Secretary:
WILLIAM B. SCHWARTZ, JR., Atlanta

Past Chairmen:
IRVING KANE, Cleveland
BERNARD H. TRAGER, Bridgeport
HON. DAVID L. ULLMAN, Philadelphia

Executive Vice Chairman:
ISAIAH M. MINKOFF

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:
(in addition to the officers)

National Agency Representatives

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
PAUL ANNES
STANLEY H. LOWELL

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
ADOLPH HELD
JACOB T. ZUKERMAN

JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF U.S.A.
JOSEPH F. BARR
*MORTON L. LONDON

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
RABBI MAURICE N. EISENDRATH
IRVING JAY FAIN

UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA
SAMUEL L. BRENNGLASS
MOSES I. FEUERSTEIN

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
RABBI HARRY I. HALPERN
GEORGE MAISLEN

Community Representatives
S. BERYL ADLER, Norfolk
RABBI PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN, Rochester
LEWIS D. COLE, Louisville
GEORGE S. DAVIDSON, Toledo
EUGENE FEINBLATT, Baltimore
MILTON I. GOLDSTEIN, St. Louis
ARNOLD HARRIS, Essex County
JUDGE IRVING HILL, Los Angeles
MORTON C. JACOBS, Camden
WALTER E. KLEIN, Detroit
MAX LASTER, Richmond
SYLVAN LIBSON, Pittsburgh
DAN MAY, Nashville
HERBERT PANKEN, Jacksonville
SIDNEY Z. VINCENT, Cleveland
JERRY WAGNER, Connecticut
DONALD WEISMAN, Schenectady
DAVID H. WHITE, Houston

Ex Officio
Chairmen of Standing Committees:
ALBERT E. ARENT, Washington
JORDAN C. BAND, Cleveland
MORTIMER BRENNER, Brooklyn
LOUIS J. COHEN, Essex County
JOSEPH W. FELDMAN, Pittsburgh
DR. M. DELOTT GARBER, Hartford
SIDNEY HOLLANDER, Baltimore
C. E. ISRAEL, Cincinnati
JULIAN A. KISER, Indianapolis

Representing Association of Jewish Community Relations Workers
CHARLES POSNER

*Until succeeded by his successor as National Commander

Growing out of a city-wide interfaith dialogue program that involved the JCRC, the Board of Rabbis, the United Church of Christ Synod and the Greater Philadelphia Council of Churches, the neighborhood dialogues are small (average 18 participants) group sessions, comprising laity and clergy. The JCRC conducted preparatory workshops for Jewish participants.

Discussion following Mr. Orlofsky's presentation was moderated by Rabbi Richard Israel, chairman of the New Haven Jewish Community Council, who was workshop chairman. Donald Weisman, executive director of the Schenectady Jewish Community Council, was recorder.

Introdu[illegible]y Families Into Previou[illegible]te Neighborhoods

Some s[illegible]periences of fair housing bodies in Boston suburbs were described for a fourth workshop by Robert E. Segal, executive director of the Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Boston.

Experience – and the lessons to be drawn from it – varied from place to place and circumstance to circumstance, according to Mr. Segal's report. He presented several case histories, tending to support the general conclusion that it is better not to try to prepare the neighborhood in advance, since this too often merely fans prejudices, but to consummate the sale and then work to see that the incoming family is accepted.

Sylvan Libson, chairman of the Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Pittsburgh, was chairman of this workshop. Milton A. Feinberg, executive director of the Jewish Federation of Trenton, N.J., was recorder.

Gauging and Countering Discrimination Against Jews

Emanuel Muravchik, National Director of the Jewish Labor Committee, told a third workshop that discriminations against Jews persist and that Jewish community relations agencies should strive constantly for improvement of their skills of investigation and counteraction to deal with them.

In the course of discussion moderated by the workshop chairman, Ben L. Chernov, past president of the Milwaukee Jewish Council, the workshop agreed that there should be a coordinated nationwide study of employment practices of large firms, that information available through fair employment bodies, both public and private, should be more widely utilized, and that "depth" interviews with Jewish employees are perhaps the most fruitful source of reliable information about employment policies of the companies they work for.

Recorder for this workshop was I. Edward Adler, executive director of the Jewish Community Welfare Council of Erie, Pa.

Henry L. Cohen, president of the Federation of Jewish Agencies of Atlantic County, welcomed the NCRAC delegates to Atlantic City. At the business session, a resolution of appreciation was unanimously adopted. It stated: The welcome accorded us by Atlantic City is reciprocated by affection and regard toward the leadership of the Federation of Jewish Agencies of Atlantic County, especially its President, Henry L. Cohen, and its Executive Director, Irving Spivack.

NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
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PA Intergroup Org. Misc.
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PENN NEWS

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES

St. Helena Island — Frogmore, S. C.

Summer 1963

COURTNEY SICELOFF AND TOM BARNWELL VISIT PUERTO RICO AND JAMAICA

One of the continuing needs of our Pilot Project is a frequent re-appraisal of objectives and methods. As a new experiment in community development, with a unique approach in the U.S., the Pilot Project will effect future work throughout the South. In setting a precedent, it is extremely important that our field work reflect the aims which fostered it.

In mid-May, Courtney Siceloff and Tom Barnwell, the Pilot Project Field Director, toured community development projects in Puerto Rico and Jamaica. Conferring with program directors and visiting villages, Tom and Courtney were especially concerned with the problems of making a philosophy work in the field. Since our own Pilot Project is very similar to the Puerto Rican program, we felt that a discussion of mutual problems would be beneficial. The projects which Tom and Courtney toured have been continually refined over a fifteen year period, and they were pleased to see how effectively a high purpose can be manifest in a working program.

Dr. Fred Wale, director of the Puerto Rican program, explained what he felt to be the relation between purpose and actual field work:

"Community development is an educational process. It is this first, last and all the time. All else is secondary to it and must take its place as a reflection, not as the end result. Community development is not better roads, better beehives, pure water or sanitary privies. It is something of the spirit, not something material. It must reach into the deep culture patterns of the people, examining them and testing them as principles of faith. It is these things, because without them it relatively matters little whether the road is paved or not, whether you go to the woods or to the sanitary privy, whether economically you and your community are blessed. It is these things, because with them all physical solutions follow in their proper order."

When we are discouraged by economic and political problems, when there are so many obstacles to easy and rapid change, there is a temptation to bury our heads and drive nails. That kind of progress, at least, can be tallied on an adding machine and will give us something to point at. But over the years, the lasting changes will be in the minds of people. It is necessary that we remember our "principles of faith" include, above all, the dreams as well as needs of human beings. A field program which does not manifest those aims will have no lasting effect. As Dr. Wale implies, progress will not be measured by the number of nails driven. It will be measured in the hearts of people.

PILOT PROJECT REPORT

The Beaufort County Pilot Project has now completed the second of its three-year initial stage. Since its inception in 1961, the Pilot Project has involved an increasing number of people in community activities. Some of the projects presently underway can give an idea of how the field work is moving.

In the Coffins Point community on St. Helena, a civic improvement committee has begun construction of a praise house. The project involves not only the men and high school students who work on the building, but the ladies as well, who bring them lunches and provide moral support. In

spite of a perennial financing problem, the project has not faltered; frugal use of inexpensive materials and ingenuity have kept the cost at a minimum. As money is raised, materials are purchased and the work proceeds.

The Eddings Point community, working on a similar building, has organized old fashioned cake sales to raise funds for their community center. The new group has brought together neighbors in common work and has revealed new community leaders.

Other communities in the county are continuing with older projects. Bluffton residents have held civic meetings on health and sanitation problems. Burton leaders have constructed school bus stop shelters to protect school children from our drizzly winters. In all of these and others, a feeling of movement and a newfound satisfaction of purpose have become the crucial focus. Developing that spirit to a level of widespread concern can change community improvement from a "project" into a way of living.

In order to help promulgate a larger sense of purpose, the Pilot Project recently published the first of a series of local newsletters. Called "Community News", the paper is sent to Beaufort County residents who are, or could become, involved in the Pilot Project. It contains not only news of community projects, but information about non-descriminatory employment and workshops as well. The first issue also included a summary of F.H.A. housing loans (see following item). It is hoped that the paper will help unify communities in seeking solutions to common problems.

Thomas Barnwell, Jr., the Pilot Project Field Director, is presently attending the summer session at Tuskegee. He and his family will return to Penn in August.

HOUSING PROBLEM BROACHED
AT FHA/PENN MEETING

On May 9, several representatives from the Farmers Home Administration met with Courtney Siceloff and Thomas Barnwell, Jr. to discuss FHA assistance in rural housing problems. The meeting was attended by local, state and federal FHA staff members, as well as other individuals familiar with rural housing problems.

Among the difficulties of improving rural housing conditions, the greatest is financial. The problem is made more complex by inadequate and fluctuating income, a common condition in southern rural areas. In Beaufort County, few Negro farms are large or profitable enough to allow the owner to build a sizable bank account and cushion the blow of a bad year. Consequently, a farm owner's circumstance may literally change with the weather. Farm workers and sharecroppers, of course, are even less fortunate, because the same losses usually take a greater percentage of their income.

By and large, rural housing conditions in Beaufort County need improvement. One third of the total rural homes have either an outdoor privy or no facility whatsoever. Fifteen percent of the homes do not have flues for heating, while one third are without piped water. In addition, many are overcrowded and in a poor state of repair. These conditions are conducive to poor sanitation and unhealthy conditions. The disease rate is uncommonly high. In Bluffton, for example, at least three deaths have been attributed to the prevalence of worms.

One of the more successful business ventures in housing has been the sale of "shell" homes. "Shell" homes are a variety of building consisting of little more than a shell — walls, floor, windows and ceiling. They are advertised at what appears to be a relatively low cost; but when a family commits itself to an installment plan — almost a necessity — it frequently discovers the interest and other charges to be many times the normal commercial rates. Moreover, the building usually has no provisions for plumbing or heating, and may even lack inside doors.

These problems were an important issue raised at a conference on rural programs,

held at Penn last February, and it was decided that a meeting with FHA administrators should be held. We felt that since FHA affords a partial solution to the housing problem, we should emphasize its advantages to the residents of Beaufort County. The purpose of the meeting was to gather information which could be disseminated through the Pilot Project. "Community News",the local newsletter, contained a summary of the information.

Among the advantages of FHA loans are: lower interest rates (4% on unpaid amount) better terms (up to 33 years), a loan (or a grant) based upon a careful evaluation of need and ability to repay, as well as the opportunity to choose an inexpensive and functional house. Loans can also be made for home improvements, such as the installation of plumbing.

PENN BOARD OF TRUSTEES MEETS

Penn's Board of Trustees held its annual meeting here on April 6. In addition to conducting regular business, the Board elected the following new trustees: Mr. Herbert DeCosta, a contractor in Charleston; Mrs. Ann Petry, a writer from Old Sayebrook, Connecticut; Mr. William Shurcliff, a physicist at the Cambridge Electron Accelerator, Harvard; and Mrs. Arnett Waters, a civil rights leader in Savannah, Georgia.

The Board also voted to sell a tract of woodland belonging to Penn. The 242 acre plot is situated near the south end of St. Helena, and the income derived from the sale will be used to help pay for much-needed capital improvements.

DATE SET FOR FINAL
VOTER EDUCATION WORKSHOP

The last of a series of three voter education workshops has now been set for Sept. 7 and 8. The workshops will be held at Penn, and the featured speaker will be Senator Leroy Johnson, Georgia's new Negro legislator. The over-all purpose of the series is to explain how the vote can be used more effectively. The first two workshops covered government and party organizations, and included an analysis of Negro registration and voting. The final workshop will focus on the major problems of Negro voters in the county, as well as their potential voting strength. The series will provide a basis for more concerted and effective participation in future elections.

CONFERENCES

Three regular conferences returned in April, May and June. They were the South Carolina Student Council on Human Relations, the S. C. Funeral Directors, and the S. C. Midwives Institute. A Junior High Summer Camp, for youngsters of the Fairfield-McClelland Presbytery, spent a week here in early July.

An AFL-CIO Tri-State Labor School, for union representatives from N.C., S.C., and Virginia, was held here July 14 - 20. An annual summer school for delegates of a variety of unions, this was the group's first visit to Penn.

A Lutheran workcamp, consisting of young people from throughout the East, will be here for a week in mid-August. Two other of our "regulars" — the Palmetto Education Assn. and the Bahai Summer School — will also be here in August.

Following our own Voter Education Workshop in September, the National Sharecroppers Fund will hold a training conference. The purpose will be to train farmers in the techniques of cooperatives, credit unions and in providing knowledge about government services.

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Published by
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Courtney Siceloff, Director
David Habercom, Newsletter Editor

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga.

September, 1963

RACIAL DESEGREGATION IN GREATER ATLANTA

From public records, news files, personal experiences and files of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations, the following summary of major steps toward racial desegregation in Greater Atlanta has been compiled. We welcome corrections or additions:

1948: --Negro police hired, but without authority to arrest whites.

1955: --U. S. Federal court ordered city golf courses desegregated.

1958: --Suit filed against Atlanta Board of Education (decision in 1959, effective 1960).

1959: --U. S. Federal Court ordered busses desegregated.
--U. S. Federal Court ordered Georgia State College of Business Administration desegregated.
--Atlanta Public Library admitted Negroes to general use of main library, after discussions between Library Board and citizens.

1960: --U. S. Federal Court ordered Dobbs House, restaurant facility at Airport, desegregated.
--Several Negro bus drivers hired by Atlanta Transit System.
--Biltmore Hotel admitted Negro lawyers to dinner of Bar Association at which Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, was speaker, after citizens notified Secretary Rusk of hotel's segregated policy; other hotels began serving private integrated groups.

1961: --First sit-ins, against stores in downtown Atlanta.
--Atlanta Aldermanic Board repealed ordinance requiring segregation in taxis.
--Sit-ins and boycotts of downtown stores; arrests for sit-ins. Agreement in March to desegregate lunch counters and all facilities in major stores, effective September.
--City of Atlanta public schools desegregated (9 Negro students in 4 high schools, 12th and 11th grades, through pupil placement plan approved by court).
--Georgia Tech admitted first Negro students (3).
--Interstate Commerce Commission ordered desegregation of bus and train terminals.
--YWCA desegregated cafeteria, first downtown eating place.
--New Atlanta Airport opened, all facilities desegregated.
--Most college audiences desegregated.
--City tennis courts closes when Negroes attempted to use them.
--Following 1961 performance in Atlanta, Metropolitan Opera announced it would not play before segregated audience, also Actor's Equity.

1961: --Stouffeur's Restaurants opened desegregated.
--Academy Theater and other private drama groups admitted Negroes to audience.
--Atlanta's Symphony Orchestra audience desegregated.

1962: --U. S. District Court invalidated city ordinances requiring segregation in city parks and public places, and
at public assemblies, in theaters, public halls, and other places of public assembly where admission is for charge or free; ordered city pools desegregated in 1963.
--Downtown and arts movie theaters operated desegregated after Metropolitan Opera performance before desegregated audienc and after meetings with students and citizens groups.
--Peachtree Manor Hotel accepted first Negro guests (ball players) after discussions with citizens groups.
--Agnes Scott College trustees announced acceptance of applications from Negroes effective for 1963-64 term.
--Oglethorpe University announced acceptance of applications from Negroes.
--Emory University requested declaratory judgment from Superior Court which declared that the tax exemption status of the University would not be jeapordized by accepting Negro students; admitted first Negro students in Nursing School.
--Georgia State College admitted first Negro students.
--Negro policemen in Atlanta given right to arrest whites in line of duty.
--Atlanta hired first Negro firemen.
--Atlanta Art School accepted Negro students.
--Archbishop ordered Catholic parochial schools desegregated.
--Chamber of Commerce admitted first Negro member (did not represent change in policy, invitation was sent by mistake; no Negro members admitted since).
--Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority announced policy of considering Negroes for internships, admitted Negro physician to Grady Hospital staff.
--Citizens filed suit for complete desegregation of all facilities of Grady Hospital; also for desegregation of Fulton County Medical Society and Northern Dentist Dental Society.
--Fulton County Medical Soceity voted to remove "white" qualification for membership, accepted Negro members.
--Negroes in DeKalb County attempted to transfer to white schools; Board of Education made no reply to requests to desegregate voluntarily.
--Negro students in Atlanta schools increased to 44 in 9 high schools.
--Superior Court ordered removed "Peyton Wall" and wall on Harlan Road, barriers erected by city of Atlanta, because barriers had been erected as "racial buffers"; "It being unlawful and unconstitutional to legislate in respect of ownership or occupancy of real property on the basis of race or color...the Court holds, that it is illegal and unconstitutional to legislate in respect of use of public streets or portions thereof for the purpose of effecting on the basis of race or color ownership and occupancy of real property and the acquisition or disposition or the market value therof..."
--City Hall desegregated.
--Decatur-DeKalb Library accepted Negro members.
--Negro elected Senator from 38th District (Fulton County).

1963: --One hundred forty-four students in 10 Atlanta high schools.
--Several stores hired Negroes in sales jobs.
--Archbishop ordered Catholic hospitals desegregated.
--Lovett School refused to consider Negro applicant.
--Westminster School refused to test Negro because of no policy of considering applications from Negroes.
--Trinity Presbyterian School accepted Negro students.
--Oglethorpe University accepted Negro student.
--Emory University accepted Negroes in undergraduate, graduate and medical schools.
--Atlanta Speech School accepted Negro student.
--Grady Hospital accepted Negro Intern.
--Smith-Hughes Vocational School desegregated.
--Atlanta Junior Chamber of Commerce removed "white" qualification for membership; elected Negro as one of 5 "Outstanding Men of Year."
--Northern District Dental Society removed "white" qualification for membership.
--Atlanta city pools desegregated.
--Nine neighborhood and 11 drive-in movies in Greater Atlanta desegregated.
--Two airport hotels desegregated.
--DeKalb Building desegregated.
--State Capitol desegregated.
--Fourteen hotels agreed to accept Negroes as convention delegates, up to certain percentage of total convention group.
--Approximately 30 restaurants agreed privately to desegregate. Day-to-day changes in policy and lack of public information resulted in some "re-segregation", less than 20 now certain.
--DeKalb County Commission adopted policy statement regarding rights of all citizens, states no discrinination in county jobs, reference to race in personnel forms and application blanks removed.
--Decatur City Commission stated no discrimination in city jobs, recreation facilities, excluding swimming pools.
--City of Atlanta changed policy of separate Negro and white civil service registers, to one register.
--Atlanta Constitution and Atlanta Journal eliminated reference to race in Help Wanted and Obituary columns.
--DeKalb Area Trade School accepted applications from Negroes.
--City of Decatur hired Negro Relocation Officer for Urban Renewal.
--South Fulton Hospital (Hill-Burton) opened with policy of permitting Negro physicians to admit and tend patients.
--Increasing number of white churches accept Negro visitors (Negroes denied admission at First Baptist Church. Rev. Ashton Jones, white minister who refused to leave church when refused admittance in company of Negroes, arrested for disturbing divine worship, sentenced to 18 months in prison, 6 months at public works, $1,000 fine, with bond set at $20,000.)
--Steady but slow breakthroughs in employment, stimulated and encouraged by regulations concerning U. S. Government contracts, "selevtive buying" campaigns, and negotiations by citizens groups.

Note: Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, (Presbyterian) has accepted Negro students as far back as their records go.

1963 First trials of Atlanta arrests under anti-trespass law; white student convicted.

Intergroup Org. Misc.

KOINONIA FARM, AMERICUS, GA. NEWSLETTER #28 SEPTEMBER, 1963

The past year has been one of deep searching as to whether or not to continue here. Our group is so small now that the burdens carried by the remaining few are very heavy. As a result, much of our energy is consumed in the physical work, leaving little time for the things we really feel called to do. But even in this realm, there is now so much tension and lack of communication in the larger community that little positive work can be done. Countless times we've wondered if we weren't more needed somewhere else. So far no clear-cut answer has come, but we continue to pray that God's will may be done with this bit of His domain, of which we are but stewards.

In the meantine, some of us have done what little we could to aid in the struggle towards freedom for all. Our facilities have been made available to SNCC for their staff and training sessions, and some of the leaders stayed here off and on for a number of months until they were finally arrested and lodged in the Sumter County jail, where they still reside. Four of them--three whites and one Negro--are charged with inciting to insurrection, a capital offense in Georgia, and are being held without bond. Over 200 Negro young people have been arrested in this county, and some accounts of their treatment are reminiscent of the infamous Civil War prison at Andersonville, also located in this county. Because the newspapers have given this very little coverage, you might wish further information, which may be secured by addressing The Sumter County Movement, Box 91, Americus, Ga. Contributions may be sent to the same address.

Our three High Schoolers, Greg and David Wittkamper and Jan Jordan, continue to have rough sledding, though this is nothing new for them. Almost completely ostracized and repeatedly called filthy names, they cheerfully and courageously bear witness to their faith. They have refused our offers to send them away to school, feeling that they have a mission to accomplish here.

Con and Ora Browne, after twelve years at Koinonia, have taken a year's leave of absence and have moved with their family to Knoxville, Tenn., where Con has a position on the staff of Highlander Training Center. His work is primarily in the field of adult education, preparing leaders in the South for the responsibilities of full citizenship. Their Knoxville address is 115 Greenbriar Drive.

Dorothy Swisshelm will soon be launching on a new venture, having been called to the position of case-worker at Back Bay Mission in Biloxi, Miss., where she will start work the last of October. The Mission, operated by the United Church of Christ, is located at 424 Chartres Street.

The Wittkamper family returned to Koinonia in June after 15 months at the Forest River Community in North Dakota. Their oldest son, Bill, spent the summer here and was baptized by his father in an impressive ceremony just before returning to Reba Place Fellowship in Evanston, Ill., where he will complete his senior year in High School. Last year Bill and a friend placed first among many contestants at the Chicago Music Festival, winning a prize of $200. Bill also won a scholarship to the Chicago Art Academy.

Jim Jordan returns this fall to Mercer University in Macon, Ga., from which he will graduate next spring with a double major in History and English.

Clarence Jordan has finally begun writing down some of his "cotton patch" translations of the Scriptures. He has completed Ephesians and Hebrews, and each is now available in booklet form. They are 35¢ for either Ephesians or Hebrews, 3 for $1.00, postpaid. In quantities of 25 or more (orders may be mixed), the price is 25¢ each, postpaid. The Gospel of Luke has also been translated, but is still in

manuscript form and therefore not available now. Tapes of Clarence's four Bible lectures on Ephesians at the American Baptist Convention in Detroit last May may be obtained for $7.00 for all four, or $4.00 for either Lectures 1 and 2, or 3 and 4.

Pecan prospects are good, with the largest crop in history expected. Last year the crop was almost a failure, and supplies were so short that we had none left to carry over for early orders this fall. This means that we will have only new crop nuts, and that we will not be able to begin shipping until harvest begins. Our prediction now is that this will be between Oct. 15 and Nov. 1. Fruit cake and pecandy also won't be available until then. We will fill orders on a first-come first-served basis, so please get your order in as soon as possible.

Because of the big crop, the price of pecans should be lower than last year, although the extremely small carry-over from last year will create a heavy demand at the beginning of the season and hold prices up. Since this letter has to go out early, we're having to guess at the prices. We're lowering ours some, though perhaps not as much as they should be toward the end of the season. If we've missed our guess, and are a bit high, we'll try to make up for it in extra fine quality. The price of fruit-cake remain substantially the same, since the lowered cost of nuts is off-set by the increased cost of sugar and fruit.

We do want you to know that we are very, very grateful for your orders, for this is still almost our sole means of livelihood. And it is our sincere desire that when you make a purchase from us you will get full value received. While we highly value your friendship, we don't want that to be the basis of your order.

In closing, we leave with you the "cotton patch" version of Paul's word to the Ephesian brethren: "Take extra care, then, how you live--not like nit-wits, but like wits. Use your time as though you had to buy it, because there's a lot of wickedness around these days.... Don't get drunk on wine and carry on a lot of foolishness; tank up on the spirit and do your talking to each other with hymns and songs and spirituals, singing and strumming in your hearts to the Lord. Always give thanks for everything to the Father-God in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ."

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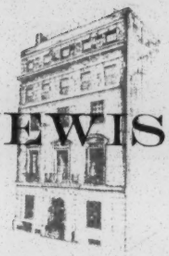

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE • 15 EAST 84TH STREET • NEW YORK 28, N.Y. • TRAFALGAR 9-4500

October 7, 1963

Dear Friend:

An Ill-Advised Boycott. Several months ago the City Council of Cambridge, Maryland, in response to Negro demonstrations, enacted an ordinance prohibiting discrimination in places of public accommodation. This action was immediately challenged by segregationist forces in the community who invoked the right, under State law, to demand that the issue be submitted to a referendum vote.

On Tuesday, the segregationists prevailed by a vote of 1,994-to-1,720. All but 652 of the 3,747 white voters went to the polls. A majority of them voted against the measure but the margin was so small that it could easily have been overcome by a full turn-out of Negro voters. Instead, as the result of the boycott urged by Mrs. Gloria H. Richardson, militant Chairman of the Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee, barely 48 percent of the registered Negro voters cast their ballots.

Mrs. Richardson's position was opposed by Negro clergymen and by the NAACP. However, their counsel was disregarded by a majority of the Negro voters to whom Mrs. Richardson had become a symbol because of her role in organizing and sustaining the protest demonstrations.

Mrs. Richardson urged that it was wrong to submit "the constitutional rights of our people to the whim of a popular majority." This plea was as specious as it was effective. On her premise it would also be wrong to urge Congress to enact legislation banning discrimination in places of public accommodation, or for that matter in employment, or, indeed, any civil rights laws. Moreover, if Mrs. Richardson's philosophy were accepted, there would be little, if any, point in the struggle by the Negro in the South to secure the right to vote. That struggle continues because the Negro recognizes that without the right of franchise, his status will remain that of a second class citizen.

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The Federal Civil Rights Picture. On September 30 the Federal Civil Rights Commission, for the first time in its six-year history, issued a report in which all of the Southern white members joined in the findings and in the recommendations to Congress for legislative action. The unanimity was all the more remarkable because of the sweeping character of the recommendations made for laws to erase racial discrimination. In addition to calling for uniform voter registration standards, the Commission urged enactment of a Federal Fair Employment Practices Law and the grant to the Attorney General of the right to institute suits to end segregation in public schools and to prevent discrimination in various programs supported by the Federal Government.

Paradoxically, the life of the Commission itself will expire at the end of this month unless it is extended by Congress. On Tuesday, a one-year extension was voted by the Senate 70-to-15. All of the negative votes were, of course, cast by Southern Senators but no filibuster was attempted. That weapon is being reserved for the day when an over-all civil rights bill is brought to the floor. In all likelihood, the House will concur in the one-year extension. The House may do so on Monday when the measure will be called up for immediate consideration under a procedural provision which would permit its adoption by a two-thirds vote, thus bypassing the House Rules Committee headed by Representative Howard W. Smith of Virginia.

In the meantime, however, the Commission has been gutted by the departure of key staff members who have resigned to seek positions elsewhere in the Government rather than risk finding themselves left high and dry on November 1. Replacement of its extremely able and highly experienced staff will take a long time. Moreover, there is no prospect that they will ever adequately be replaced unless a law is enacted giving the Commission at least a four-year term. The members of the Commission have themselves indicated that they would not be willing to continue to serve on any shorter basis.

The over-all civil rights bill introduced by the Kennedy Administration proposes to renew the Commission's existence for a four-year period. The House Judiciary Sub-Committee has recently reported the bill with several modifications, one of which would make the Commission a permanent body.

The bill as voted by the Sub-Committee of the House Judiciary Committee went further in other respects than the Administration's proposal. Thus it added a provision for a Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission which is, of course, crucial to ending discrimination against Negroes in the South. It also included another provision of equally basic importance which would authorize the Attorney General to bring suit to protect against violation of any constitutional right, rather than limiting intervention by the Department of Justice to cases of public school segregation.

The bill, as voted by the Judiciary Sub-Committee, is, of course, a long way from enactment even in the House. In the full Judiciary Committee and then in the Rules Committee the measure faces the threat of watering down at the hands of a coalition of Southern Democrats and Republican Conservatives. The reason for the opposition by the Southerners is obvious. The Republican opposition reflects both their general working alliance with Southern colleagues and a reluctance to have a Democratic Administration achieve a spectacular break-through in civil rights legislation.

Once the bill reaches the floor of the House, the chances are good for its adoption, without further weakening. But ahead will be the Senate where the Southern Democrats and the Conservative Republicans will have

the advantage of the filibuster rule which requires a two-thirds vote to end debate.

Prospects for Senate consideration for civil rights legislation before the latter part of November or even early December are dim. The filibusterers may therefore prevent any Senate vote before the end of the present session. That, however, does not seem to me to be a crucial consideration since the debate would simply continue with the opening of the new session in January which would be separated from the first session only by the formality of an adjournment. Ultimately, the question will be whether the Senate majority will hold out for a strong bill or will be bludgeoned by the filibusterers into accepting half a loaf.

The country is, I believe, aware of the need for civil rights legislation. It is far from certain, however, that public opinion is prepared to insist upon legislation of the sweeping character called for by the times. Unless, therefore, President Kennedy uses the full power of his office to rally the country, the Senate majority is likely to capitulate and pass a measure falling far short of what is needed. Moreover, even if the President does exert himself to the fullest, there can be no assurance that an adequate law will be adopted without the utmost effort by all of the liberal forces of the nation.

The Right to Know. On September 27 a Federal grand jury in Brooklyn indicted four New Yorkers for their part in promoting a trip to Cuba by 57 American students during the summer. They were accused of violating a Federal statute by making the trip without securing the approval of the State Department, as required under regulations issued in January, 1961. The regulations were issued under a provision of the Immigration and Nationality Law which authorizes restrictions of travel during a time of war or a period of national emergency. The Government takes the position that such an emergency is now in effect in regard to Cuba.

In my opinion, the trial of these cases will be largely a formality and the defendants will be convicted. There is little prospect that a Federal District Judge will rule either that the regulations are not authorized by the Immigration Law or that, if authorized, the statute is itself unconstitutional as applied. It is difficult to predict whether the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit will take the same position. In my judgment, however, the chances for reversal in the Supreme Court are better than even.

In Kent v. Dulles, decided by the Supreme Court in June, 1958, the Supreme Court, in a 5-to-4 decision, struck down a State Department regulation requiring an applicant for a passport to submit an affidavit as to whether he was or ever had been a Communist. The majority held that there was no statutory basis for the regulation. To hold otherwise, the majority declared, would be to require the Court to pass upon the constitutionality of the Immigration Law since, as was conceded by the Solicitor General, "The right to travel is a part of the 'liberty' of which the citizen cannot be deprived without the due process of law under the Fifth Amendment."

The dissenters in Kent v. Dulles were Justices Clark, Burton, Harlan and Whittaker, who took the position that the regulation was authorized but did not express any view upon the issue of constitutionality. Of the dissenters, only Justices Clark and Harlan remain. They have, however, been joined by two other Conservatives, Justices Stewart and White. The five-man majority in Kent v. Dulles were the Chief Justice and Justices Black, Frankfurter, Douglas and Brennan. Justice Frankfurter has since retired but his place has been taken by Justice Goldberg, who has indicated a more liberal position than that of his pre-

decessor.

In Kent v. Dulles, Justice Douglas, writing for the majority, said that "Freedom of movement across frontiers in either direction, and inside frontiers as well, was a part of our heritage." He quoted with approval Chafee's classic statement that

> "An American who has crossed the ocean is not obliged to form his opinions about our foreign policy merely from what he is told by officials of our government or by a few correspondents of American newspapers. Moreover, his views on domestic questions are enriched by seeing how foreigners are trying to solve similar problems. In many different ways direct contact with other countries contributes to sounder decisions at home."

Separation of Church and State in New York. Two years ago, as part of a plan of improving the caliber of the New York City Board of Education, the Legislature mandated the creation by the Mayor of a panel to recommend persons for appointment by him to the Board. The panel was composed of representatives of various civic, educational, labor, business, professional and community organizations. The Board appointed on the basis of its recommendations is universally regarded as the ablest group of citizens ever to be charged with responsibility for the nation's largest and in some ways most difficult school system.

Recently, the State Education Commissioner has suggested that the panel might better be chosen on the basis of personal eminence of the persons selected rather than the fact that they are representatives of special groups. Whatever the merits of this proposal, it certainly is to be preferred to the one put forward on Tuesday by the leaders of the three major religions in New York.

The New York Archdiocese of the Catholic Church, the New York Board of Rabbis and the Protestant Council of New York City issued a statement urging the inclusion of representatives of religious organizations on the panel. Their statement was accompanied by the disclaimer of "any intention to dominate the selection of names, or dictate the choice of nominees along religious lines." However, their announcement was accompanied by an observation that, when the present panel most recently provided the Mayor with a list of the candidates, it included no Catholic candidate for a "Catholic vacancy," and remarked that "For the first time in many years the balance of School Board members, according to the old procedure of selection, was changed."

It seems to me that the proposed inclusion of denominational religious organizations in the selection process for choice of members of the Board violates both the spirit and the letter of the principle of Separation of Church and State. Of course the panel should, and it does, reflect the fact that the population of New York City includes people of different religious faiths. It is quite another thing to assign to organized religious bodies a role in a panel which makes nominations for membership on the Board which sets the policies in public school education. It is even worse to propose that once again the Board must be chosen on the basis of a religious quota.

In view of its history, the position taken by the Archdiocese comes as no surprise. What is both surprising and shocking is that the Board of Rabbis and the Protestant Council joined in such a position.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

Petergroup - Misc.

FROM: COUNCIL FOR UNITED CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERSHIP
10 East 44 Street, New York 17, N. Y.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

OCT 7 1963

FOR CONFIRMATION CALL: VICTOR WEINGARTEN
MUrray Hill 2-0283

BP

The Council for United Civil Rights Leadership, representing all seven major national Negro civil rights organizations, announced today agreement on a common program on the question of a proposed Christmas boycott.

The organizations rejected any proposed nation-wide Christmas boycott. They urged instead that "all Americans who believe in civil rights make some special sacrifice this Christmas in memory of the six Birmingham children who were killed on September 15 and all others who have died this year in the cause of civil rights."

The Council suggested that support be given to all special Christmas projects which might be sponsored by civil rights organizations and by the making of financial contributions to the Council in lieu of routine type of Christmas gifts, the funds to be shared by all seven of the major civil rights groups.

It also urged local leaders to investigate employment practices of stores and other businesses in their respective communities and to make specific demands upon the owners and managers to correct any situations involving racial discrimination locally.

The Council statement was released by Wiley A. Branton, its Executive Director. The Council is composed of the following seven organizations: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Urban League, National Council of Negro Women, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., Congress of Racial Equality, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Whitney M. Young, Jr. and Stephen R. Currier are co-chairmen.

The text of the Council statement follows.

OCT 7 1963

STATEMENT ON PROPOSED CHRISTMAS BOYCOTT BY

COUNCIL FOR UNITED CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERSHIP

The Council for United Civil Rights Leadership (CUCRL) approved a resolution this week urging all Americans who believe in civil rights to make some special sacrifice this Christmas in memory of the six Birmingham children who were killed on September 15, and of all others who have died this year in the cause of civil rights.

The Council suggests that support be given to all special Christmas projects which might be sponsored by civil rights organizations and by the making of financial contributions to the Council, to be shared by all seven of the major civil rights groups.

The Council urged local leaders to investigate employment practices of stores and other businesses in their respective communities and to make specific demands upon the owners and managers to correct any situations involving racial discrimination. Local leaders should take any lawful action which they deem appropriate if their demands are not met in good faith.

This action by the Council was approved in lieu of the endorsement of any proposed nationwide Christmas boycott. at this time.

###

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE
38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
Ralph Abernathy
James Baldwin
Roger N. Baldwin
Katrina M. Barnes
Algernon D. Black
James B. Carey
Allan Knight Chalmers
Grenville Clark
John Cogley
Earl B. Dickerson
Eugene E. Frazier
Harold Gibbons
Roland B. Gittelsohn
Sidney Hollander
George M. Houser
E. Stanley Jones
Bishop F. D. Jordan
Martin Luther King
Douglas Levin
David Livingston
Will Maslow
A. J. Muste
Dorothy Norman
A. Philip Randolph
Ira DeA. Reid
Walter P. Reuther
Hobson R. Reynolds
Jackie Robinson
Arnold M. Rose
Fred M. Shuttlesworth
Lillian Smith
C. K. Steele
Gardner Taylor
Howard Thurman
Bishop W. J. Walls
Goodwin Watson
Joseph Willen
Jerry Wurf
Charles S. Zimmerman
James Farmer
national director

Research file Reed 10/11/63

Intergroup Org.
C.O.R.E.

The Second American Revolution May End in Victory

America's tragedy is the denial of the ideals of the Revolution of 1776 to Negro citizens. America's hope is that these same ideals --

> "All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights..."

-- may be achieved in the Second American Revolution in our day.

CORE is a vital part of that revolution. Since 1942 it has been applying the techniques of nonviolent direct action with growing success. A few years ago I enlisted for the duration.

> In 1776 the signers ended the Declaration of Independence by "mutually pledging to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

Today -- as ever since its founding -- CORE's honor stands unimpeached. Nor does CORE lack for lives -- for manpower and womanpower, for low-paid staff members, for volunteers to fill its picket lines and take part in other nonviolent action (in May, June and July 12,546 were arrested.) Last spring CORE member William Moore was shot to death on a lonely Alabama highway. As I write this, CORE National Director James Farmer is in jail in Donaldsville, Louisiana.

What CORE lacks are the fortunes. While we have thousands of loyal supporters, our funds simply are not equal to today's needs. If CORE is to continue its important role -- if we are to man the crucial training institutes in nonviolence, if we are to meet bail bonds, court costs, and increasing medical expenses -- CORE must have your help.

Many have given $10. Give more if you can, less if you must. But give now to insure that the Second American Revolution will end in justice and freedom. Please use the envelope above today.

Sincerely,

James Baldwin

James Baldwin

P.S. I believe that this country is going to be transformed. But it must be transformed by all of us, by you and me. I don't believe any longer that we can afford to say that it is entirely out of our hands. Give now.

Intergroup org. Misc.

SOUTHWEST STUDENT ACTION COORDINATING COMMITTEE
BOX 8178, AUSTIN 12, TEXAS

October 15, 1963

SSACC is somewhat back in functioning order now. After a short hike around east Texas I found about 50 personal contacts, 2 active groups. I also renewed contact with an active peace group and one student chapter of the CCUN.

Financial Report:

	CHECKS		DEPOSITS	BALANCE
September	$7.20	(stamps)		$9.00
October 15	$4.00	(stamps)		
	2.86	(paper)	$5.00	$7.14

Here is a brief sketch of the November Conference (in Austin area and either first or third weekend in November)

Friday Afternoon:		Registration
	6:00	Supper
	&:30	Film (such as Viva Zapata)
Saturday	8:30	Breakfast
	9:30	History of protest movements in U.S.
	10:30	Discussion
	12:00	Lunch
	1:30	Examination of liberal forces in Texas
	2:30	Break
	3:00	Discussion of Voter Registration
	4:00	Break
	6:00	Supper
	7:00	Duscussion of SSACC

The two articles included in this mailing are hopefully part of a permanent part of the monthly SSACC Bulliten; that of a discussion section. These two articles are to serve as a sort of primer for further discussion. Any article you send in which is under a page in length will be printed; any longer articles will be printed if money for paper allows it. Any news, comments, etc,, of local situations, national happenings, etc., will be welcomed.

DISCUSSION SECTION

(Both of the following articles were written by George Goss - for better or worse)

John and James Giles and Joseph Johnson Appeal

On December 5, 1961, John Gordon Giles and James Vernon Giles, of Spencerville, Maryland, were convicted in the Montgomery County Cirduit Court for the rape of Joyce Carol Roberts, of Hyattesville, Maryland. On December 11, 1961, they were sentenced to death by Judge James H. Pugh of the Circuit Court.

On September 26, 1962, Joseph Elijah Johnson, Jr., of Spencerville, was convicted for the same offense, On November 20, 1962, he was sentenced to death by Judge Matthew Evans of the Circuit Court.

At the present time all three defendants are confined on death row at the Maryland Penitentiary awaiting executing. Unsuccessful appeals have been made to the Maryland Court of Appeals and U.S. Supreme Court. The lives of all three are in the hands of the Governor.

Summary of the Incident

On July 20, 1961, the defendants, who are Negro, and a fourth companion, John Bowie, had been fishing and were returning home. They had to back Bowie's car past another car parked on a secluded dead end road in a wooded area. The 16 year old white complainant and her 21 year old companion, Stewart Lee Foster, were sting in the back seat of the other car. After helping Bowie back up to the driveway of the Cunningham residence, the defendants returned to the car in which Foster and Joyce were sitting. Joseph asked for a cigarette; Foster cursed him, and an arguement ensued. After the window on Foster's side of the car was briken with a stone, Foster got out of the car and was struck in the face by Johnson and knocked to the ground. After laying there for a few minutes he got up and

ran about 221 yards to the home of Joseph Cunningham and called the police, who arrived within a few minutes.

At the same time that Foster got out of one side of the car, Joyce Roberts got out the other side and ran into the woods about 30 ft., tripped, and fell. She was soon joined by John Giles who stayed with her alone in the woods for several minutes. He did not harm or threaten her and she did not call for help even though there was a house close by. Joyce did not know at this time what had happened to Foster. She offered to have sexual relations with John Giles if he would not call the others. After a few minutes Joyce a and John were joined by James Giles and Joseph Johnson. Joyce removed her shorts and underpants and lay down on the ground. No threats were made to her safety, and no force was used. She had intercourse with Joseph and James. She made no protest or objections to this intercourse. As the police car was arriving, Joyce said to the defendants, "I'm going to tell the police that I was raped." She did not call out to thepolice; she did not call for help at any time. The police searched the area and found her lying on the ground "whimpering," in a "semi-conscious" state, with her clothes still off. These are the aspects of the case on which there are no disagreements between the testimony of Joyce Roberts, Stewart Foster, John Giles, James Giles, and Joseph Johnson.

There are many questions concerning the trial, the jury, and the sentence.

1. It has been 15 years since Maryland last punished rape with execution. In the case of these three men, the girl consented and no force was used; even by the complaintant's testimony. Last year another defendant was convicted, also in Montgomery County, of raping a woman at gunpoint and cruelly beating her, but he was not sentenced to death.

2. The jury, as is the law in the State of Maryland, was not instructed as to the applicable law. Judge Pugh sent the case to the jury with these words: "Now ladies and gentlemen of the jury, the form of your verdict in this case will simply be 'guilty on the first count' or 'guilty on the first count without capital punishment' or 'not guilty' as you shall find from the law and the evidence.' The jury had no guidelines on the delicate and unsettled law of rape. The jury lacked the rudimentary guidelines about theprosecution's burden of proof, let alone the "reasonable doubt" which must be resolved in favorof the defendants in criminal trials. (Preceding from an article in The Washington Post)

3. There were no Negroes on the jury.

4. Joyce Roberts told the defendants that she had had intercourse with 16 or 17 men that same week and she had admitted to a personal history that in not exactly Puritan; yet a discussion of her record or that of Stewart's Foster's was not allowed in Court.

5. According to the three defendants testimony and one of the conflicting statements made by Joyce Roberts during the trials, John Giles din not have intercourse with her.

6. The testimony of Joyce Roberts became unclear and conflicting as the trials progressed, yet the jury found no"reasonable doubt" as to the guilt of the three defendants.

Upon these questions citizens groups in Maryland and CORE groups around the country are appealing to the Governor of Maryland for clemency. I'll close this summary with the concluding paragraph of the application of the trial lawyers for executive clemency.

It is often observed that a charge of rape is one of the most difficult chargesto defend against. Often, there may be no important evidence other than the testimony of the defendant and of the woman who claims to be wronged. Without more, it is recognized that the defendant is at a severe disadvantage. Surely it is not presumptious to suggest that the handicap of a defendant who happens to be a Negro is multiplied many times. Thus, when new evidence of the nature of that discovered in this case comes to light, it must be weighed heavily by the Governor, who has the responsibility to review sentences. As the Court of Appeals explicitly ruled in this case, the courts in Maryland are not available for consideration of new evidence more than three days after verdict.

Since the only person responsible for the lives of the three is the Governor, I am asking you to write or wire: Gov. J. Millard Tawes, State House, Annapolis, Maryland, in an appeal for clemency.

If you wish more material on this case, write:

CORE
38 Park Rd.
New York 38, N.Y.

The preceding statement was taken from material included in:

1. The August 5, 1963, and September 9, 1962, The Washington Post.
2. The July 25, 1963, Montgomery County Sentinel.
3. The application of the defendants for executive clemency.
4. A summary of the trial background material on the five involved, and the legal questions, prepared by lawers for the defense.

Madame Nhu - One of the Actors in the Fight of S.V. Government and the U.S. Government Against ?

Since Madame Nhu, part of the South Vietnam Government, is now in the United States and will be in Austin, October 24, I feel that it is a good time to offer a few questions and comments on the "war" or wars in South Vietnam.

South Vietnam has been a republic since the Geneva Convention following the Indo-China War. Ngo Dinh Diem was soon elected President and has, since that time, had a parliment favorable to him chosen by the people under rather questionable circumstances. Police "suprivise" the elections and opposition votes and candidates have a way of disappearing. One of Diem's opponents, Phan Quang Dan, ran as an opposition candidate in the 1959 legislative election and was elected with a 35,000 vote majority over the government sponsored candidate. When he tried to take office, he was "disqualified" and is now in the island prison of Poulo Condore in the South China Sea. It seems that voting in South Vietnam is similar to voting, or trying to, in Mississippi. Although the CIA isn't quite as active in Mississippi as in Vietnam.

Vietnam has a history of 2,000 years of peasant uprisings against feudal or regional control, but this is one of the first (in Vietnam) in which the U.S. has actively supported the opposition. On examining this war (with the usual vague and general figures) one finds that the combination S.V., CIA, and U.S. forces number about 510,000 against 31,000 guerrillas (about 10,000 more than last year) and 300,000 "passive" supporters.

The government forces are euiped with relatively modern weapons, have air transport available, and fighter-bomber support. The Viet Cong is supplied with older weapons from North Vietnam, China, and with newer weapons that they capture from Government troops.

Both "sides" indulge in terrorism; the Viet Cong have hacked wounded to pieces, burned crops, held trials for government officials and then executied them, and practiced various types of local intimidation; the Government forces have poisoned village water wells, sprayed chemicals to defolate trees (which also kills crops), and have a practice of attacking a village, which is possibly holding Viet Cong, with jellied gasoline in an air attack (which "regretfully" does not distinguish between Viet Cong and farmers). Another weapon of honerable mention is the Stratigic Hamlet program; which, by gathering families together makes for more efficient agricultural units, but those exlcuded for security reasons from the hamlet are sent to political prison camps.

This is a war in which the U.S. has been doing "reasonably well" in, but a number of military men admit that it will be a continual stalemate if the present S.V. government stays in power.

Another one of the wars features the South Vienam Government against the Buddhists and students. The shooting and killing of 11 Buddhists in a religious parade May 8, 1963, by South Vietnamese troops, armed, trained, and transported by the U.S. and U.S. equipment, was only one of the instances of government percution of a political minority which composes 70 percent of the population. Since that time priests have burned themselves in order to show the depth of feeling held by the Buddhists and point out, by their sacrifice, the harshness of the Diem Government; S.V. troops have conducted raids on Buddhist pagodaos; students have been arrested and held in jail; and street demonstrations have been stopped with tear-gas, rifle butts, and bayonets. Except for the proper names involved, one might think this a description of Birmingham, Jackson, or Selma.

However, this is not Selma, but only one of the other areas of the world, controlled or influenced by the U.S., in which official violence is part of the political order and sustains the present government in power. Madame Nhu isonly one of many, including the various Diems, the military, and regional governors, responsible for the oppression in Vietnam. As one might gather, from my biased viewpoint, this is not written as a protest against Madame Nhu as much as a protest against the seemingly general policy of the United States of expediently supporting or using those who will best "serve the interests of the U.S." without regard for the liberty, well-being, and even the lives of individuals involved.

George Goss

AUSTIN
OCT 16
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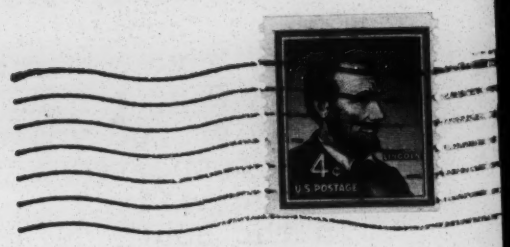
1963
TEX.



Southern Regional Counci
VEP
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Please return to

S. C. COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1330 LAUREL STREET
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

10/63

Integration

A PARTIAL LIST OF ADVANCES COLUMBIA NEGROES HAVE ACHIEVED IN THE PAST

1. Integration of City Buses.

2. Integration of variety store lunch rooms.

3. Integration of Public Library.

4. Employment of Negro Firemen:
   Abram Coles
   B. F. Frazier
   Thomas L. Jones
   C. B. Mitchell
   C. C. Stewart
   James D. Williams
   L. N. Williams
   Willie E. Jones.

5. Employment of Negro Policemen:
   G. L. Eleazer
   J. H. Wilson
   Alonzo Hook
   J. S. Stephens
   Arthur Hayes
   Eugene Lewis
   T. J. Morris
   Samuel Taylor.

6. Employment of Negro Recreational Leaders:
   Viola Ransom (Supervisor)

Thomas Martin	C. F. Bolden	C. W. Madden	Lucinda Dantzler
Mamie Doctor	Demetra Johnson	Rebecca Redd	Harriett Waiter
Maggie Boozer	Cynthia Ray	Mattie Boyd	Lutherine Smith
Willie Cantey	James McCloud	Julius Means	Eugene Phelps
Harry Green, Jr.	Homer Westberry, Jr.	Jesse E. Caughman	Robert Weatherly
J. R. Ruff, Jr.	Arnold Sherman	Johnny Edwards	Robert Bradley (vacancy).

7. Integration of Columbia Art Museum.

8. Integration of Science Museum and Planetarium.

9. Appointment of Negro members to various boards and commissions:
   (a) Planning Commission
   (b) Decent Literature Commission
   (c) Cleaner Columbia Committee
   (d) City Board of Health
   (e) Urban Rehabilitation Advisory Board
   (f) Citizens Advisory Committee on Minority Housing Problems
   (g) Girl Scout Board.

10. Employment of Negro health nurse (Janie Creed).

11. Integration of restroom and eating facilities at Municipal Airport.

12. Integration of City Council meetings.

SOME RECENT ADVANCES COLUMBIA NEGROES HAVE ACHIEVED THROUGH VOLUNTARY ACTION

By City and County Governments:

1. Advancement of Negro Police foot patrolmen to automobiles.

   Advancement of Negro Firemen to Engineer.

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3. Removal of all signs indicating racial segregation from City and County buildings.

4. Adoption of an official policy on non-discrimination in all City employment.

5. Integration of down-town U.S.O. facilities.

6. Purchase of Lyons Street - St. Anna's Playground property jointly with School Board.

7. Addition of Negro playschool at Saxon Homes, thus bringing the total Negro supervised recreation locations to eleven.

8. Construction in progress of two new Negro ball parks at Carver and Perry.

9. Construction in progress on large covered picnic area at Drew Park.

10. Employment of 2 Negro Deputy Sheriffs. (Sam Jackson and Jesse Scott)

11. Integration of Richland Technical Education Center.

By Columbia Merchants:

"At a meeting on Monday, August 12, 1963, a representative group of leading Columbia merchants discussed certain issues and requests presented by a group of leading Negro citizens through the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations. They issued the following statement:

"To the best of our knowledge, the following steps have now been taken to improve the lot of all citizens in Columbia, without regard to race or color:

1. "All signs indicating race or color have been removed from water fountains.

2. "All signs indicating race or color have been removed from restrooms.

3. "All signs indicating race or color have been removed from dressing or fitting rooms.

4. "All merchandise is available for customers to try on, without regard to race or color.

5. "Major merchants are accepting applications for employment from qualified persons -- with a sincere desire to upgrade the level of all employees -- without regard to race or color.

6. "De-segregation of lunch counters is already effective.

7. "Negroes are already in upgraded job classifications in most stores, and efforts are being made to select additional qualified Negroes for further upgrading.

8. "All customers are treated with the same courtesies and appreciation, being addressed by appropriate titles, such as "Mr.", "Mrs.", "Miss", etc.

"These points represent a sincere desire on the part of leading merchants to cooperate in keeping Columbia a fine and progressive business city and in protecting the rights and privileges of every citizen."

Mayor Bates reports that a meeting has been held recently with representatives from the major oil companies to discuss removal of all signs indicating race or color from filling station restrooms.

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SOME FACTS ABOUT EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES BY CITY OF COLUMBIA

1. Police employment of Negroes:

   (a) All employment is by Civil Service Examination.

   (b) A total of 35 Negroes have made application for Police employment through Civil Service over past 10 years.

   (c) A total of 11 of these have been employed during this period.

   (d) There are 8 Negroes now on Police Force. Four are regular police officers and 4 are school crossing guards.

2. Fire employment of Negroes:

   (a) All employment is by Civil Service Examination.

   (b) A total of 37 applications have been received over past 10 years.

   (c) A total of 9 firemen have been employed.

3. Recreation Department employment of Negroes:

   (a) All applications are by individual qualifications.

   (b) The total number of Recreation employees is 153. Of this total 66 are Negroes.

   (c) 43% of all Recreation Department employees are Negroes.

   (d) Of the total of 66 Negroes on Recreation Department payroll - 39 or 59% are in supervisory positions.

   (e) There are a total of 84 Recreation Leaders and of this number - 26 or 31% are Negroes.

4. Water Construction Department employment of Negroes:

   (a) All applications are by individual qualifications.

   (b) Out of a total of 41 employees in this Department 24 or 58% are Negroes.

   (c) Out of this 24 - 10 or 41% are equipment operators or skilled workers.

5. Percentage of City employment now filled by Negroes:

   (a) The total number of City employees exclusive of Police and Fire are 527. Of this number 215 or 41% are Negroes.

   (b) The total population of the City of Columbia according to the official 1960 Census is 97,433. Of this number 29,488 or 30% are Negroes.

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Intergroup Orgs - Miscellaneous SB

Progressive Youth Organizing Committee
80 Clinton Street
New York 2, New York
November 5, 1963

Dear friend,

In October Cuba, along with other Carribean countries, was a victim of hurricane Flora. This natural disaster caused the death and injury of thousands of people. It killed livestock and destroyed property in all the countries; but Cuba was especially hard hit. Cuba's sugar crop, her main product, was ruined. Because of the years of United States embargo, medicines and equipment needed to combat disease are unavailable. Cuban doctors have based their practice on U.S. brand name medicines which are now unattainable. Hospitals are unable to accomodate fully the sick because parts for American made medical machines are needed and are unavailable. There is a desparate need for food and clothes for the people.

We are therefore asking you to send to the Cuban Red Cross, Havana, Cuba, clothes, food (not perishable) and medical supplies. If you wish, you may send us check, money order or cash to Alva Buxenbaum, Medical Supplies Fund, 80 Clinton Street, New York 2, N.Y. and we shall purchase the medical supplies and forward them to Cuba.

We are asking your help in the name of humanity, but also in the name of America. Let the food, clothes and medicines be our way of beginning to close the breech between Cuba and the United States in the interests of world peace and the people of both countries.

Sincerely,

Alva Buxenbaum

Alva Buxenbaum

Intergroup org. : PW✓ WB SB✓
misc.

SOUTHWEST STUDENT ACTION COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Box 8178, Austin 12, Texas

November 13, 1963

Now that a majority (?) of Texans have decided to keep the poll tax perhaps the next measure approved will be the granting of votes on the basis of income, one vote per $10,000. The very fact that a little over 300,000 people can make decisions binding on 8,500,000 people is a sad comentary on politics in general and Texas politics in particular. At least this points out in stronger terms the need to increase the size of the voting public; particularly an increase of people voting whose $1.75 vote tax comes out of food money rather than cigarette money. Otherwise Texas politics will continue to be like driving through an unlit Tunnell.

One means today of blasting "Tunnells" and keeping them cleared is the coalition of liberal forces now formed in Texas. However if this coalition cannot exert a political force this comming year, the various parts will probably revert back to the policy of catch as catch can (which usually means Texas gets caught short). The building of a liberal political force depends upon voter registration this year, which is dependant upon students to a large extent in some areas. In short, the choice of liberal or conservative government hinges on your involvement in voter registration.

This somehow brings me to the subject of the SSACC Conference this weekend (Nov.15-17). I still have hopes that at least one of you from each local group or collection of individuals will attend. In order to reach Camp Kinsolving from Hwy. 81: turn onto the street (Central) which takes you through the business district; drive through Belton downtown, cross the narrow bridge you will come to, and turn right; this will put you on the old Nolanville road, which, after two miles of driving will take you to the entrance of the Camp. If you get lost in the process, call the camp: WE 9-2603. IMPORTANT: remember to bring your own blankets, sheets, towels, etc.

The total expenses of the camp will be about $110.00. If 25 people attend there will only be a deficit of $35.00; if less people show up there will be a larger one. I am asking those of you who won't be attending the conference to contribute $1.00 to SSACC to keep the committee out of debtors prison. So far this fall SSACC has been run on money given me by my parents, plus one $5.00 contribution and meals given me as I hitckhiked. If we cannot contribute to our own maintainence now SSACC will dry-rot from lack of funds before the questions of purpose and personnel can be brought up, so please send whatever you can.

Peace,
George

The item in the Discussion-Information Bulletin, November, comes from Prairie View A&M; specifically, from Students for Equality, Liberty, and Freedom (SELF). When I stopped at Prairie View last week I was both suprised and relieved. Prairie View had been known to me as a place where something ought to be happening, but wasn't. Now the happenings are more than I expected, for SELF not only stands in opposition to personal limitation based on the idea of race, but chooses to oppose the idea that a university is a place of Administration parenthood and indoctrination of contemporary values. If you wish to personally contact SELF write to either Tommy Osborne or William Batts, III: Box 2807, Prairie View, Texas.

The following is a letter and sections from two pamplets written by SELF.

. . . . . .

Enclosed is a pamplet containing a list of greivances that the STUDENTS of Prairie View A&M College hold against the community of Hempstead, Texas. We are proud and pleased to inform you that considerable progress has been made in the areas of imployment, and the removal of signs denoting race.

However, we are not and will not, be pacified by receiving a few crumbs from the cake of freedom. There is now a group of approximately fifty students who are willing to take any non-violent action regardless of personal sacrifice, to achieve the rights which GOD gave us, and the constitution guarantees us.

We are dedicated to the doctrines of freedom and believe that you, being just men, will support us in our struggle to acheive true equality. We feel that you know better than we the manner in which you may most effectively help us in our efforts.

We would appreciate any comments, or suggestions, and, or pledges of support. Although we will not and cannot be stopped, we will weigh any criticism carefully.

This is our stand; in light of the current social crisis we cannot do otherwise. The STUDENTS for Equality, Liberty, and Freedom, SELF, thank you for your kind indulgence.

* * * * * * * * * *

During the later part of June this past summer, some interested citizens of the Prairie View Community started negotiations with the businessmen of Hempstead on the subject of Area Desegregation.

In brief, the five major issues identified were:

1. Expansion of employment opportunities, public and private..
2. Desegregation of cafe, restaurant, and counter services....
3. Desegregation of all movie accomodations.....
4. Removal of all signs denoting race in all public places....
5. Desegregation of all motel and hotel accomodations.....

After two meetings, the businessmen expressed a desire to dummunicate on an individual basis as opposed to the collective group structure, as had been established. This approach, of course, makes it harder to satisfy the aforestated grievances. Upon receiving this discouraging report relative to area desegregation. members of the Prairie View Community interpreted this stand on the part of the majority of the business as a manifestation of disinterest in, if not opposition to, the legitimate requests of the Negro Community.

Therefore, it was felt that until we are confident that satisfactory lines of communication have been collectively reestablished, we have no other recourse but to divert our purchasing power into alternative outlets. "EFFECTIVE IMMEDIATELY"

* * * * * * * * * * *

MAJOR GRIEVANCES OF STUDENTS

I. Department of Student Life

A. Immediate Removal of Director of Student Life from Office
B. Immediate action taken by the institution with regard to grievances relative to Dean of omen's and Institution's Policies conderning young ladies.

II. Academic

A. Classroom
1. Building of modern classrooms
2. Improvement of present facilities
3. Immediate procurement of necessary supplementary instructional aids.

B. Academic Freedom.

III. Student Government

A. A substantial voice in all affairs governing all areas affecting students.
B. Power to appropriate all monies provided for Student Activities
C. Creation of Student Court and Reorganization

IV. Living Facilities

A. Immediate action by institution toward the building of dormotories
B. Immediate improvement of present dormitories

V. Library

A. Lengthening the operating hours
B. Broaden the selection of books and other library materials

VI. College Exchange

A. Fast efficient service
B. Reorganization of physical set-up

VII. Civil Rights Issue

A. Pronunced stand by Administration regarding Civil Rights Fight
B. Complete freedom to take stand on racial issue.

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Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Georgia

SB
BP

Intergroup Org.
misc.

OUR NATION MOURNS

Our entire nation and the world mourns the tragic assasination of our President - John F. Kennedy. His death, which shocked and stunned us, has placed our country in a sudden and unexpected crisis.

What is the significance of this tragic event? Will his death mean a deterioration of the trend to better relations between East and West -- an important part of his program? Will it mark the death of his proposed Civil Rights legislation now pending in Congress.

While the great majority of the American people feel a deep sense of grief, there are those in our country who hope to gain from the vacuum created by this murder. Those who recently attacked Adlai Stevenson - ambassador to the UnN. - when he visited that same city of Dallas only a short while prior. Those who criticized and condemned the President for his negotiation and signing of the limited test ban agreement. Those who were responsible for the bombing and murder of innocent children in Birmingham, Alabama. Those who beat, terrorize and have murdered innocent Negro and white Americans fighting to be free of rascism, discrimination and inequality. Those who constantly attack and attempt to weaken labor unions and who oppose legislation like the Youth Employment Opportunities Act that would help alleviate problems of unemployment. Those who press to enforce McCarren Act measures which outlaw freedom to think and act.

These groups -- the extreme right wing - hope that the death of President Kennedy will mean the death of his democratic steps forward. They hope and are moving to fill the void created by this horrible murder with their program of hate, fear and repression. This can not be allowed to happen!

We as young Americans, in memory of the democratic achievements and hopes of President Kennedy, say to those in the administration and particularly to succeeding President Lyndon Johnson -- you now have an added responsibility to the memory of President Kennedy and to the American people. That responsibility is to redouble your efforts for immediate passage of his legislation before adjournment of this session.

1. The Civil Rights Legislation
2. The Tax Cut legislation
3. Youth Employment Opportunities Act

We further urge you to make every effort to continue the work of our late President to establish normal and peaceful relations in the world - so that President Kennedy's children and the children of our country can live and grow in a peaceful world.

We pledge ourselves and urge our fellow Americans to all efforts for a fully democratic America. To fight in everyway possible for the immediate passage of the above legislation and in so doing establish a living memorial to the late President John F. Kennedy through an America which stands and fights for Peace, Civil Rights and a secure economic future for all our people.

Issued 11/22/63

Progressive Youth Organizing Committee
and the New York Cooperating Organization
Advance Youth Organization
80 Clinton Street, New York 2, New York

IN MEMORY OF PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY

BUILD A LIVING MEMORIAL

Dear President Johnson:

In this period of national mourning we must rededicate ourselves to the tasks which the late President had set out to accomplish. People throughout the nation mourn the loss of President Kennedy - the man who introduced the Civil Rights Bill and who signed the limited test ban agreement.

A living tribute can be paid to our late President by your determined leadership in behalf of the tasks which he began. We urge you to build a living tribute to the memory of President Kennedy by:

1. Insuring the passage of the Civil Rights Bill before January 1, 1964

2. Continuing efforts for peace through negotiation.

	NAME	ADDRESS	AGE
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11.			

Progressive Youth Organizing Committee, 80 Clinton Street, New York 2, N.Y.

Intergroup Org. Misc.

ASSOCIATION OF ARTISTS FOR FREEDOM
15 East 40th Street-New York 16, New York
MU 6-0530

November, 1963

JOHN O. KILLENS
Acting Chairman

. . . . . .

JAMES BALDWIN

OSSIE DAVIS

RUBY DEE

ODETTA GORDAN

LOUIS LOMAX

Dear Friends:

Enclosed you will find a statement from the Association of Artists For Freedom on "No Shopping For Christmas.

Please feel free to make whatever use you wish of this statement.

Fraternally yours,

ASSOCIATION OF ARTISTS FOR FREEDOM

John O. Killens
R.H.

John Oliver Killens
Acting Chairman

FOR RELEASE -
October 28, 1963

We believe in Christmas, because it is the birthday of the Prince of Peace and Brotherhood; the birthday of the Christ who chased the money-changers from the temple; who said, "Love thy neighbor as thyself;" who said, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, for such is the Kingdom of Heaven." This is the Christ we will celebrate; the great Jewish carpenter-philosopher who was born in a manger in Bethlehem.

Thousands of atrocities committed against humanity and the Negro people from slavery to the present time, have gone unpunished. And now we are mocking the Prince of Peace; throwing bombs in the Holy Place of God; blasting the brains of His children against the high walls of His Tabernacle in Birmingham; turning His day of days into a sabbath ritual of blood and destruction. We are guilty. Not only those who planted the bomb, but those who condone injustice and segregation and thereby give it sanction; those who profit from it and those who do not work to eradicate it. We are all guilty. And who among us can participate in life as usual, in business as usual, or even Christmas as usual?

Let us celebrate Christmas this year in a way that will bear witness to the life and the love of Jesus. Let us re-create from His Life that image including all the Adams and Eves and their countless generations. Let us repent this most recent of our crimes against humanity and God; the murder of or tender six of Birmingham, with the fervent determination that it will never be sixty, or six hundred, six thousand, or another six million.

This year we will give our children the profoundest gift of all; the gift of truth, which is the gift of love. And we will have the duty to tell them that Santa will not come this year because he is in mourning for the children of Birmingham, who will get no gifts this year or the next year or the next.

And for the children too young to understand we will make gifts and toys with our hands from boxes and cans and string and last year's toys and paste and paint and wood and love.

To the sellers of trees and trains and pins and pianos, we urge you to understand and to pledge with us, that this Christmas shall come from our hearts and minds, not from our pocketbooks. To the ones who must give something, notwithstanding, we urge you to give to the organizations and institutions working to build and strengthen the moral and religious fibre of our nation.

It is in this spirit that we ask all Americans of all colors, creeds and religions, to join us in this determination to put Christ back into Christmas and His Great Life back into moral and religious perspective.

ASSOCIATION OF ARTISTS FOR FREEDOM

James Baldwin
Ossie Davis
Ruby Dee
Odetta Gordan
John O. Killens
Louis Lomax

Intergroup N.C. Fund - LWD ✓
Ag Misc PA ✓ JV ✓ SB ✓

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina

NEWS RELEASE

C. A. McKnight
President

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

Mary L. Hatley
Administrative Assistant

NEWS RELEASE

Friday, 6 December 63

For Immediate Release

NORTH CAROLINA FUND BOARD OF DIRECTORS TO MEET DECEMBER 13-14--COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS ON AGENDA

Durham, N. C. -- The Board of Directors of The North Carolina Fund, agency created last July to combat poverty conditions in the state, will begin the first of a two-day meeting here Friday, December 13.

George H. Esser, Jr., executive director of the Fund, said that the December meeting will be a routine session "to consider a number of business items" and to map further plans for the Fund's community development program.

Included on the two-day agenda will be a review by the Board of Directors of a statewide study of poverty conditions, a study now being completed by the Fund staff. Esser said that the results of the study will largely determine how many comprehensive community development projects will be necessary for the over-all Fund program to achieve a good cross-section of problems of poverty in the state.

The Fund has previously estimated that it will be giving support to from ten to 12 such community projects. About three-quarters of the $14 million available to the Fund for a five-year program is being earmarked for support of individual community projects.

The executive director emphasized that next week's meeting by the Board is not to select sites for Fund-supported projects. Communities have until the end of January to submit proposals for Fund assistance.

(more,more)

The Board meeting will begin at 4 p.m. Friday in The North Carolina Fund office. Afternoon and evening sessions are to be held. A final session Saturday morning will close out the meeting.

Membership of the 13-member Board is drawn from across the state. Board members are: Governor Terry Sanford, chairman; Hargrove Bowles, Jr., Greensboro; Gerald Cowan, Asheville; Dr. Samuel E. Duncan, Salisbury; Dr. A. Hollis Edens, Winston-Salem; Mrs. H. Frank Forsyth, Winston-Salem; James A. Gray, Winston-Salem; Dallas Herring, Rose Hill; C. A. McKnight, Charlotte; Wallace Murchison, Wilmington; Mrs. B. C. Parker, Albemarle; Thomas J. Pearsall, Rocky Mount; and John H. Wheeler, Durham.

# # # # # # #

ous young ladies objecting to the stale tobacco smell of their boy friends you would change the habits of a nation more quickly than all the cancer statistics in the world. Nevertheless cancer and the other health risks should remain our chief motivation for trying to bring this social change about.

Up to now two major mistakes have been made. Most of the talking has been at the intellectual level, and the scientists concerned in it have been writing as if they were writing in a scientific journal with no popular appeal. They have gone out of their way to look for every possible fallacy in their arguments, and given serious consideration to every counterargument put up, however absurd, thus leaving the ignorant public with the impression that there is a lot to be said on both sides so that they snatch at the straw, so welcome to their addiction: "It isn't proved." The time has come when we should have the courage of our convictions and speak of the evidence as being already accepted by all who have taken the trouble to read and understand.

The other major mistake is that propaganda both with adults and young people, has mostly relied on fear. Yet it has been shown by planned experiments that an appeal through fear is much more liable to arouse denial and rejection in the human mind than an appeal which gives some positive advantage to the action to be taken. This has been well shown in regard to cancer and other questions of health, and is the main reason why I think we should play down the admonitions on health, though still keeping the facts well before the public, and concentrate more on changing social attitudes toward smoking. I was interested to note that Senator NEUBERGER in her recent book "Smoke Screen" after examining the evidence comes to similar conclusions. The health reasons should be made known in a matter of fact way but final success can only come through changing social habits.

I do not think that antismoking clinics are going to make a very big dent in the statistics of cigarette smoking, but I do think that experiments with them should be continued and encouraged because those who want to give up smoking should be able to get the best advice, and support and because further research into the techniques of nicotine withdrawal is very necessary. I have been collecting up to date information on the clinics which have been established in Britain to put at the disposal of the Cancer Prevention Center of Chicago. Unfortunately, those who seek the help of antismoking clinics are liable to withdraw when they find that there is no magic pill and no easy way which does not require an effort on their part. It is therefore important that clinics should not seem to promise too much and should remain experimental at this stage. Most clinics report a success rate of 20 to 30 percent who stop smoking altogether but of course this is a selected group who genuinely want to stop.

In attempting to combat the cigarette habit is there any point at which compulsion should be used? Prohibition of alcohol did not work in the United States and I don't think prohibition of cigarettes would be more successful. There are however three fields in which I would be very tempted to use legal sanctions. The first is in the advertising of cigarettes and especially in sales promotion amongst young people which in the face of the present evidence might well be made an indictable offense. On a par with this is the avowed intention of some of the manufacturers to spread the habit in African countries where cigarette smoking is at present at a low level. The second point at which I would like to see some control is in the public appearance of leading personalities, be they pop singers, athletes, politicians or intellectuals. It would seem to me at least reasonable to ask if not to insist that in view of the enormous and rising death rate from cigarette smoking and the importance of not spreading the habit amongst young people they should not appear on television or on the stage smoking cigarettes. Third, there should be more widespread prohibition of smoking in public places, especially enclosed ones such as theaters, conference halls, and airplanes, where some rather dingy quarters might be provided for the smokers to retire to at intervals, leaving the remaining space sweet and clean for those who prefer it so. If authorities would take these actions, the general undesirability of smoking would be emphasized.

I have throughout been speaking of cigarette smoking as this is by far the greatest hazard to health. Indeed this is one of the strongest answers to the tobacco manufacturers who profess not to believe the statistics. If they are not due to cigarettes but to some other factor why do the figures for cigar and pipe smoking differ so very materially from those for cigarette smoking? To switch to cigars and pipes would undoubtedly cause a reversal of the lung cancer trend, but it is my personal hope that smokers of these even more pervasive varieties of tobacco would keep to their own enclosures as far as possible.

Finally I quote from Lord Hailsham in the debate in the House of Lords which followed our report. He was referring particularly to the tobacco manufacturers' delaying plea that more research was necessary before any action was taken. Hailsham said: "I do not want to say anything against research, by all means let us research on all these questions, but do not let us delude ourselves that research will buy us out of action now, or out of the belief in the conclusion which has now been established. * * * The impression that tobacco manufacturers now make on public opinion * * * will largely depend on the extent to which they prove themselves able to recognize as facts propositions which are accepted by impartial scientists everywhere. I believe it is to their interest to recognize the truth before and not after they are compelled to do so. The first class man is a man who recognizes and accepts compelling evidence, and not one that fights against it."

Interprose Org. Miss

CAUSE OF NEGROES INJURED BY PROFESSIONAL AGITATORS

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, a distinguished Negro citizen of my State, has undertaken a significant and detailed study of the effect on good race relations of demonstrations, disorder, threats, and intimidation employed by various groups and agitators.

The conclusions reached by Maj. Hughes Alonzo Robinson, U.S. Army—retired—were made after careful investigation into communities where these demonstrations had occurred and following conversations and meetings with average citizens, both Negro and white, in the areas affected.

Major Robinson is peculiarly qualified to undertake this research. He recently retired from the faculty at Fort Valley State College at Fort Valley, Ga. His record in the Army is one of honor. He served both as an Army chaplain and a Veterans' Administration psychologist. Highly educated, he received the bachelor of science degree from Springfield College, Mass., and later studied at six other institutions of higher learning.

I ask unanimous consent that a brief synopsis of Major Robinson's findings, published in the Macon (Ga.) Telegraph together with an editorial from the Albany (Ga.) Herald be inserted in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the synopsis and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

[From the Macon (Ga.) Telegraph, Nov. 15, 1963]

NEGROES' CAUSE IS HURT BY PROFESSIONAL AGITATORS

Editor, the Telegraph: During the past 4 weeks I made a survey of areas in which demonstrations were sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Congress of Racial Equality. The results of the survey indicate without doubt that race relations in Albany, Ga., Danville, Va., and Birmingham, Ala., were seriously hurt by the activities of the groups named above. The real pity is that all persons of importance, except those connected with the demonstrations, expressed the view that much more progress would have been made toward granting Negroes more rights had not the radical elements from elsewhere gone into the communities in which they were not a part.

Responsible citizens of both racial groups had been working for months on grievances advanced by Negroes in various sections of the country. In time it is possible that the Negroes would have been given many of the things they desired had not the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., inflamed the situation with ultimatums.

It appears to be the consensus among Negroes in all sections that civil rights is an issue for politicians and for those who exploit the ignorance of the Negroes for their own economic advantages, influence, prestige, and power. It is felt among the masses of the Negroes themselves that the civil right leaders would not associate themselves with other Negroes except those of the "elite."

Ninety percent of the Negroes feel that mass agitation is the wrong method to go about improving the Negroes' lot. Demonstrations are usually in the form of intimidation which will not be accepted by constitutional authorities, regardless of the positions they may hold.

Aside from special areas in which demonstrations were held, I visited every community in Georgia with a population of 4,000 inhabitants or more. Nowhere did I find Negroes interested in participation in demonstrations except those who received compensations for their activities. What the Negroes desire and want most of all is a job, and otherwise be left to himself to live and enjoy happiness one among the other of his own group. The Southern Leadership Conference, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Congress of Racial Equality would deprive the Negroes of this inalienable right.

If the incentive of individualism is permitted to be destroyed, free enterprise will disappear.

Certain self-appointed leaders today pretend that they cannot express their will effectively except through marches in the streets or lie-down and sit-in demonstrations which interfere forcibly with motor traffic or the carrying on of private business. Our famed system of communication for the expression of ideas on controversial questions—through the press, through the television, through the radio, in meeting halls and auditoriums, and even in the pulpit is ignored by the racial elements who sponsor demonstrations. Have not all these facilities been made available to minority groups as well as all other groups?

FORT VALLEY.

Maj. H. A. ROBINSON.

[From the Albany (Ga.) Herald, Sept. 12, 1963]

THE VOICE OF NEGRO INTEGRITY

It is indeed unfortunate that an American Negro of widespread respect and integrity cannot voice a moderate viewpoint without being assailed by the radicals within his own race as an "Uncle Tom" and worse. But that, apparently, is the price he must pay for asserting values long cherished in the American tradition. The radicals will not have it otherwise because they cannot afford for their self-appointed authority to be questioned in the slightest degree lest it vanish altogether.

Nevertheless, a great many individual Negroes, viewing the racial crisis askance, continue to make a great deal of sense. One such is a retired Army major, Hughes Alonzo Robinson, who was attached to the faculty of Fort Valley State College until last June. A self-made man who lived on a Florida farm until he was 19, entered school at the age of 20 and received a bachelor of science degree from Springfield College, Massachusetts, later studying at six other institutions of higher learning, Major Robinson served both as an Army chaplain and a Veterans' Administration psychologist.

Interviewed by the Washington Post, he said he strongly opposes the Martin Luther King-type racial demonstrations. He applauded his students at Fort Valley for not participating in them. A far better course, he feels, is embraced by the difficult but rewarding improvement of self by the individual, by service to the nation, by sharing in full citizenship through obeying laws, by more respect for constitutional authority and by criticizing other racial groups far less.

In the opinion of the major, those Negroes who create civil disturbances miss the whole point of the basic needs of their race in American society. Obviously, the cry of "freedom now!" as devised by the Reverend Dr. King is catchy and compelling, but the undeniable fact is that every American, Negro or not, has "freedom." What he does not have is unfettered license. That he will never possess in a democratic society. No truly responsible man desires this questionable quality, for to possess it he must rob his neighbor of some portion of the latter's liberty. This Major Robinson understands full well.

His entire thesis is that the Negro should make of himself whatever he wills. Implicit in his belief is that the Negro can do so under the American system, just as the Irish have done so, the Germans, the Italians, the Japanese, the Chinese and other racial minorities. As he says, human nature is such that "certain ones will go ahead, even if the schoolhouse was a log cabin, while others may be assigned to the best schools and the best environment and still either drop out or fail to measure up to accepted standards."

In this respect, and others, Major Robinson reminds us strongly of the late, great Dr. J. W. Holley, founder and president of what is now Albany State College and easily the finest mind the local Negro community has produced. Dr. Holley, too, was labeled "old-fashioned" and "Uncle Tom" by the racial militants. But he was infinitely wiser. He knew instinctively, as well as by experience, that the color of a man's skin is not as important as the color of his character as measured by his contribution to the general good of the community. That was why Dr. Holley was adjudged by the white and Negro community alike to be a splendid man and a model citizen. He gave so much more than he ever received to his city, his school and his race. His memory is revered, not as a Negro, but as an outstanding human being.

A LUNCHEON WITH A COURAGEOUS MAN

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, approximately a year ago it was my distinct privilege to have been able to arrange a luncheon with the late President of the United States, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, and Martin Andersen, Editor and Publisher of the Orlando Sentinel.

Martin Andersen is a prominent civic leader in middle Florida, as well as a courageous, forthright and highly respected editor and publisher. Though we have differed on occasions, he is my friend of many years standing.

Upon the death of our late and great President, Martin Andersen wrote a remarkable editorial entitled "A Luncheon With a Courageous Man" in which he captured with the precision of words the true essence of John Fitzgerald Kennedy as he really was.

I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial placed in the body of the RECORD, because of its unique insight into the characteristics of our late President that have won the hearts of the American people and the countless millions throughout the world.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A LUNCHEON WITH A COURAGEOUS MAN

(By Martin Andersen)

No matter whether you agreed with him on all his policies or not, you had to admire John F. Kennedy.

He had a certain tough courage which is difficult to define, because it was a sort of courage which carried him forward in behalf of his beliefs in the face of great criticism from a large segment of the public and a large segment of the country.

He was a controversial figure, as he had to be, because he was bold enough to step up and stand out for his new and revolutionary concept of government and rights for all the people—with no thought to creed or color.

And yet, when the cowardly assassin's bullet cut him down from ambush yesterday, the Nation was shocked in its grief. Strong men and strong women wept after exposing themselves to hour after hour of the TV exposure of the tragic story. Others, too stunned to cry, thought of this young man's widow, his children, his mother, father, brothers, sisters and thought mostly of his great and sincere ordeal for his country.

President Kennedy was not a strong man physically. He was at death's door during World War II, after a Jap destroyer had cut his PT boat in half and left him for dead in an ocean of sharks. Ever since that time his back gave him trouble. There were times when he could hardly walk, so great was the pain in his repaired and wounded spine. But he did walk and he did travel and he did work and he did speak and argue and fight for his program and he courageously kept his suffering mostly his own secret.

We sat to the immediate right of the President one day at a luncheon in the White House some 2 years ago, with a group of six or seven other Florida publishers.

We occupied that seat of honor because our name came up first alphabetically. Greater publishers with larger newspapers, more circulation and more money were scattered around the table farther away. But President Kennedy followed the protocol of the alphabet and there we were not only in the White House for the first time in our life but we were having lunch with a President for the first time in our life and we were also closer to him than anybody else—except the man on his left.

The group of us arrived ahead of the President and were in a sitting room when he arrived. Senator SMATHERS introduced all of us to the President and as he gave us a firm, warm handclasp he called our names as they were announced by Senator SMATHERS. A waiter brought around cocktails. Martinis and scotch and bourbon and sherry. Most of us had a cocktail of strong liquor but the President took a small glass of sherry wine.

He never finished his drink, even though several minutes of conversation passed and some of the crowd took a second cocktail.

This was a busy man. There was trouble in Vietnam. There was trouble in Berlin. There was trouble in Africa and the Cuban thing and the Bay of Pigs fiasco had just passed. The President had plenty on his mind. But he appeared calm and collected and talked first to one and then to another of us, just about like a district governor of a Rotary Club would do. There was, of course, a certain austerity about the scene. There is no denying that we all held him and the high office he represented in awe. And we all addressed him, with care, as "Mr. President."

When I speak of the President's certain tough courage, I refer to his stand on Cuba.

We began asking him questions about his next move on that island, shortly after we were seated at the round table.

I am not going to quote the President because Senator SMATHERS announced before the luncheon that this was just an informal social gathering and not a press conference in any sense of the word.

But the President gave us to understand that he did not give air protection or an air offensive to the invading Cuban fighters at the Bay of Pigs for the simple reason that he did not dare risk a counter military move in Berlin or elsewhere or in "ten other spots" which Russia was able to initiate and which possibly would wind up in the last world war to be fought by modern man.

The popular thing before him of course was a marine landing on the island of Cuba and the elimination of Castro.

He admitted that this could be done—at that time—in 10 days of fighting.

He seemed to think that Castro, if given plenty of rope, would hang himself. And we would have been saved all the lives of several thousands Marines in Cuba plus the lives of perhaps several hundred thousand of Americans in "local wars" or incidents in a dozen different spots all over the universe.

At the time I disagreed with his plan, but later on, as I began to mull his program over in my mind. I realized the chance he would have been taking to invade Cuba. Not a personal risk, but a risk of many thousands of others. And we understood, as we thought over the situation months [illegible], that the President was willing and [illegible] to let the Castro crisis ride for a[illegible] and perhaps erase this problem in s[illegible]ther manner.

Right or wrong, s[illegible] a move demanded a strange sort of courage. The country, and Florida in particular, was crying for action and hollering about the Reds being just 90 miles away. But the President was able to ride with the punches as he understood there is more to the problem of running our country and keeping the peace than teaching this bearded upstart a lesson. He had more information than I had and more information than any of us around that table had. He also had a program and his program was aimed at peace and survival and the prevention of unnecessary killing of American boys in a dozen little wars all around the world.

We looked down at the President's shoes as we sat there and listened to him banter questions put to him by the publishers.

The shoes looked old to us. They were brown and had not been shined, it appeared,

for several days. They must have been comfortable shoes and we surmised that he must have argued with his butler or valet about wearing them day after day as any ordinary American will wear his favorite shoes and, being the busiest man in the country, he just didn't have the time nor the inclination to get them shined.

I think he had on a brown suit. Neat enough but it did not appear any more expensive than our own. He wore a shirt with a slight pinstripe and a blue necktie.

He appeared to be not in too good health. And shortly after our visit, he did go to bed with a cold or some other slight illness.

He was a bundle of nerves and as he talked, he played with a piece of toast with his right hand, breaking it in small bits there on the table. He drank milk and after his lunch he pulled out a small cigar, little longer and a little fatter than a cigarette. He did not offer anybody a cigar, but a little later, the waiter passed cigars and cigarettes.

After the luncheon he guided us into the elevator and we got off on a higher floor and there was his beautiful wife.

"Why didn't you come down and have lunch with us?" he asked her.

"I would have, if I had known about it," she replied.

Then the two of them paraded us through the various rooms of the White House, Jackie explained each room and each piece of furniture and each picture.

There was no hurry.

The President and his wife appeared to have all the time in the world. Just like your next-door neighbor. We wound up on a portico looking out over what I would call the spacious backyard of the White House. Workmen were putting up collapsible seats for some affair scheduled for the next day.

There seemed to be no end to the job of being President—either for John Fitzgerald Kennedy or his wife.

He belonged to the people.

One may disagree with some of his policies, but he had the size and the touch of greatness. He cared naught for money and on most occasions carried none with him. Lyndon Johnson used to chide him during the campaign that he, Lyndon, always had to pay for the drugstore lunch they would eat on the fly.

He belonged to the people and the people loved him as an individual, because he was a warm, charming human being with a beautiful wife and two wonderful children. And because he was fundamentally a great American who believed in rights for all of the people.

TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, Mr. William E. Bradley, chairman of the Democratic Central Committee of Multnomah County, Oreg., has brought to my attention a resolution adopted unanimously by the committee on December 5.

Because of the very fine sentiments expressed in the resolution concerning our late beloved President, John F. Kennedy, and the resolution's endorsement of the forward-looking legislative program President Kennedy sought on behalf of the people of the United States, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Bradley's letter of December 6, containing the central committee's resolution, be set forth at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEMOCRATIC CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
Portland, Oreg., December 6, 1963.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR WAYNE: The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the Democratic Central Committee of Multnomah County at its meeting last night. I thought that you might be interested in it.

Whereas the late great President Kennedy had dedicated his life to the establishment of conditions of peace and dignity for human existence everywhere, and

Whereas President Kennedy, preoccupied with international relations, had only partially accomplished his aims to secure these objectives on the home front, and

Whereas President Johnson has emphasized his purpose to carry forward the same tradition of our late President: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Multnomah County Democratic Central Committee, That the Congress of the United States be urged to enact into law as a memorial to our late great President, those programs—such as civil rights, aid to education, tax reduction, medical care for the aged—for which he fought so valiantly; and be it further

Resolved, That like-minded Americans everywhere be urged to write their Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States, to erect this memorial to a great American.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM E. BRADLEY,
Chairman.

SENATOR HARTKE PRAISES REMARKS OF INDIANA NEWSPAPER COLUMNIST

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the assassination of President Kennedy deeply moved the people of this country and expressions of sympathy continue to be voiced throughout the land. Many of my fellow Hoosiers have sent their condolences through my office.

Few of the tributes which have reached my desk are as poignant and meaningful as that embodied in a newspaper column written by Mrs. Mary D'Andrea, society editor of the Logansport (Ind.) Pharos-Tribune. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the text of this column be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

NEWS AND VIEWS

(By Mary D'Andrea)

Words are inadequate in a time of great sorrow.

The loss of this Nation's President was one of inexpressible grief and frustration for the millions who considered him not a Republican or a Democrat, not a Catholic or a Protestant, but a leader of all men.

"Logan-land" residents expressed themselves in silent and solemn tribute, in special services in all churches, in a memorial service at Berry Bowl, in the display of the American flag at half mast or with black crepe, and in written words, lines of poetry.

Some of the poetic tributes to the late President, John F. Kennedy, are recorded here. Three of the local authors prefer to remain anonymous.

BLACK FRIDAY

From Washington to Dallas and back
This day for our Nation was very black
It was Nov. 22nd, the year 1963,
It will never be forgotten, but go down in history.

It started with a big parade
With our President in a motorcade
In the State of Texas, on a Dallas street
Never thinking his fate he'd meet,
When all of a sudden, above the cheers
A shot rang out that brought us tears.

And now he's gone, and left us sad
This youngest leader we ever had
But our Nation lives on and is stronger today,
Because we had him—J.F.K.

—SARA RIVERS.

TO KILL THIS NATION

How do you kill this Nation?
Murder its leader?
Oppress its people?
Purge its name?
Destroy its flag?

How do you kill this Nation?
Benedict Arnold tried betrayal.
John Booth tried murder.
Adolf Hitler tried war.
Nikita Khrushchev tried intimidation.

How do you kill this Nation
If it is loved?
If it is free?
If it is Christian?
If it is America?

How do you kill this Nation?
Only when you destroy peace.
Only when you destroy the last American.
Only when you destroy the world.
Only when you destroy God.

A SHOT WAS FIRED

A shot was fired
An irrational act of man
Upon mankind
And though it was but one
It pierced the hearts of millions
Slaying a part of each.

A shot was fired
Producing not the death desired
But giving life anew
Through grief
To build men's lives
With courage and with love.

A shot was fired
In death to martyr
But in life
To give
A hundredfold
That which it was meant to destroy.

IF DADDY HAD BEEN THERE

The day was gloomy in spite of the sun,
People crowded around everywhere
But John-John missed only one
His Daddy was not there.

"Why do all these people come?"
Was John-John's puzzled look.
It wasn't a day for fun; besides.
He'd rather look at a picture book.

Daddy always read to him
Before he went to bed
But last night all seemed grim
So he left the words unsaid.

John-John couldn't understand.
When Mommy wouldn't play his favorite game
Because Daddy wasn't home yet, and
Things just weren't quite the same.

WBA
LWD
MV
VJ
SBB

Intergroup Org. Misc.

MERRY CHRISTMAS MERRY CHRISTMAS MERRY CHRISTMAS

FOR FREEDOM FOR FREEDOM FOR FREEDOM

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH
NAACP

December 14, 1963

While the nation emerges from the shock of the death of the late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, one of the best friends of the Civil Rights Movement, the following quote of a Negro laborer is symbolic: "I never knew I could love a White man that much,". This statement was made as tears streamed down his face.

Recent visits to the Whitehouse, by National and Local Negro leaders, give us assurance that the cause of Civil Rights will not suffer as President Johnson is just as determined as President Kennedy was to make America a showcase of Democracy. The only persons that can lose this great opportunity to gain Rights and Justice for the Negro People are the Negro people themselves. If we will not participate in activities destined to bring Freedom to all, then we do not deserve freedom. THE GREATEST OFFENDERS OF FREEDOM ARE THE NEGROES THAT STILL SHOP IN DOWNTOWN CLARKSDALE, FAIR DEAL GROCERY, 5TH STREET GROCERY, MONNEYHAN'S LION SERVICE STATION, WONDER POTATO CHIPS, AND JORDANS FURNITURE COMPANY.

WHEN THE POLICE OF CLARKSDALE AND THE CLERK AT FAIR DEAL GROCERY TEAMED UP AND KILLED EARNEST JELLS, AS HE PLEADED FOR HIS LIFE, ANY NEGRO WHO STILL TRADE AT FAIR DEAL GROCERY CAN LOOK FOR THE SAME THING. ALL JELLS WANTED WAS A BANANA. MUST IT BE YOUR SON, OR YOU, BEFORE YOU WILL BECOME CONCERNED??

IT APPEARS THAT THE ONLY WAY OUT IS TO THROW UP ANOTHER PICKET LINE IN DOWNTOWN CLARKSDALE TO EDUCATE THE NEGRO PUBLIC THAT DIGNITY AND EMPLOYMENT IN THE DOWNTOWN AREA CAN NOT BE EXPECTED UNTIL THE MERCHANTS FEEL IT IN THE POCKET BOOK SO BADLY THAT THEY LOSE THEIR RACE CONSCIOUSNESS. THERE IS NO TRUER ADVICE THAN IS FOUND IN THIS VERSE OF THE SONG OF WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON.

DON'T "TOM" FOR MR. CHARLIE,
DON'T LISTEN TO HIS LIES,
US BLACK FOLKS,
WE AIN'T GOT A CHANCE
UNLESS WE,
O R G A N I Z E.

To better understand the real race relations in mississippi, all of us should read the address by Dr. James Silver of the University of Mississippi, entitled; Mississippi, The Closed Society. A few copies of the speech are available at our office. More than 200 copies of the speech ~~has~~ have been distributed in the local community. The request for the speech, from local white Citizens, has been tremendeous, and all who have requested it have been supplied. We are pleased with the interest by both racial groups in this literary gem.

THE CITIZENSHIP SCHOOLS ARE MAKING PREPARATION TO OPEN FOR THE YEAR OF 1964. IN THESE SCHOOLS THE ISSUES OF SELF HELP, SANITATION, DEPORTMENT, MORALS, EDUCATION, DIGNITY AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE ARE STRESSED. AS MANY SCHOOLS AS INTEREST INDICATES WILL BE SET UP WITHIN THE CITY AND COUNTY. APPLICATIONS WILL BE TAKEN BEGINNING WITH THE FREEDOM MEETING THIS WEEK AT THE CENTENNIAL BAPTIST CHURCH.

TRANSPORTATION IS AVAILABLE FOR SHOPPERS DESIRING TO SHOP OUTSIDE THE CITY OF CLARKSDALE. TELEPHONE HEADQUARTERS TO INDICATE WHERE AND WHEN YOU WANT TO GO.

FREEDOM MEETING, WEDNESDAY NIGHT, CENTENNIAL BAPTIST CHURCH.

BE SURE TO PAY YOUR POLL TAX BEFORE FEBRUARY 1, 1964; Register to vote today.

Intergroup Org. Misc.

NEGRO LEADERS MEET LBJ— HERE ARE THE RESULTS THEY SEE

Civil rights, it seems clear, will become a major test for President Johnson—as it was for the late John F. Kennedy. Negro visitors to the White House talk of resuming demonstrations unless Congress passes a civil-rights bill soon.

Congress, however, seems in no real hurry. Even with White House prodding, it may take months to get a bill passed.

In the White House, President Johnson lost no time before he talked individually with leaders of this country's Negro organizations.

As an aide to the President expressed it: "Nobody should get the idea that the new President is going to permit the Republicans to take from the Democratic Party the Negro vote in big cities of the North."

President Johnson, in his talks with the heads of the leading Negro organizations, stressed two things:

- Jobs hold the key to the easing of race tensions in the U. S. The White House will press ahead with plans for a cut in taxes and other measures designed to generate jobs.
- Laws that enforce Negro rights need to be strengthened, and Congress will be pressed to act as early as possible on civil-rights legislation.

The President moved quickly in an effort to pry loose from the House Committee on Rules the civil-rights bill that was introduced early this year.

That bill, already approved by the House Judiciary Committee, would authorize the Federal Government to enforce equal rights for Negroes in voting, jobs and unions, in such public accommodations as hotels and restaurants, and in such publicly operated facilities as parks, libraries and schools.

Most legislation must clear the Rules Committee before reaching the floor for action by the House. Mr. Johnson had hoped this would take place before Christmas adjournment. But Representative Howard Smith (Dem.), of Virginia, chairman of the Committee, made it clear he planned no early action. This was President Johnson's first rebuff, coming in his second week in office.

It remained to be seen how successful he would be in maneuvering the bill into law.

The late President Kennedy was unable to make much progress through his own methods. The civil-rights issue, in fact, has been the rock on which the 1963 session of Congress has foundered.

Persuasion. The new President, judging by his early moves, is determined to use whatever persuasive powers he has to try to get this issue resolved early in 1964.

First indications are that this objective will not be attained by a frontal assault on congressional opposition.

A discharge petition, bearing the signatures of 218 Representatives—half of the House membership—could force the bill out of committee. This procedure, however, would have to follow a rigid timetable which would make it all but impossible to get the bill onto the House floor before Christmas.

Top Republicans, furthermore, have said they will not support a discharge petition. This raised the question of whether "liberals" of both parties could muster enough votes to force the bill out of the Committee.

Now the House Republican Leader, Charles A. Halleck, of Indiana, after a talk with President Johnson, is predicting passage of the civil-rights bill in January.

After that, however, comes the question of getting it through the Senate, which could take months. Some leaders in Congress say that the only solution lies in compromise on the bill.

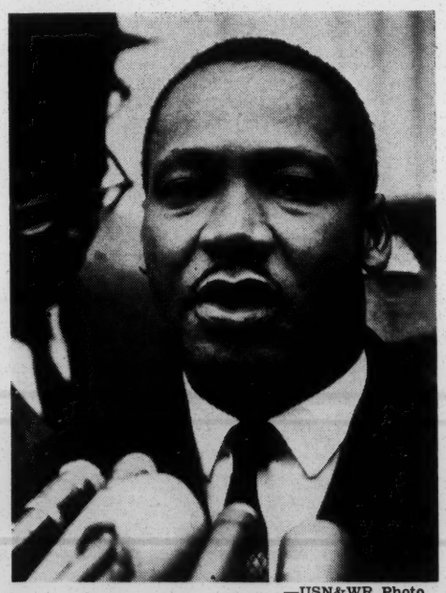
In that situation, Negro leaders are talking once more of demonstrations along the lines of those that sprang up in many places last summer, then died away with the onset of autumn.

These leaders, emerging from the White House after seeing Mr. Johnson, seemed to approve of the new President. They seemed cautious in their appraisal of his ability to get the civil-rights legislation that President Kennedy had been unable to get.

Chief topic: jobs. Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said after his meeting with Mr. Johnson that the President's chief topic was jobs for Negroes.

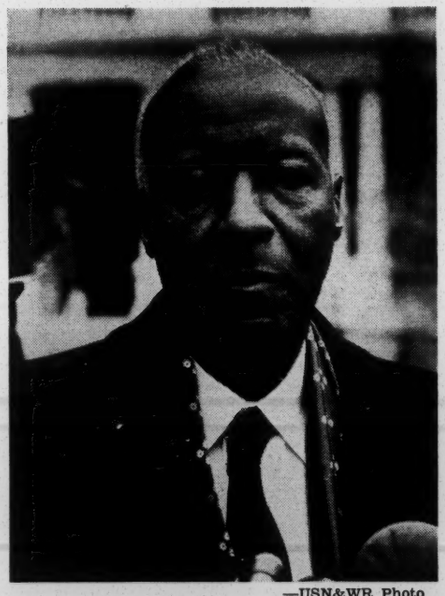
Mr. Wilkins, who made an appearance subsequently on WABC-TV, New York, recalled that Mr. Johnson—as Vice President—had been the chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

"He said that a good part of the Ne-



—USN&WR Photo

THE REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING was "impressed by President's understanding"



—USN&WR Photo

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Negro union leader, asked for a $2 minimum wage

—USN&WR Photo

ROY WILKINS, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, warned President of possible demonstrations

—Wide World Photo

WHITNEY YOUNG, National Urban League, asked the President for a vast public-works program to relieve unemployment

gro's trouble was the lack of employment," Mr. Wilkins said.

"He said he was going to keep an eye on this committee and on the work that it was doing, not only in Government employment but employment with firms that have contracts with the Government."

Mr. Wilkins said he is sure President Johnson will push for civil-rights action—not only from conviction but from political necessity. He added:

"I think Mr. Johnson enjoys the respect of the Negro community for his very great abilities, and, as Vice President, he emerged from the role of legislating for a single State or section and became a national figure. Naturally Negroes are skeptical of a man with a Southern background. But, on the other hand, they love Hugo Black [Supreme Court Justice, an Alabamian]."

Mr. Wilkins predicted that Mr. Johnson's background as a Southerner and former Senate Majority Leader would "bring a new dimension, a new skill" to the civil-rights movement.

On the other hand, he warned of demonstrations "if Negroes get nothing tangible out of Congress." Among other things, he said, the NAACP plans to launch a drive to defeat Congressmen who oppose civil-rights legislation. In the past, the NAACP has merely listed a candidate's record without recommending how a person should vote.

"Depth of understanding." The Rev. Martin Luther King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was another White House visitor.

In mid-November, Dr. King was quoted as saying he would not support a presidential candidate in 1964. After seeing Mr. Johnson, he went no further than to say he was "impressed by the President's awareness and depth of understanding" of the civil-rights problem.

Dr. King said demonstrations by integration backers were "mentioned only in passing. But I made it clear to the President that . . . we will have demonstrations until the injustices that have caused them are eliminated. The President made no request that they be discontinued."

Dr. King said that his organization, which called off demonstrations after President Kennedy's assassination, plans to resume them in the near future in such places as Danville, Va., and Williamston, N. C.

The organization would take "direct action" if there is a Senate filibuster against civil-rights action, he said, and this might include another "March on Washington" or nationwide demonstrations.

More public works? Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League, said after seeing Mr. Johnson that he felt the President "has deep convictions in his own right" and is no Johnny-come-lately as a civil-rights supporter.

—USN&WR Photo

JAMES FARMER, of CORE, wanted remedial education for "deprived" children

In this talk with the President, as in others, jobs for Negroes was a prime issue. Mr. Young said he suggested to the President a vast public-works program to meet the unemployment problem as a whole.

President Johnson apparently did not commit himself on this proposal but asked Mr. Young to prepare a memorandum on the subject.

Mr. Young said that the President, for his part, seemed much interested in stepping up the retraining of workers by unions and industries so they could be fitted into job openings.

Remedial education. Another visitor, James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, said on leaving the White House that he had asked President Johnson to sponsor a five-year program of remedial education for "deprived" children, mostly Negroes. The program, he said, would cost 15 billion dollars.

On this proposal, too, the President's response was to ask for a memorandum.

Also among White House callers was A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, who is considered the top Negro spokesman among union officials.

After meeting the President, Mr. Randolph said he asked Mr. Johnson for a $2 hourly minimum wage, as well as a "crash training program" to prepare unskilled workers for jobs in automated industries.

Out of these meetings with Negro leaders, conviction grows that President Johnson regards the civil-rights bill—and the Negro vote—as essential to his plans for 1964.

Experience and civil rights. What now remains to be seen is whether President Johnson, with his long background in congressional maneuvering, can use that experience to get civil-rights legislation through both houses of Congress to the satisfaction of the nation's Negro leadership.

Intergroup Org. Misc

Christmas is for children. But there will be no Christmas this year for the six who died at Birmingham. And so in memory and in mourning for them let us give to our children this Christmas not the tinseled tree, the toy trains, the talking dolls, but the great moral gift of understanding: an understanding of the grave racial and spiritual crisis in America today.

We will therefore tell them that the bombing of the church and those six deaths have made a mockery of Christmas and we choose not to be part of that mockery.

We will tell them that as long as the perpetrators of that murder go unpunished we cannot celebrate Christmas in the usual manner and feed those very economic forces which permit such crimes.

And we will tell them that the struggle of the Negro for equality cannot be won without sacrifice on the part of us all, both black and white in this country. We must remind them that the children in Birmingham made the supreme sacrifice while they are only giving up a toy...

This gift of understanding which is also the gift of truth and love is the same one after all offered the world by the man whose birth we celebrate each Christmas, the gentle carpenter-king of Bethlehem who said: "Suffer the little children to come unto me.." -- and he meant the children of Birmingham; who said "Love thy neighbor as thyself" -- and he meant both black and white in America.

Remember the Children of Birmingham then this Christmas, we ask you, and give your Christmas dollars to those Civil rights organizations working toward racial justice and equality in our country.

Remember Birmingham-don't buy for Xmas

ASSOCIATION OF ARTISTS FOR FREEDOM
15 E. 40th ST. - NEW YORK 16, N.Y. - MU 6-0530

1963

ASSOCIATION OF ARTISTS FOR FREEDOM

Aims and Purpose

The Association of Artists for Freedom was born out of a shocked reaction to the bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, on Sunday, September 15, 1963, at which time four innocent children were killed while they attended Sunday School, and the lives of two others were snuffed out in the streets of that city on the same day.

We, as human beings, as Americans, as artists, felt it was time for us to speak to the conscience of America and make ourselves heard on the questions of freedom and human dignity for all peoples everywhere. Brought together in memorial to the tender martyrs of Birmingham, we have decided we need to remain in Association with each other and with other artists.

Our Aims are as follows:

1. To be a cultural adjunct, and not in competition with, the existing organizations fighting for civil and human rights in our country.

2. To achieve a meaningful unity of all artists who are concerned with the great American moral and cultural crisis.

3. To conceive and sponsor and encourage cultural and artistic activities in the Negro communities in particular, and in the entire American community as well.

4. To help make art a part of the ordinary life of all people.

5. In the main, our activities will be neither political, nor legislative, but cultural.

ASSOCIATION OF ARTISTS FOR FREEDOM - 15 East 40th Street - New York 16

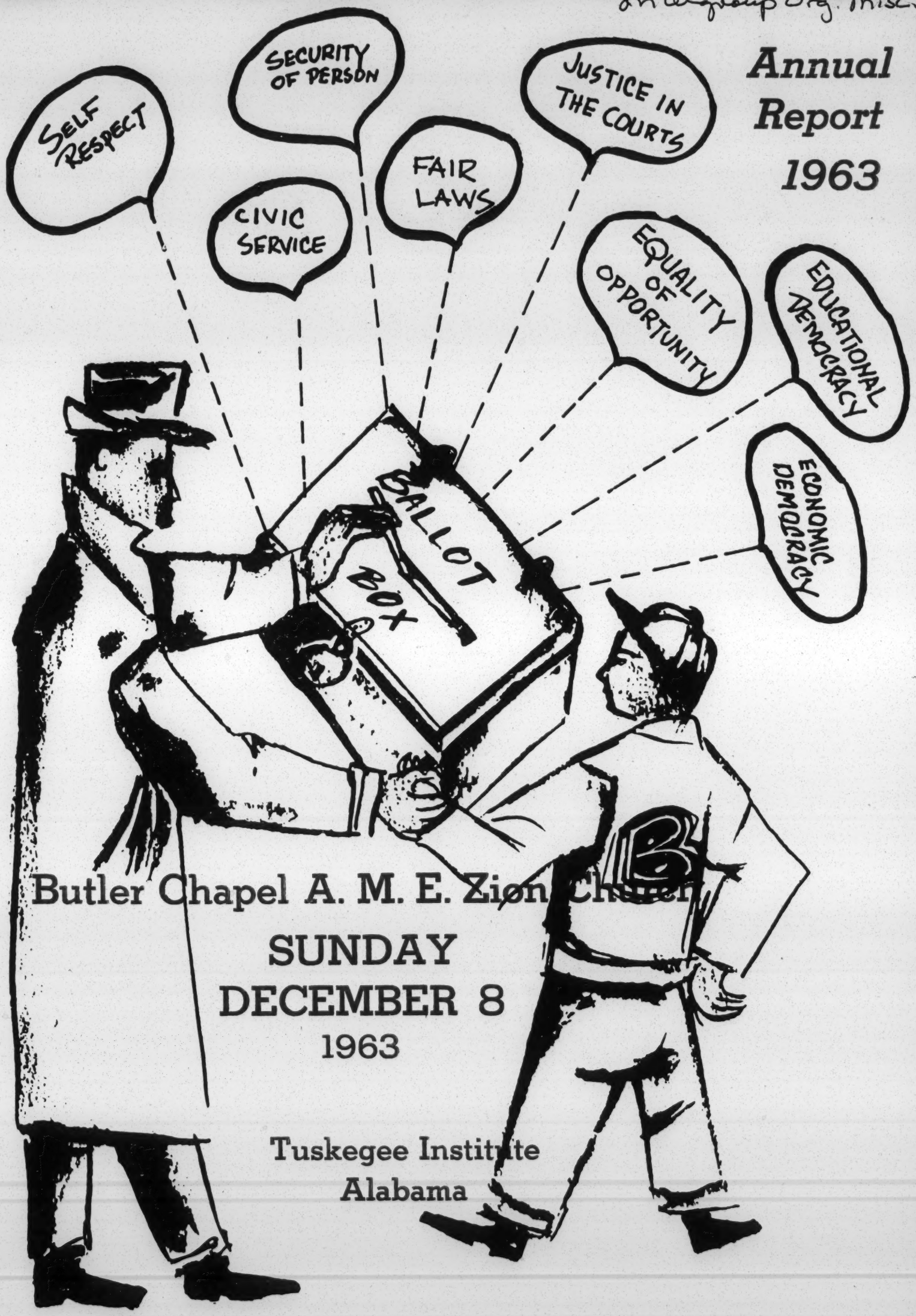
MU 6-0530

FOUNDING MEMBERS: James Baldwin, Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee,
Odetta Gordan, Louis Lomax
John O. Killens, Acting Chairman
Clarence B. Jones, Counsel

Intergroup Org. Misc.

Annual Report 1963

TUSKEGEE CIVIC ASSOCIATION



Butler Chapel A. M. E. Zion Church

SUNDAY
DECEMBER 8
1963

Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

"SO MUCH FOR SO LITTLE EFFORT"

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

1963

As I have reported on several occasions, the Tuskegee Civic Association is a civic education organization. A major function of the Association is the assembling, analysis, interpretation, and the dissemination of civic data, which, if used intelligently, might stimulate and facilitate responsible civic behavior.

During the year, the Association presented five special programs in observance of as many special occasions. In observance of the one hundreth anniversary of the issuance of the Proclamation of Emancipation, the Association presented as guest speaker Dr. Lucius H Pitts, president of Miles College, Birmingham, Alabama. On Race Relations Sunday, in February, Dr. George W Starling, professor of History, Tuskegee Institute, was the speaker. In May, in recognition of the efforts of Africans to gain independence, the Association presented Mr. Douglas Mujana, of Southern Rhodesia, a student who is majoring in social science, Tuskegee Institute. In June, as guest speaker for the observance of the sixth anniversary of its Crusade for Civic Democracy, the Association presented Mr John Doar, first assistant to the Chief of the Civil Rights Division of the United States Justice Department. In observance of American Education Week, and of National Achievement Week, in November, the Association listened to Dr. C R Dowe, basileus of the Iota Omega Chapter, Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Tuskegee, and to Mr. Jerry C Carter of Shreveport, Louisiana, a student in sociology, Tuskegee Institute. On the other regular meeting Sundays, regular programs were presented.

At the Tuesday evening meetings, January - April, inclusive, the Association continued the study of the structure and the functioning of the governments of Tuskegee, Macon County, and Alabama, which was begun in October, 1962.

The Association is grateful to all persons who participated in any way on the programs presented during the year. Thanks are extended to the pastors, officers, and members of all of the churches in which TCA meetings have been held.

During the year, as in former years, the Association, through its officers and some members, has cooperated with other civic and political education organizations, such as, the Alabama Democratic Conference, the Alabama State Coordinating Committee for Registration and Voting, the Highlander Research Center, the Penn Community Center, and the Southern Regional Council.

Special assistance has been given to those parents whose children were admitted to the Tuskegee Public School which, in August, was ordered to desegregate in September. The Association is appreciative of the civic service which is being rendered by these parents and their thirteen children. Thanks are also due the officials and the agents of the United States Department of Justice who worked diligently to see that the orders of the Court were obeyed, and that the lives of the children were protected. Also deserving of commendation are the Macon County School Board, the County Superintendent of schools, the Principal of the Tuskegee Public School, and those teachers who continued to teach the Negro students after all the white students withdrew. Recognized and congratulated are those few white citizens who encouraged, and urged, their fellow citizens to accept the decision of the Federal Court, and keep their children in school. Theirs was not an easy task.

It seems that this report is mainly one of thanks. This year, it could hardly be otherwise. That which the Association has done has been made possible by the generous contributions of service and money of many persons and groups. Thanks are extended to all persons and groups purchasing life memberships, annual memberships, patrons tickets and advertisements for the sixth anniversary souvenir program as well as to all who contributed at the Tuesday evening meetings, and through the mail. We are especially grateful to the Alabama Association of Women's Clubs, which repeated its annual donation of fifty dollars. Very special thanks are given to Dr. John I Ingle, professor of dentistry, School of Dentistry, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, who,at the suggestion of Dr. CliftonO Dummett, U. S. Veterans Hospital, Tuskegee, contributed $200.00.

Alyhough the Association failed in its efforts to stimulate and facilitate the registration of 1000 voters this year, it is grateful to the Voter Education Project, and to all others who helped the Voter Franchise Committee.

Again, as president of the Association, I must recognize and commend Mr William P Mitchell, executive secretary, for the many hours of effective services which he has given to the Association and to the community without any financial compensation. Appreciated, also, is the service rendered by other officers and committee members.

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. GOMILLION
President

REPORT OF THE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

For fourteen consecutive years you have elected me to serve the Association as your secretary. For an equal number of years.I have endeavored to perfom the task and responsibilities entrusted to my keeping. During this span, we have witnessed the TCA grow from a membership ranging from 125 fourteen years ago up to 1700. This phenomenal growth has carried with it its attendant responsibilities.

During the se 14 years, our assets have increased from $250.00 to an amount in excess of $22,000.

While trying the best we know how to carry on here, we have been called on often to assist our neighboring counties. While this additional responsibility has demanded more and more of our limited energies we would want it no other way. We have derived great satisfaction from assisting these people and have, in turn, learned from them.

We continue to work with and assist, the Alabama Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting and have each year made our financial contribution of $300.00 to this organization.

During the year it was necessary to purchase another typewriter; to have our equipment covered by insurance, and to review our surety bonds with the view of making them commensurate with the liabilities of your secretary and treasurer.

On November 2, it was necessary that we move our office to temporary quarters in order that the office building in which we held space may be renovated and enlarged. We were successful in obtaining temporary quarters approximately four hundred feet from where we were, in the Perdue home. We are expected to remain here until February or March, 1964.

As we look to the future, we are still of the opinion that our life membership program offers the greatest opportunity to make us financially affluent. We shall continue to try to increase our fully-paid life members to 1000 - lookingforward to the time when the interest accruing to this account will substantially defray our operating expenses. There are 335 fully-paid life members on roll to date as compared with 270 oneyear ago. There are 192 partially paid members. There is presently $10,184.67 in this account - $368.16 representing interest accrued during the past 12 months.

As has been our system during the past six years, we have not prepared a detailed accounting for your perusal. However, we continue to invite you to inspect and constructively criticize the handling of your funds. These reports and accounts will be made available to any member of the Association upon request.

William P. Mitchell

WILLIAM P MITCHELL
Executive Secretary

REPORT OF THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

Seventy-four solicitors enrolled 871 regular members during our 1963 membership campaign. In addition, 21 new life memberships were added to our rolls during this drive. Thirty-two partially-paid life members paid out, and 56 partially-paid life members made additional payments on their $25.00 obligation. A total of $1,671.00 was collected during our drive.

While our regular membership goal of 1200 was not reached, we take this opportunity to thank all of our citizens who made it possible for us to obtain the degree of success attained in our campaign during 1963. We are indeed grateful to all who assisted us in any way.

We are again, calling upon you to assist us in reaching our goal for 1964, which is 1200 regular $1.00 memberships, and 50 new life memberships.

We are asking persons who have paid some on their life membership, to pay out if at all possible during this month-long membership campaign, or to make at least another $5.00 payment on their obligation.

Our drive this year, commences Sunday, December 8, 1963, and concludes Sunday, January 12, 1964.

Nettie B. Jones

(Miss) NETTIE B JONES, Chairman
Membership Committee

REPORT OF THE
VOTER FRANCHISE COMMITTEE

Period: December 1, 1962 - November 30, 1963

The ballot used intelligently can do more good for more people with an expenditure of less effort and resources than any single instrumentality. This has been our credo as we have gone about working to cause the registration of all qualified citizens of Macon County.

It was early during this reporting period that we discovered that we had reached the unregistered within our immediate environs and hub of activities which are located principally in Precinct #1, who would respond to the usual appeals. While we recognize that there are still many hundreds of people in this precinct who are not registered voters, there were and are even more voters in the out-lying communities of Macon County who needed to be reached and urged to register. We sought, during the past 12 months, to reach these people.

Our registration goal for this reporting period was one-thousand. A total of 819 applications were accepted from Negroes; 150 were known to have been rejected. We have no report from 111. Five hundred Fifty-eight were actually registered. A detailed report indicating registration by months and dates follows on succeeding pages.

In our effort to reach and appeal to people in Creekstand, Franklin, Fort Davis, Armstrong, Roba, Hardaway, Warrior Stand, Chesson, Notasulga, Milstead, Fitzpatrick, Cotton Valley, Shorter, La Place, and Shady Grove, it was necessary that we travel over 5000 miles. We distributed 29,000 handbills, sent 1438 notices to 50 churches and 19 Masonic Lodges. We made 105 radio appeals; held over 200 voter registration clinics, and used more than 4000 sample registration forms in conducting these clinics.

It was in June that the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council approved a $3,000.00 grant to us to assist financially in this undertaking. Because of this grant, we were able to employ three part-time

persons - two field workers and a clerk, to work with voter registration. It was stipulated that this grant would run from June 1st. through November 30th. However, because some money remained at the close of this period, permission was granted to continue to use the funds remaining for voter registration as long as they lasted, but not beyond March 31, 1964. This financial assistance enabled us to serve many more people than was possible under our system of using only volunteer workers.

In our all-out effort to get rural Macon County population to register, we discovered that a wide variety of roadblocks to registration existed in the non-urban areas that were not in evidence in Precinct #1. We were to learn that these persons were not as literate. Indeed, many were illiterate. Many were those who feared that the local whites would not look with favor upon their becoming registered and upsetting the status quo. Some would openly make such statements to us while other more sophisticated persons would simply not take part in our voter registration clinics and in our other efforts to assist them in becoming registred voters. These latter persons were to be found in the back pews of the churches and on the periphery of a gathering under the shade trees and environs of the General Stores as we carried our voter registration programs to rural Macon County. Many of these fears were unfounded and fancied. Ours, then, was a program of reassurance and an allaying of these fears to the skeptics as well as to appeal constantly to them to become registered voters.

Then, too, there were some who were callous from the years of plantation-life indoctrination; some were indifferent and apathetic, while others did not know what the word "register" was, and plainly said so. Some even asked, "Do I have to register?" Then, too, many Negroes in rural Macon County do not have their own transportation. This presented a problem of their getting to and from the board of registrars. We were able to eliminate this problem in

most instances, by designating some local persons who had transportation to carry and bring them. We would pay their mileage.

The mainstay of our voter registration efforts here has always been, continues to be, those members on the Voter Franchise Committee who give their time gratis; who travel over the county in their personal cars and refuse to be refunded even for gasoline. Although I run the risk of being guilty of impropriety by failing to list the names of some members on this Committee, I feel compelled, nevertheless, to mention D L Beasley, Charles W Chisholm, Bennie Davison, Mr and Mrs Frank Bentley, Sill V Adams, Robert Knight, C G Gomillion. J A Watkins, Leon Lumpkin, Otis Pinkard, and John W Mindingall as a group of dedicated persons who have caused the registration of more people in this county than any other persons. These members, because of their abiding interest in, and dedication to, the program of causing the registration of the fellow citizens, deserve the plaudits of all who want to see civic democracy become a reality in Macon County, Alabama, and the South.

We are grateful, as always, to all who helped in any way in our voter registration program, and are especially grateful to the ministers for the use of their churches for the dissemination of voter registration information.

As your committee looks to next year with the knowledge that only 550 Negroes were known to get registered during this reporting period despite our concerted efforts, especially after June 1st., we must set a more realistic goal of 250 for 1964.

William P Mitchell

WILLIAM P MITCHELL, Chairman
Voter Franchise Committee

	MADE APPL.	REC'D CERT.	PER CENT	NO REPORT		MADE APPL.	REC'D CERT.	PER CENT	NO REPORT
Dec. 3, 1962	21	14	66	0	July 2, 1963	25	21	84	0
Dec. 17, 1962	22	13	59	0	July 3, 1963	28	17	60	0
Jan. 7, 1963	16	14	87	0	July 5, 1963	49	35	74	3
Jan. 21, 1963	12	9	75	1	July 6, 1963	32	28	88	0
Feb. 4, 1963	24	17	70	1	July 15, 1963	66	59	89	0
Feb. 18, 1963	9	7	88	0	Aug. 5, 1963	61	40	65	6
March 4, 1963	9	7	88	0	Aug. 19, 1963	33	21	64	3
March 18, 1963	18	12	66	1	Sept. 2, 1963	22	15	68	4
April 1, 1963	18	13	72	0	Sept. 16, 1963	24	15	62	1
April 15, 1963	22	20	91	0	Oct. 7, 1963	21	16	76	1
May 6, 1963	30	27	90	0	Oct. (Precinct)	31	7	23	11
May 20, 1963	7	7	100	0	Oct. 21, 1963	62	47	76	9
June 3, 1963	14	9	64	0	Nov. 4, 1963	36	0		36
June 17, 1963	24	21	88	0	Nov. 18, 1963	33	0		33
July 1, 1963	50	47	94	1	TOTAL, BOTH COLUMNS	819	558	68	111

NOTE: There are 111 persons who made an application for a certificate of registration from whom we have not had a report. Conceivably, when the reports from these persons are in it will affect the per cent of persons receiving certificates.

REPORT OF THE
PUBLIC EDUCATION COMMITTEE

Apart from its concern for a desegregated public school system, this Committee has also been fully aware of the great need to ameliorate the deplorable conditions existing in the Negro public schools of Macon County, both high schools and elementary schools.

The Committee is working very closely with interested parents in one community with tangible results. It has investigated the conditions in some of the schools, and is continuing its investigations in other schools. These investigations, it is hoped, will facilitate a more objective analysis of the situation. This is, of course, preparatory to the making of appropriate recommendations structured to bring about increased awareness from the citizenry concerning conditions which are handicapping the educational preparation of the children of the community.

There has been a noticeable increase in this awareness. The Committee is, therefore, optimistic about future steps of amelioration.

Stanley H. Smith

STANLEY H SMITH, Chairman
Public Education Committee

REPORT OF THE COMMUNITY WELFARE COMMITTEE

During the past year some increase in services rendered by city and county officials has been noted. While there is still much to be desired, we are pleased to report this increase.

Among the physical improvements have been:

1. The installation of the treffic light at Greens Fork. This much-needed facility was secured after lengthy negotiations, extending over a period in excess of one and one-half years. This was necessitated by the fact that Highway 80 is a State road and all improvements to, or work on State Highways must be cleared through the Highway Department.
2. The ball diamond in the Community Park was laid out and lighted; and while there is still work to be done on the park, it was used during the summer months by the youth of our communities.
3. Garbage collection services have been extended in several areas of the community with some sections receiving this service twice each week. We have been promised that equal services will be extended - including the entire area within the existing city limits.
4. Lagoon type sewerage system has been approved which will afford sewer service to all the residents within the city limits and to the Greenwood area. Plans and specifications for this work have been let out for bids.
5. Three streets un the Greenwood area have been paved. An effort is presently being made to secure funds to pave the other streets in this area.

6. Brown Street and Railroad Avenue have been approved for paving. Work on these streets have been delayed pending the approval of sites for the housing development.

For approximately eight or nine months, a Bi-racial Committee on Community Affairs has been meeting at least once each month. This Committee's functions have been confined to identifying community problems and making recommendations to city and county officials. While this group does not have official sanction as yet, it's work has been effective.

A Negro deputy has been hired by the Sheriff's Department, and two police-women have been added by the Tuskegee Police Department. One is stationed on Franklin Road, while the other works at Lake Street and the Atlants Highway.

There are other areas in which our efforts have been directed but have not borne fruit. We appreciate the cooperation of our citizenry during the past year, and we look forward to even greater gains during the year ahead.

K. L. Buford

K L BUFORD, Chairman
Community Welfare Committee

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
Ralph Abernathy
James Baldwin
Roger N. Baldwin
Algernon D. Black
James B. Carey
Allan Knight Chalmers
Grenville Clark
John Cogley
Earl B. Dickerson
Eugene E. Frazier
Harold Gibbons
Roland B. Gittelsohn
Sidney Hollander
George M. Houser
E. Stanley Jones
Bishop F. D. Jordan
Martin Luther King
Douglas Levin
David Livingston
Will Maslow
A. J. Muste
Dorothy Norman
A. Philip Randolph
Ira DeA. Reid
Walter P. Reuther
Hobson R. Reynolds
Jackie Robinson
Arnold M. Rose
Lillian Smith
C. K. Steele
Gardner Taylor
Howard Thurman
Bishop W. J. Walls
Goodwin Watson
Jerry Wurf
Charles S. Zimmerman

Intergroup Org. Misc.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, N.Y.

Dear Friend:

This is how Eric Weinberger looked as he was released from a 31-day stint in three Alabama prisons. Eric was arrested on the Moore Memorial March commemorating the hope and belief of William Moore, the CORE member murdered as he was traveling to present his personal plea for civil rights to Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett.

Eric fasted during his entire period in prison. He felt that this was the only way to protest his illegal arrest and the inhuman system of segregation that demands the arrest of those peacefully walking along a federal highway.

Previously Eric had been tortured by police in Haywood County, Tennessee, where he was teaching sharecroppers, evicted from their homes for attempting to register to vote, new handicraft skills. Here is how he described this experience.

> "We were dragged out of the courthouse by the feet with our heads bouncing on the cement steps and put in the county jail ... I was beaten and punched in my eye. This finger was bent back to the ultimate. I passed out several times. They slapped me back to consciousness. The next beating lasted fifteen minutes. I was dragged back to the cell...

Eric is not the only CORE worker who has suffered. In North Carolina, more than 3,000 students were arrested in June. In Alabama others were beaten. These sacrifices by CORE members have been made willingly but not lightly.

Their suffering has helped to bring substantial change. In North Carolina, discrimination at hundreds of restaurants, hotels and motels has ended in Raleigh, Durham, Charlotte, Winston-Salem, Statesville, High Point and Greensboro. Within one week, 60 southern Howard Johnson restaurants opened their doors to all. CORE has integrated the major hotels of New Orleans and secured 59 jobs for Negroes there. The entire civil rights movement has been thrust forward because of the courage and devotion of CORE members.

CORE has spent thousands of dollars for training in nonviolence, for bail and legal defense, and for field work. Now we must have money to carry our program forward in the crucial summer months. Those in the front lines must appeal to you for support.

Won't you support CORE and its program of nonviolent action for interracial justice? Remember, when you write your check you write history.

Sincerely,

James Baldwin

James Baldwin

James Farmer
National Director

Charles R. Oldham
National Chairman

FOR RECENT PRESS COMMENTS, SEE BACK

Reprinted from
THE NEW YORK TIMES

Demonstrators for Rights Study Tactics

By JACK LANGGUTH
Special to The New York Times.

JACKSON, Miss., May 20

The husky young Negro pushed a white girl out of her chair for the third time. She fell limply to the floor, brought her knees up toward her chin and clasped her hands behind her neck.

"That's better," said a second young Negro, David Dennis.

He turned to the girl who was getting to her feet.

"But you're still looking up," he said. "We can see your face."

Mr. Dennis, Mississippi director for the Congress of Racial Equality, addressed the audience of 30 Negroes, another white girl and a few white newsmen.

"That's the trouble with women," he remarked. "They just can't help flirting a little, even when they are getting knocked off their feet at lunch counters."

Each morning in the last week, Mr. Dennis has conducted an hour-long class in non-violent picketing and sit-in methods for the Negroes, who go downtown later in the day to demonstrate against segregation. He holds classes in the rear of an auditorium in the building housing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

A Symbol of Protest

Mr. Dennis, and another instructor, George Raymond, wear coveralls during the class and later on downtown streets.

"They're a symbol of protest," the CORE director said, "and a reminder that we're boycotting the downtown shopping area."

Beckoning to a Negro girl, Mr. Dennis placed her between two chairs.

"Now you stand here and don't let anybody carrying signs pass you," he told her. "You are a white agitator."

The girl glowered as a Negro youth advanced with a sign reading, "Don't Buy on Capitol Street."

On coaching from the instructor, she tore the sign from around the picket's neck.

The man turned without comment and began marching in the other direction.

"If the white agitator wants the sign, let him have it." Mr. Dennis called. "Get the point?"

The girl turned to her girlfriend seated nearby and said.

"You see, I'm a white agitator."

Advises Relaxation

Mr. Dennis emphasized the need for a relaxed attitude during the demonstrations.

"Don't tense or you will get the full impact of the blows," he said. "Probably it's a good thing to chew some gum. Of course, the Jackson papers may have something to say about gum-smacking niggers on the picket lines, but I think the gum helps."

"What happens," a young Negro asked, "when some cat reaches around like this and pulls at you?"

He demonstrated with Mr. Raymond.

"I go," answered Mr. Dennis.

"What if you're approached with a dangerous weapon?" asked the white girl who had practiced being knocked from her chair. She said later she preferred not to give her name.

"Anybody here got a knife?" Mr. Dennis asked. No one responded.

A white television cameraman dug in his pocket and produced a small pocket knife.

Backs Away From Knife

Mr. Dennis took the knife and brandished it at another Negro, who retreated slowly.

"You're not going to let me get that close with a knife," Mr. Dennis told him, "brotherly love or no brotherly love."

Joan Trumpauer, the second white girl, asked:

"What if someone comes at you from behind?"

Miss Trumpauer, a student at Tougaloo College, was one of the sit-in demonstrators who was covered with catsup and mustard on Tuesday by a white crowd during a three-hour clash at the F. W. Woolworth Company.

"If he comes from behind," Mr. Dennis said, "you have to hope and pray that you reach that man's conscience before it's too late."

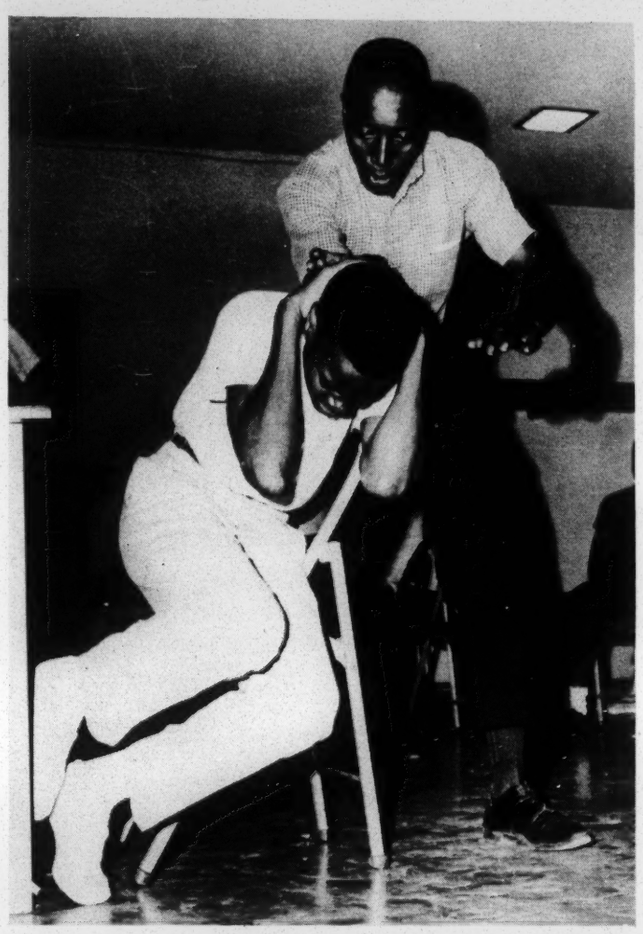
Some of the young Negroes stirred restlessly, and Mr. Dennis addressed himself to them.

"We're trying to change a system with love and understanding," he said. "It's very difficult.

"Maybe it sounds stupid, but if any of you know what violence will accomplish, let me know."

He paused and looked around the room.

"Now," Mr. Dennis said, continuing with the class, "let's get us another picket line up here. And some more white agitators — some more people who just don't understand the problem."



Dave Dennis, 22, a field worker for the Congress of Racial Equality, protects his face with his arms while his hands are locked together behind his neck, guarding against rabbit punches, in demonstration for Students at CORE's School of Non-Violence in Jackson, Miss.

Intergroup. Hist. Introduction

YOUR COMMUNITY LOOKS AT ITSELF

EMPHASIS IS ON THE "SELF"

A Home Town Self-Survey is just what the name implies--a local stock-taking with emphasis on the self.

Civic-minded people across the South are discovering that the way to get things done is to quit using the pronouns "they" and "you" and start using "I" and "we." No amount of professional surveying, no amount of advice by visiting experts, can accomplish much. Things start happening when you and other local citizens get together, find the facts, and put them to work.

The effectiveness of that approach has been remarkably demonstrated in Jacksonville, Florida, and Greenville, South Carolina. People in those two cities concluded that their biggest problems were those facing the Negro communities. They recognized that solving those problems wasn't the business of one race, or of one special group, but the whole town's business. In each case, they organized a Steering Committee made up of representatives and influential citizens, including white persons and Negroes, city officials and civic leaders, ministers and church women, labor and business folks doctors, lawyers, and housewives.

With the aid of local volunteers, the Committee itself went out and gathered the facts. Then the Committee made its report to the community--a simple statement, from citizens to citizens, of what conditions were and how they might be improved. Finally, a follow-up group was formed to make the recommendations realities.

The people of Jacksonville and Greenville are proud of their self-surveys, and well they may be. For today they can look around and see the tangible improvements that have resulted--such as better schools, more health facilities, newly paved streets, slum clearance, parks, playgrounds. Most important of all, they can see results in a new quality of understanding, cooperation, and working citizenship which will go on paying dividends for years to come.

The Southern Regional Council is also proud of those successes. For, though the self-surveys were local jobs from start to finish, the Council's Manual for the Home Town Self-Survey and advisory services played a significant part.

During the past few years, the Southern Regional Council has helped to spread the self-survey idea to other Southern towns, where it has proved equally rewarding. This revised edition of the Manual is published in the expectation that many more communities will want to make use of it.

IT'S EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

A self-survey draws its strength from the citizens who take part in it. It will succeed in direct proportion to the interest, initiative, leadership, and hard work contributed by the major segments of the community. In fact, the chief advantage of the method lies in its democratic approach. Working together for common goals can unite people of differing backgrounds, occupations, and everyday interests as nothing else can. Once established, that kind of

[illegible] benefit your community long after the self-survey is completed.

So the more widely representative your Steering Committee is, the better. If any major group is omitted--whether it be religious, racial, economic, or civic--your self-survey will be seriously weakened.

Your community has its own pattern of civic life which will determine the make-up of the Steering Committee and its various subcommittees. But here are a few "don'ts" that will apply:

DON'T let the self-survey become identified with one particular group; there's no surer way to breed apathy and opposition in the community at large.

DON'T appoint minority-group "representatives" who don't truly represent their groups; nobody will be fooled and many people will be alienated.

DON'T fail to include public officials; their participation and interest are important assets and will do much to assure the success of the follow-up.

DON'T hesitate to add to the Steering Committee individuals who show outstanding leadership after the survey is under way; the initial selection, however, careful, is likely to miss some of the people who can contribute most.

YOU'RE THE DOCTOR

Communities, like people, have their own personalities. And, like people, no two are exactly alike. You can get help in the form of techinical resources, from outside the community. But no one can tell you just what kind of self-survey your town needs. That's a decision for you and your fellow citizens to make.

This Manual is designed as a working document which can be adapted to the particular needs of varying communities. Some towns will want to do a self-survey of the total community--including all or most of the fields outlined in the following pages. Others will want to single out only a few fields which are most in need of improvement.

In the case of Jacksonville and Greenville, the local Steering Committees felt that the whole range of conditions affecting the Negro population needed primary attention. Another city concentrated solely on housing--housing for the entire population, white and Negro.

A second matter for the Steering Committee to decide at the outset is what geographical area the self-survey will cover. If yours is an urban community, the survey may be confined to the city limits, or it may take in part or all of the surrounding county. If your community is rural, the survey may be county-wide, or it may be limited to a few neighborhoods. That must be determined by the make-up of the community: what local government provides most of the public services, how the people of the community make their living, and so on.

Some clerical work and coordination will be needed. Reports must be typed, material mimeographed, publicity releases prepared, and meetings called. An existing office staff which can give part of its time to these duties is a great asset. In Greenville, for example, the Community Council served as the sponsoring agency, contributed personnel for the routine work, and provided a "headquarters" for the self-survey.

Some such arrangement as that, if at all possible, will help your survey to roll more smoothly. Don't forget, though, that the survey belongs, not to just one club or agency, but to the whole community--and don't let the community forget it!

LOOK BEHIND THE FIGURES

How many? What kind? How often? For whom?

Your fact-finding subcommittees will be answering questions of this sort. But your self-survey won't be complete if you stop there. The schedules and questionnaires in this Manual are not meant to dictate all the information you will need; they are merely guides to some of the basic data which you will want to expand.

For one of many possible examples, let's suppose your subcommittee on health finds that the infant death rate is very high. You will have to look behind the figures to find the cause--or, more likely, the causes. Inadequate hospital facilities, shortage of doctors, public ignorance about prenatal care, attendance at births by untrained midwives--any or all of these might be major contributing causes. A thorough survey will dig out the answer.

The strength of your findings and recommendations will depend on how well you interpret the facts and figures that are collected. There are at least four steps to sound interpretation:

1. Subcommittees should make their initial reports as complete as possible. In addition to filling out the questionnaires, they should submit the results of personal observation, interviews, and any other information which will make for fuller understanding.

2. Fact-finders should supplement their own observations by consulting local people who work daily in the particular fields. In the case of infant mortality, for instance, doctors, public health nurses, practicing midwives, and mothers themselves can give the surveyors more insight into the problem.

3. Each subcommittee report should be given careful attention by the Steering Committee. Able persons representing many points of view, their discussions will strengthen the findings and recommendations in each field.

4. Once the reports have been worked over in the Steering Committee, it is a good idea to submit them to the appropriate public and private agencies for corrections and suggestions. You probably won't accept every criticism that is offered, but you will be protected against errors of fact and judgment that might weaken your report once it was made public. At the very least, you will have prepared yourself for the reactions of the groups most directly concerned.

Whatever you decide, you will find appropriate sections in the Manual. The questionnaires and schedules are flexible models which your Committee can alter to fit the structure of your community and the scope of your self-survey.

PAVE THE WAY

It's always good policy to let people know you're coming, and a self-survey is no exception. Your town doubtless has its touchy spots--political factions, civic rivalries, personal feuds, and the like. These are danger points which your self-survey will steer around if possible. But no matter how tactful and nonpartisan your intentions are, your self-survey may arouse suspicions if you fail to lay the proper groundwork.

A safe rule is to spend as much time as necessary getting the community familiar with the self-survey idea and sold on its desirability. Usually the place to start is with the people who make things happen--or keep them from happening--in your town. Many of these key people will be in on the planning from the start as members of the Steering Committee. Others should be approached individually and be acquainted with the methods and aims of the proposed self-survey. That way, when you launch your fact-finding, you won't be faced with opposition born of misunderstanding.

It's a good idea to include the editor or some other appropriate representative of your newspaper at an early stage. He can be of great value to your Committee in working out the initial publicity by which the public will be informed of plans for the survey.

Don't rely wholly on newspaper publicity to get the story out. You can reach a number of people through their organizations, clubs, unions, churches, and so on. These memberships will be of major help later in providing volunteers for the fact-finding.

TEAMWORK IS ONE WORD

The speed and efficiency of your self-survey will depend a lot on how well it is organized. To put it another way, if the team is right the work will get done.

Your Steering Committee, of course, will be the governing body of the self-survey. Its job is to do the overall planning and directing and to approve the final reports and recommendations. But it will probably need help for the fact-finding and detailed work--particularly if your survey takes in more than one field of community life.

The best way to handle the work load is to distribute it to subcommittees, whose chairmen will be members of the Steering Committee; that is, a subcommittee on housing, one on recreation, one on welfare services, and so forth. When large-scale fact-finding is involved, as in housing and transportation, the subcommittee can, in turn, enlist the aid of volunteers to complete the individual schedules. Again, be sure to make the subcommittees representative of the total community, including minority groups. Much depends, too, on the right choice of chairmen; pick people who know the fields their subcommittees are concerned with and who can give the energy and leadership required.

If there is a college or university nearby, don't neglect its resources. There will be people on its faculty--social scientists, statistics experts, journalism teachers, and others--who have skills your need. Students are often the best and most enthusiastic of volunteers.

[illegible] about recommendations: if your data have been well interpreted, many of the recommendations will emerge almost automatically. For example, if you have found the greatest number of infant deaths among low-income families who rely on untrained mid-wives, two recommendations immediately suggest themselves: more free and inexpensive maternity care by hospitals, public health clinics, or private physicians; and training and licensing of such midwives as will be practicing in the community.

It's wise to check all recommendations for feasibility. There may be a legal or technical barrier to the step which seems most naturally to be called for.

The main object of the recommendations is not to point out blame but to get results. They should be honest, but they should also be tactful. Your Steering Committee will want to give painstaking consideration to wording them in such a way as to avoid needless controversy and antagonism. Sometimes, of course, you must choose between trampling on a few toes and being less than honest. That's likely to arise at some point in any self-survey. The only thing to do is state the facts calmly and objectively, with confidence that most people will recognize and respect the undistorted truth.

Recommendations are generally placed at the end of each section, so they can be readily understood in the light of the findings. If you have any doubt about whether the reason for a recommendation is clear, it's best to be absolutely sure. Include a note along with the recommendation, explaining why it is desirable and what its effect will be.

FACTS DON'T SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

Many a shelf is filled with dusty copies of survey reports made by high-powered professionals. That's where the self-survey is different: it aims to let citizens see for themselves and then tell their fellow citizens about it. The facts are not ends in themselves but means to an end--namely, concrete improvements.

Once your fact-finders have done their job and your Steering Committee has agreed on its recommendations, in one sense the self-survey is just getting started. You are ready then to begin telling the story--as dramatically, as graphically, and as widely as you can.

The first step is to get the findings and recommendations into attractive, readable form, mimeographed or printed, depending on the ~~respirees avao;abje/ Upi ,au want tp dp as ptjer tpwms aja~~ resources available. You may want to do as other towns have done--prepare two versions of the final report. One, the "official" report, will include all the subcommittee reports in full, plus any charts, tables, and supporting documents that are relevant. The other, the "popular" version, will aim more at brevity, simplicity, and eye-catching arrangement.

The popular version is the one you will want to get broadly distributed, and its effectiveness will depend on how readily the average citizen will pick it up and read it. He probably won't be interested in long statistical tables and wordy analysis. But he will be interested in photographs, drawings, illustrated charts, and punchy text that show him quickly and clearly how the survey's findings affect him and what he can do about it. There may be someone in your town--an advertising or newspaper person, perhaps--who is skilled in bringing facts and figures to life. If not, the Southern Regional Council will be glad to help you plan your publication.

At this point, again, the newspapers can be invaluable. They

may be willing to run the final report in serial form--or, at any rate, a summary of it. They certainly will open their news columns to statements by prominent citizens endorsing the survey's results and calling for community support of the recommendations. Favorable editorials and photographs can also help stimulate public interest.

Keep in mind, however, that a daily newspaper is turned out at top speed by many hands; inaccuracies and damaging emphases can slip in very easily. To avoid that, cooperate closely with the reporter. If you are giving him complicated information, it's best to reduce it to writing, as short and clear as possible. Invite him to check back with you or some other informed person if questions arise while he is writing his story.

If your town has a radio station, publicity through that medium is equally desirable.

Take your story to the civic clubs and other organizations which have regular meetings. One city set up a speakers' bureau made up of leading citizens who had participated in the survey. The PTA wanted to hear about education, the Chamber of Commerce about industry and employment, the Council of Church Women about law enforcement, the Lions Club about all those subjects and more.

These are only a few of the ways to get your town to sit up and take notice of the survey's results. Church services, town meetings, and neighborhood get-togethers are some of the others. Whatever the methods available in your community, use them often and use them well.

THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING...

If your survey has had the right kind of participation, results will start coming in even before the fact-finding is completed. Officials begin to view shortcomings in public services in a new light; commercial agencies serving the public begin to see themselves as others see them; civic groups become aware of needs that never seemed important before.

These by-products of the fact-finding method are all to the good. But they shouldn't be allowed to take the steam out of the follow-up. An effective self-survey will go on producitng results for years, provided interest and leadership are kept alive. Organized activity is the only way to guarantee that. The final act of the Steering Committee should always be the establishment of a Follow-up Committee which will meet regularly, keep the recommendations before the public, and work with established groups on specific projects.

The logical people to serve on the Follow-up Committee are those who have shown the most interest and ability in the course of the self-survey. Often the simplest thing to do is to convert the Steering Committee itself into such a body. In any case, it is essential to keep enough of the original leadership active to preserve continuity and know-how.

Two years after its self-survey was completed, the Jacksonville Follow-Up Committee was still keeping tabs on progress and reporting to the public. And it was able to point to over sixty-five impressive achievements which grew, directly or indirectly, from the survey. Since then the list has grown even longer.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

To retogress a moment, I would like to report on another sort of isolated project that I've been carrying through. I think of it as certainly compatible with my work with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Southern Conference Educational Fund. It's an interesting sidelight to my case in Mississippi.

I was very much concerned about the lawyer situation in Mississippi. I knew from accounts of people who had been involved in the civil rights struggle in Mississippi that it was very difficult to get legal counsel. There are very few Negro lawyers in Mississippi and the ones who are in Mississippi are literally swamped with cases involving civil rights. So I wanted to conduct a project to put the white lawyers in Mississippi on a spot in which they would have to choose between their personal prejudices and their code of ethics as lawyers. Therefore, I wrote to about 40 or 45 lawyers and called about 5 or 6 more asking them to take my case in McComb in which I was involved in an anti-segregation demonstration and was arrested. I'd like to report some of the results of this.

I contacted Attorney John Satterfield the president of the American Bar Association and he lived luckily in Yazoo City, Miss. I asked him to take my case. He refused to take it on the grounds that he was too busy. After the trial in Municipal Court I contacted him again and asked if he would have time to take my case in the County Court. He again refused and has consistently refused and has refused even to answer letters after the first two.

I also asked Ross Barnett, Jr., the son of the governor of Mississippi and a lawyer, to take my case. He asked me some of the details about the case. I told him it involved a demonstration. He asked what kind of demonstration. I said a demonstration against segregation with Negro students. He said, "I'm sorry, I can't handle that case." I said, "You can't consider taking it at all?" He said "No, I can't."

To the lawyers I contacted by mail, I wrote the following letter:

"Dear Sir:

On October the 4th in the city of McComb I became engaged as a matter of conscience in an activity against racial discrimination in Pike County. Being a white man and involved with Negroes in a protest march, I am encountering difficulty securing white legal representation on my trial on charges of disturbing the peace.

I am due for arraigment on appeal May 14 in Magnolia, Miss. Could I engage you to represent me? If you can take my case I would appreciate your sending me an estimate of your fee and suggestion of a time when I could discuss the case with you."

So this was the kind of pattern I encountered all along.

I received numerous letters back from lawyers and I will give you just a few excerpts from these to indicate the way that segregation has undermined the very ethics of the legal profession and how prejudice tends to destroy a man in many other areas.

I have here a letter from _____, an attorney in Hazelhurst, Mississippi, dated March 30, 1962 He writes:

"John Robert Zellner
Century, Fla.

Dear Sir:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter, March 22nd, 1962. There was no excuse or justification for outside agitators coming into Mississippi seeking notoriety. No matter of conscience was involved. I have lived all my life in Mississippi and grew up in a community where there were more Negroes than there were white people. The two races got along fine. I'm on the school board in the city of Hazelhurst and the Negroes here have a half million dollar school plant, their facilities being much better than that of the whites. As far as I'm concerned you're not interested in protecting the rights of the Negro race but you are seeking notoriety for pay, Therefore, I suggest that you get a lawyer from the group that you are a part of. If you prefer to promote the Negro race against the white race and prefer to be black instead of white then you employ a Negro lawyer.

Yours very truly,

_____ "

This is an example. Now I'd also like to give you an example of one of the good replies, although it was still a refusal. This is from _____, dated April 16, 1962:

"Your letter dated April 7, 1962, has been received. I admire your courage and you are certainly entitled to legal representation. I have engaged in limited amount of practive outside of _____ County but I have confined such practice to matters in connection with labor relations and I have not engaged in any practice in connection with criminal law.

It seems to me that in matters of this kind where constitutional rights of individuals are involved there should be some organization that could and would provide legal counsel and representation. I practice alone and at times have a rather rough way of it, partially because I have been identified for a long time with attempts to improve the economic status of

laboring people.

I find now that some of this segment of population whose economic status has been appreciably improved appear to have forgotten the source of their economic betterment and are now engaged in states rights, fighting sin and keeping the quote 'nigger" in his place.

There are some very fine law firms here in _____, some of them claim to be interested in the rights of humanity but I couldn't say as to whether these firms claims bear the degree of sincerity to the extent of defending someone facing charges in a situation such as yours.

May I again say I appreciate your letter but I feel that under the circumstances it would be best that I decline an attempt to represent you.

Sincerely,

_____"

Just a few statements from other letters:

"Under no circumstances would I be interested in representing you as I feel very strongly that you and your kind are doing a disservice to all of the people in this state both black and white.

Sincerely yours,

_____"

"In view of my own personal belief, it will be impossible for me to represent you on this charge. I respect your right to form your own opinion with regard to the question of racial discrimination in the state of Mississippi but I feel that you are definitely wrong in becoming involved in such a demonstration as was carried on at McComb for the obvious purpose of creating a civil disturbance.

The colored and white people of Mississippi have had mutual respect for one another for many years and demonstrations of this character can do nothing but destroy the harmony that has existed in the past between the two races."

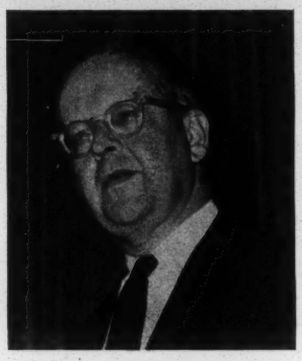
This is from a lawyer,-according to his professional ethic, a lawyer is not supposed to refuse his services to a defendant because of his personal beliefs. And yet this is what they write in Mississippi. I feel it is necessary to expose; so this is one of the things that I have attemtped on the side.

Intergroup Org. Misc.

Equal Opportunity Commission

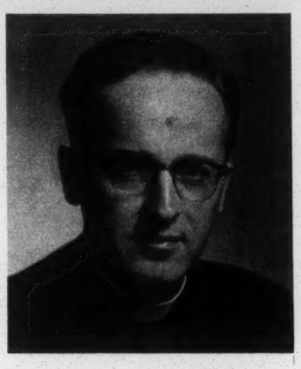
News Letter

VOL. 1 NO. 2 1963



H. W. BUCKLER

M. JONES



REV. A. STARRATT

H. THOMPSON

1st TIME EOC OPERATES WITH FULL 10-MEMBER BODY

With the appointment of five new commissioners by Mayor Theodore McKeldin, EOC is now operating for the first time this year at its full 10-member capacity.

The new members are: H. Warren Buckler, Jr., chairman; Marshall W. Jones, Jr., Mrs. Katherine Black Massenburg, the Rev. Alfred B. Starratt and Hural Thompson.

Mr. Buckler, an attorney and member of the law firm of Niles, Barton, Gans and Markell, succeeds Dr. Raymond V. Rangle whose term expired last October. Mr. Buckler's term runs until October 1965.

Mr. Jones, an undertaker, succeeds Robert B. Watts whose term expired last October. Mr. Jones term will run until October 1965.

The Rev. Mr. Starratt, Ph.D. and rector of Emmanuel Church, succeeds Manuel E. Lefko, who resigned before his term expired. Dr. Starratt will serve the remainder of Mr. Lefko's term until October 1964.

Mr. Thompson, representative of labor, is president of Local Union 2610, United Steelworkers of America and the first Negro to serve in this capacity. He succeeds Francis S. Filbey who resigned before his term expired. Mr. Thompson will serve the remainder of Mr. Filbey's term until October 1963.

Mrs. Massenburg, a civic leader and technical officer for the Seventh Congressional District 1960 decennial census, succeeds John Hauswald whose term expired last October. Mrs. Massenburg's term extends until October 1965.

Other members of the commission include: Mrs. Emil Henning, James J. McDonnell, Mrs. Charles Michael, Leon Sachs and William Tutton.

BANKS TOLD TO IMPLEMENT MERIT EMPLOYMENT POLICIES

Bank personnel managers throughout the country have been advised that unless they implement merit employment policies, they will hold themselves subject to community, political and economic pressures.

This warning was issued recently in Chicago to delegates at the National Personnel Conference of the American Bankers Association by William G. Caples, vice-president, industrial and public relations of Inland Steel Company and also commissioner of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations.

Citing the fact that some of the banks throughout the nation have improved their hiring practices "either from threat of legal action or from the exercise of strong informal pressure," Mr. Caples avowed, "Sooner or later every major employer is going to be put on the spot. . . . .". He made reference to nationwide reports which indicate an approximate $2,700 difference in earnings between white and non-white employees in the banking industry and commented: "This situation can hardly be accidental. Nor can it be merely a question of the availability of qualified workers, although that may play some part in it."

According to national figures, in the banking industry in 1959, white male employees averaged $5,664 in earnings while non-white male employees averaged $2,916. Mr. Caples attributed this differential to the fact that almost no non-white employees occupy the more well paid professional and supervisory jobs in the industry.

He told the personnel managers that they are the ones with the knowledge, skill, influence and power to introduce merit employment practices. He pointed out: "A good personnel manager is a realist. He knows fact from fiction in the field of human capabilities and human behavior. . . . .He knows equally well what factors are relevant to the quality of an employee's performance and what factors are not relevant. And he know that foremost among the irrelevant factors is the color of a person's skin."

Baltimore Equal Opportunity Commission

NEWSLETTER

published periodically

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H. Warren Buckler, Jr., Chairman

Mrs. Emil Henning — Mrs. Emma Michael

Marshall W. Jones, Jr. — Leon Sachs

Mrs. Katherine Massenberg — Rev. A. B. Starratt

James J. McDonnell — Hural Thompson

William Tutton, Jr.

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Editor . . . . . Shirley M. Kyle

EYES – WISE

LITERATURE – The Commission has begun issuing single-paged "Photograms" to employers and students throughout the city. These releases are picture pages which show Negro and white employees in actual job situations. Limited copies are available for distribution to civic organizations.

Two pamphlets: "Equal Employment Opportunity in Baltimore" and "Equal Job Opportunity For All" are now being revised and updated. Copies of the originals are still available.

TELEVISION – Now being shown on all three television channels is a one-minute animated cartoon spot on merit employment depicting an Indian president of a blanket company who is eventually convinced that the American way of life is to hire everyone regardless of race, color or creed.

THEATRES – All neighborhood theatres have been supplied with two 30-second film trailers in which two EOC staff members give statements on seeking employment and the necessity to be qualified for good jobs. The films will be shown interchangeably throughout this year.

TRANSIT CO. – All buses and streetcars throughout the city are carrying cards stating that discrimination in employment is prohibited by local law.

IN OTHER PLACES

Durham, N.C. – Dr. James T. Taylor, recently employed as administrative officer with the North Carolina Employment Security Commission, is the first Negro to hold a position of this nature in that State. He works with employers in an effort to develop merit hiring policies.

Fayette County, Tenn. – Through the efforts of the National Sharecroppers Fund, application for help for unemployed Negro sharecroppers was filed under the Area Redevelopment Act. As a result, a new metal plating plant is now under construction in the county, and, upon completion, will hire men at decent wages regardless of color.

Pittsburgh, Pa. – The Urban League has been requested by United Airlines to refer candidates for employment as stewardesses. The training school is located in Chicago.

Colorado – The Colorado Supreme Court recently handed down a decision upholding the legality of the State's 1959 Fair Housing Act and reaffirmed the "inalienable" right of any person to buy property. The ruling reversed a previous District Court decision which held that the act violated constitutional guarantees of property rights.

Miami, Fla. – Donald D. Weddington, instructor of freshman math, is the first Negro to be appointed a member of the faculty at the University of Miami.

Oklahoma City, Okla. – John E. Green, attorney, has been appointed as assistant Federal district attorney for the state and is the first Negro to serve in this capacity.

North Carolina – Governor Terry Sanford, aiming to encourage better training of Negro youth, has organized a Good Neighbor Council composed of 24 members to work toward that objective.

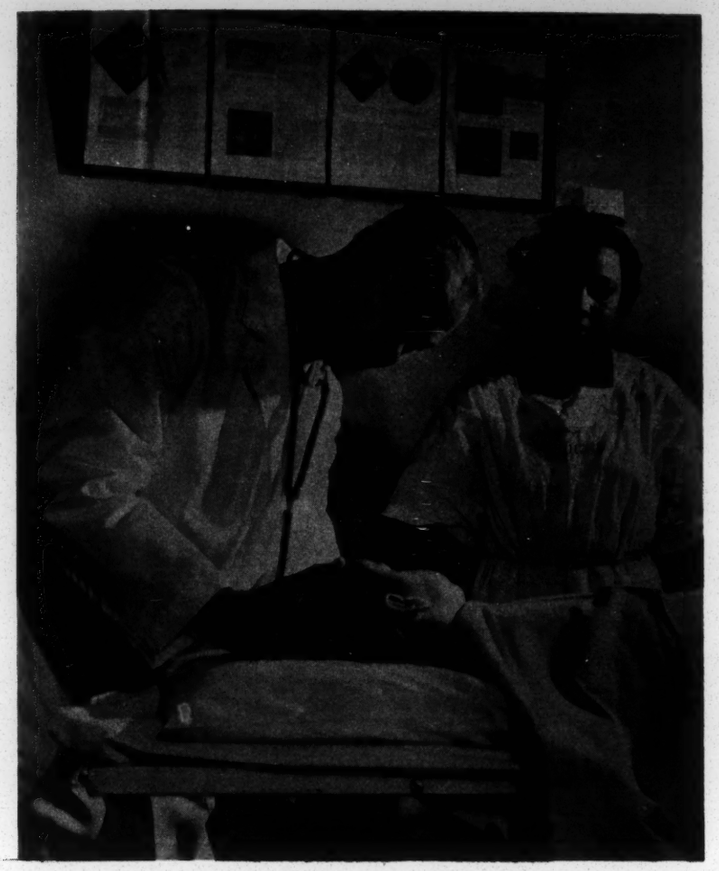
Texas – During the recent legislative session, Negro secretaries were hired by members of the all-white state legislature for the first time. The employees were selected from Houston-Tillotson College, a Negro institution.

Erie, Pa. – A new anti-discrimination ordinance has been passed rewriting the employment provisions and embracing housing and public accommodations. The law, which is patterned after the one for the State of Pennsylvania, also changes the name of the Erie Community Relations Commission to the Human Relations Commission.

LOCAL HIGHLIGHTS

- As result of recent ruling by the city solicitor, the Baltimore City Public Accommodation law has been revived because of specific amendment to the state trespass act. Several cases are now being processed by EOC.
  In view of the fact that the state Public Accommodation law also applies to Baltimore City, the City Solicitor and the Attorney General have ruled that both laws apply within the city.
- An Ordinance has been introduced into the City Council banning discrimination in the sale, lease, rental or financing of housing. If passed, this ordinance will be enforced by EOC.
- In addition to functions given EOC by city ordinance: discrimination in employment, public accommodations, and possibly housing, the Commission may be entrusted by Mayor McKeldin with the responsibility of acting as a concilliation agency in all other human relations areas.

THE WONDERFUL WORLD OF THE NURSING PROFESSION



Looking for a job which guarantees you a life time of work and good pay no matter who you are, what you are or where you are?

Well, if you have one – three or four years to devote to study and training, and you are concerned with the care of the sick, the prevention of disease and the promotion of health, then Nursing is the field for you. This is one of the few professions which offers a wide range of job opportunities. Positions are available in hospitals, public health agencies, schools, industry, government (both state side and foreign service) and the armed forces.

Furthermore, here is one career where you can get paid for seeing whether or not you have the patience, emotional stability, intelligence and sympathy to enter the field. All you have to do is work at any hospital as a Nurse's Aide to learn whether or not you are suitable.

There are three areas of training and study which you can consider, depending on the amount of time and money you have to invest in the program. The least expensive and time consuming is that for Practical Nursing where the one-year training program costs range from $20 to $125. In this field the student earns a certificate or diploma, and upon passing the state board examinations obtains a license and is eligible to practice anywhere in the country.

The next program is the three-year hospital course ranging in price from $300 to $1100. In this area the student earns a diploma, and upon passing the state board examinations is licensed as a registered nurse and is qualified to work anywhere in the country.

The third program is the four-year college course which costs approximately $1200 per year. In this area the student earns a Bachelor's Degree, with a major in nursing, and upon passing the state board examination is licensed as a registered nurse and is qualified to work anywhere in the country.

Financial aid through loans and scholarships is available in the three programs.

WHERE YOU CAN GET YOUR TRAINING

PRACTICAL NURSING PROGRAMS

SCHOOL	AGE LIMIT	EDUCATION REQUIREMENT	TUITION & FEES
Baltimore City Hospital	17 – 50	10th grade completed; high school preferred	$20 for books
Merganthaler-Vocational H.S.	Must have completed Jr. H.S. (9th grade). Beginning 10th grade.	A part of the high school curriculum	$40 for student fees. No tuition to students whose parents reside in Baltimore City.
S. Balto. Gen. Hospital	18 – 35	Two years of high school or its equivalent	None
Univ. of Md.	17 – 50	High school diploma or equivalent certificate	$125

HOSPITAL DIPLOMA PROGRAMS

Bon Secours	17 – 30	Graduate of accredited high school, ranking in upper half of class and completion 16 units in high school subjects.	$550 for resident; $250 for day student plus $30 for College credits in Chemistry
Church Home	17 – 35	Graduate of accredited high school, ranking in upper third of class and completion 16 units in academic course.	$425
Franklin Square	17 +	High School or equivalent	$400 tuition, plus $10 registration, plus uniforms & incidentals
Johns Hopkins	None specified	Ranking in upper third of class completing: Eng.–4 units, Science (Biol., Chem. or Physics) 2 units, History–2 units, Math–2 units, Foreign Lang.–2 units, Electives–2 units.	$1145
Lutheran	17 – 35	Graduate of high school, ranking in upper half or third of class completing: Eng.–4 years, History or Social Studies–2 years, Math–1 year, Chemistry–1 year, Biology–1 year.	$575
Maryland Gen.	17	High School graduation or equivalence with 2 units of science including Chemistry.	$400
Mercy	17 – 30	Graduate of accredited high school; preferably in upper half of class completing: English–4 units, Foreign Language–2 units, Math–2 units, History–2 units, Science (Biol. & Chem.)–1 unit each, Electives–4 units.	$581
Provident	17	Ranking in upper third of high school, class completing Eng.–4 units, History–1 unit, Math–1 unit, Science–2 units and Electives–8 units.	$415
St. Agnes	17	Ranking in upper third of high school class, completing Eng.–4 units, Math.–2 units, Electives–6 units, Science–2 units, Social Studies–2 units.	$525
St. Joseph's	17 – 35	Graduate of accredited secondary school, ranking in upper half of class, completing: Eng.–4 years, Math–2 years, History–2 years, Science–2 years (including Biol. & Chem. & Physics), Latin or Modern Lang.–2 years.	$450
Sinai	17 – 35	High School graduation	$332.19
Union Memorial	17 – 35	Preferably in upper third of class, completing: Eng.–4 units, Math–2 units, (Geometry, Algebra, plus Arithmetic review where offered), Classical or Modern Lang.–2 units, History–2 units, Science–2 units (Chemistry, Biol., Physics or Gen. Science), Electives–4 units.	$500

COLLEGE DEGREE PROGRAM

Univ. of Md.	None specified	Graduation from approved high school with minimum "C" average, and recommendation from high school principal.	$1200 per year for residents of Maryland

Southern Regional Council
Room 201 - 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

BALTIMORE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
PEOPLES COURT BUILDING
FAYETTE AND GAY STREETS
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21202

NEW EOC INVESTIGATOR

Mrs. Maria Armstrong, former personnel technician with the Baltimore Civil Service Commission, has joined the EOC staff as Field Representative. In addition to assisting in investigating complaints, Mrs. Armstrong also conducts educational visits to business establishments under EOC jurisdiction to determine general hiring practices.

BRANCH OFFICES SUBJECT TO FEP LAWS

A recent U.S. Supreme Court decision has reaffirmed the position of state and city FEP Commissions claiming jurisdiction over firms which maintain employment offices and district offices within such jurisdictions, notwithstanding the fact that home offices may be located elsewhere.

The decision resulted from an appeal filed by the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission after the Colorado state courts had determined that the agency did not have the right to insist that an interstate airline maintain a policy of merit employment. Involved in the case was a former Negro Air Force captain, Marlon D. Green, who in 1957 sought a job as pilot with Continental Air Lines, Inc. of Denver, Colorado. Although he qualified through examination, Green contended that he was not hired because of his race. He pointed out that the white men who were tested got jobs although he had more flying experience.

Investigation by the Colorado Commission revealed discriminatory hiring practices on the part of the airline, and subsequently the airline was ordered to enroll Green in its next pilot-training class.

The U.S. Supreme Court decision was handed down in April 1963, nearly six years after Green had filed his application with the airline. The father of six children and a former classmate of astronaut Virgil Grissom, he had been unable to obtain suitable employment for the work he is trained to do. At present he has accepted a position flying for the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation out of Denver, pending actual placement on the job at Continental Air Lines.

BUSINESS SOCIALS TO BE MIXED

Social functions sponsored by employers and labor unions for the benefit of employees or members must be conducted on a non-descriminatory basis.

This determination was made by the Equal Opportunity Commission after it was learned that certain companies which otherwise maintained a merit employment policy were permitting minority group workers to participate only in segregated social affairs.

The new regulation, entitled "Employer and Labor Union Sponsored Social Events", reads as follows:

"Pursuant to Sections 10 (a) and 12 (e) of the Equal Opportunity Ordinance No. 379, as amended by Ordinance No. 409, (Article 14A Baltimore City Code)

"No employer or labor union subject to Ordinance 379, as amended, shall make any differentiation among employees or members on the basis of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry with respect to attendance at, or participation in, social events which are directly or indirectly sponsored by the employer or labor union for the benefit of employees or members."

47% NEGRO UNEMPLOYED

Because of EOC's concern with the number of Negroes unemployed in Baltimore City, the staff recently conduced a five-day survey at the Baltimore City Claim Office of the Maryland State Employment Service. Results of this study showed that approximately 47 percent of the persons drawing unemployment compensation in the city are Negro.

This percentage was determined from the total number of persons, both Negro and white, who appeared at the Claim Office, to collect their unemployment checks during the five-day period.

In another research project, the EOC is in process of gathering census data to determine average incomes, education and job positions of white and non-white residents of established neighborhoods in the city. From this study, the EOC staff intends to show how the non-white residents measure up to the whites in certain sample residential areas.

"EMPLOYMENT BAROMETER" INITIATED WITH FIRST YOUTH LABOR REPORT

The primary phase of the EOC's "Equal Employment Barometer" is now being established with the completion of a report on the initial experiences of white and Negro youth on the labor market in Baltimore City.

This report is the first of a series of reports to be developed from a research study conducted recently under the direction of Dr. Bernard Levinson of the Department of Social Relations of Johns Hopkins University. The study was made at the request of the EOC in order to determine if Negroes and whites with comparable education receive comparable jobs and earnings.

With the cooperation of the Department of Education of Baltimore City and the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivor's Insurance, data was obtained based on records of graduates of Carver Vocational-Technical High School and Merganthaler Vocational-Technical High School. The study includes only graduates who pursued courses taught at both schools during the years 1956-1960. For the males there were nine common trades: auto mechanics, carpentry, commercial art, electrical construction and maintenance, food preparation and service, machine shop, tool and die making, radio television and electronics, trowel trades and welding. For the females there were three common trades: business education, cosmetology and dressmaking.

The following findings in the initial report present a factual account of earnings and employment during the first year or so after the students have left high school:

1. In the first year following graduation, the median earnings of Carver female graduates was approximately $11 per week, while that of Merganthaler females was about $50 per week. In only one of the nine graduating classes studied, that of January 1958, did the median Carver earnings reach 50 percent of the median Merganthaler earnings.

2. Carver males did relatively better than Carver females, for their median earnings was about $22 per week. On the other hand, the median earnings for the Merganthaler males was about $38 per week.

3. The differences in earnings, in large part, stemmed from differences in employment rates. During the first year, only 1 in 4 Carver females was regularly employed, and only 1 in 2 Carver males was employed, while 3 in 4 Merganthaler males and females were regularly employed.

4. Within three months after graduation, 90 percent of the Merganthaler females were gainfully employed while scarcely over 50 percent of the Carver females were employed. For male graduates, at the end of the first year after graduation, 92 percent of the Merganthaler males were employed while 85 percent of the Carver males were employed.

5. Differences in employment experiences did not abruptly start at graduation but continued a pattern that was well under way at graduation. For example, one year before graduation 50 percent of Merganthaler females were employed, whereas, only 14 percent of Carver females were employed.

6. In earnings, a regularly-employed Merganthaler female could expect, on the average, about $14 per week more than the regularly employed Carver female, while the Merganthaler males could expect to earn about $19 more than the Carver male.

In addition, the report also revealed that in some instances the highest paid trade for Negroes was the lowest paid trade for whites. For example, during the first year after graduation, the highest paid Carver trade, electrician, was the lowest paid Merganthaler trade.

Union discrimination was cited in the report as being a cause for the differential in employment experiences between the Carver males and Merganthaler males. However, a question was raised in the report regarding the differential between the females of both schools inasmuch as the majority of them are in business education. Despite the apparently great demand for business majors, generally, Carver females could not achieve more than 55 percent employment. Furthermore, the median annual earnings of June graduates who majored in business education for a period of 7-18 months after graduation was $621 for Carver girls and $2,613 for Merganthaler girls.

The report also takes into consideration the variation in cultural backgrounds of the graduates of both schools, but leaves unanswered two questions:

1. Why do Carver girls, who come from the same deprived environments as Carver boys, experience so much more difficulty in securing employment.

2. Why do Merganthaler girls who come from the same non-deprived environments as Merganthaler boys seem to experience less trouble in finding employment.

Subsequent reports will cover employment and earning patterns by trade as well as examining pre-graduation experiences during summer vacation and the school year.

60 BRING EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS TO EOC INVESTIGATION DIVISION

Some 60 persons have discussed their employment problems with the EOC Investigation Division since the first of the year. About half of these, however, have had to be referred to other agencies, such as the Urban League, Maryland State Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations, and the Maryland State Employment Service, because the nature of their complaints placed them outside the jurisdiction of the EOC.

Some complaints involved matters of minimum wage which are not within the jurisdiction of the EOC. These persons were referred to the Baltimore office of Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Division, a Federal agency which administers the Federal Wage-Hour law.

Seven cases have been disposed of by the EOC. In one situation, the Commission dismissed the complaint when the investigation revealed that the company involved was hiring on merit and had released the complainant because of poor conduct.

In another case, the commission reached a satisfactory agreement with a firm which rehired the complainant in another capacity after it was discovered that there had been a misunderstanding between the two parties.

EMPLOYMENT LAW
What the Law Says About Equal Employment Opportunity

Ordinance No. 379, as amended, applies whenever any employer with 15 or more employees, employment agency or labor organization acts in a discriminatory manner towards any individual because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, in connection with the following:

. Hiring and firing
. Upgrading or promotion
. Training and apprenticeship programs
. Referral practices of employment agencies
. Membership in labor unions
. Employment application forms or interviews
. Any other terms or conditions of employment

Violators of this law are subject to investigation by the Commission and possible legal action.

YOUNG BALTIMOREANS IN JOB PREPARATION PROGRAMS SPONSORED BY PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS

A three-pronged program is now underway in Baltimore City with the primary purpose of preparing young people for jobs.

The first phase was initiated by the Baltimore Urban League when, in co-operation with certain fraternal and business organizations, it opened a Youth Employment Center at 1524 W. North Avenue.

The second operation was spearheaded in East Baltimore when representatives of the Northern Student Movement, many of whom come from the New York State area, set up an office at 622 Aisquith Street in order to carry out an Education project identified as Baltimore Youth Opportunities Unlimited.

Still in the planning stage is the third program which would establish an Apprenticeship Training Center in the Baltimore Area with purposes of counseling, interviewing and testing youths for apprenticeship training in the various trades.

The Youth Employment Center was established as a clearing house for teenage help available to undertake small jobs or part-time chores during the summer. The young applicants are prepared to do all types of work including housecleaning, babysitting, yard care, car washing, clerical and typing. Anyone seeking part-time help may contact the center.

To overcome the school drop-out, unemployment and low income situations which typify depressed communities, The Baltimore Youth Opportunities Unlimited program utilizes the educational process in an effort geared toward making secondary school students and college students aware of opportunities available to them. In addition, it is expected that these persons would become more cognizant of their responsibility to participate in community affairs.

The mechanics of the operation are developed around the core of a tutorial program which provides college guidance counseling, vocational guidance counseling, and workshops for the students, as well as seminars and workshops for the tutors.

The proposed Apprenticeship Training Center will serve as a clearing house of information for all apprenticeship training programs in the state, in addition to determining whether or not an applicant is qualified to participate in the program.

While new to Baltimore City, centers of this nature have been established in Washington, D.C., New York City, and three have been set up in California. It is anticipated that by establishing a center in this area, more employers will become involved in apprenticeship training programs, thereby opening up more jobs for apprentices.

MINISTERS' RECOMMENDATIONS GET HIGH PRIORITY FROM EOC

As result of recommendations recently presented to Mayor McKeldin by the Interdenominational Ministers Alliance, the Commission is giving high priority in considering their proposals.

In substance, the requests of the clergy involve:

- o Integration of apprenticeship training programs
- o Integration of the work forces of general contractors and sub-contractors engaged under city contract
- o Elimination of racial discrimination in the employment, promotion and up-grading of city employees.
- o Increasing the budget of the EOC.
- o Discontinuing segregated apprenticeship training programs in public schools.

At press time, the EOC staff members have met with representatives of unions, contractors and government officials in efforts to ameliorate the conditions cited by the ministers.

The advent of the clergy into the civil rights movement through seeking affirmative action by the city fathers is not new. Recently, in New York, Philadelphia and Erie, Pa., ministers have asked that the city fathers openly pledge to implement fair employment practices in all of their departments and in all of the companies holding contracts with city government.

In addition, they have urged business and industrial leaders to hire qualified Negroes, specifying that these employees be given priority consideration in hiring in order to eliminate the present lag in their employment.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION LAW

What the Law Says About Public Accommodations

Ordinance No. 1249 applies whenever an owner, operator or agent of any hotel, motel, inn or restaurant (where the average daily food sales exceed the average daily alcoholic beverage sales) discriminates against any individual because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, in connection with the following.

- . Refusing, withholding from, or denying any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges to any person.
- . Circulating or displaying any notice or advertisement stating or implying that such privileges or accommodations are being denied or withheld.

Violators of this law are subject to investigation by the Commission and possible legal action.

APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

Building construction trades whose apprenticeship training programs are registered with the U.S. Department of Labor through the establishment of Joint Apprenticeship Committees, are now supplying EOC with their respective qualifications and standards for prospective applicants into the programs.

This procedure is being done at the request of EOC which conferred recently with several representatives of the various construction trades. The meeting was the first in a series to be held with these organizations, with the objective being the stimulation of a sense of urgency in utilizing minorities in these trades.

Represented at the initial meeting were: bricklayers, carpenters, cement masons, electrical workers, plasterers, plumbers, sheetmetal workers, steamfitters, wood, wire and metal lathers, sprinkler fitters, glaziers, as well as members of the Associated Builders and Contractors, Building Trades Council, Department of Education, Urban League, NAACP and the Bureau of Building Construction.

According to most of the representatives, the lack of Negro participation in the various apprenticeship programs was due to the fact that applications have not been filed by minority group persons. In response to this contention, the Urban League, in cooperation with the EOC, is now establishing a register of persons in the Baltimore Metropolitan Area who are interested in becoming apprentices.

Subsequent meetings with individual contractors are being scheduled by the EOC, and as soon as the Commission is satisfied that progress is being made in the construction field, it will set up meetings with other trades which have apprenticeship programs.

REPRINT—JULY 15, 1963

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

Integration Impact

Desegregated Concerns In South Say Patronage Holds Up in Long Run

Some Hotels, Restaurants Do Better; Atlanta, Dallas Cite Larger Convention Market

New Rights Often Not Used

By JAMES C. TANNER
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

ATLANTA—Things are swinging these days at the Wit's End, a swank North Side night club which opened its doors last November. Though the Treasury's new expense account rules made things tough at first, the Wit's End is now packing in customers regularly.

In Memphis, the 126-room Downtowner Motel is doing so well its occupancy is even running ahead of last year's booming 95% rate. The Downtowner has been filled to capacity much of the time in recent weeks and all signs point to a record year.

The financial fortunes of these Southern establishments are of special interest because both are among those that have begun serving Negroes for the first time. Their experiences, plus those of scores of other businesses from Texas to the Carolinas, point up a significant and perhaps surprising fact: Among those restaurants, hotels, theaters and other places of public accommodation in the South that have begun serving or hiring Negroes, only a few report suffering any lasting economic consequences. A sizable number, in fact, declare that business has been better than ever.

"Couldn't Have Been Smoother"

"We were scared to death—we could just see all our white customers walking out the minute the first Negroes walked in," says Paul Stickney, manager of the Wit's End. "But things couldn't have been any smoother. We know of only one white couple who walked out because we admitted Negroes and they came back within two weeks. As far as stirring things up around here, it's been one big zero." The Wit's End is one of only three Atlanta night clubs serving both whites and Negroes.

All this is not to suggest that desegregation would go smoothly for all Dixie establishments. At Ormond Beach, Fla., near Daytona Beach, motel operator George Thomas is still reeling from the financial punch delivered by boycotting whites when he decided it was the "right thing" to desegregate his 32-unit Star of the South Motel seven months ago. "My business at first dropped about 50%," he reports. But he adds that an influx of Negro guests quickly took up much of the slack, and he expresses confidence that many of his white customers eventually will return.

But most businessmen questioned by The Wall Street Journal report no grave economic dislocations from integration and they leave no doubt that desegregation of commercial facilities has been less painful than expected.

No Loss of Business

"Things have been going like clockwork—we're surprised and pleased," says Dallas hotel man Henry Rather of last summer's decision by the city's major hotels and motels to integrate. Mr. Rather says a recent check of the city's 35 largest hostelries failed to turn up a single instance of lost business because of desegregation. "There were a few letters and a crank call or two at first, but that's all," comments Mr. Rather.

Broader access to privately owned places of "public convenience," such as hotels, restaurants, amusement facilities and stores, has become a prime goal of Negroes lately. The recent riots in Birmingham, and subsequent disturbances in such cities as Savannah, Ga., Jackson, Miss., Danville, Va., and Tallahassee Fla., primarily revolved around Negro demands that merchants open their facilities to Negroes—in some cases as customers and in others as employes.

The question has taken on added importance in recent weeks with the appeal to Congress by President Kennedy for Federal power to outlaw racial discrimination in all places of public accommodation. This is unquestionably the most controversial provision of the Kennedy civil rights program and seems likely to become the focal point of the coming Congressional battle over civil rights.

Negroes Making Major Strides

Southern businessmen generally express strong opposition to this section of the proposed civil rights legislation. But even without such a law, Negroes are making major strides in their push to break down segregation barriers. The Justice Department reports that some desegregation of commercial facilities occurred in 143 cities in Southern and border states in the four weeks ended June 18; others are joining the list daily.

Last week, for instance, a bi-racial committee in strongly segregationist Fort Worth announced that all of the city's public facilities, including hotels, restaurants, theaters, department stores and athletic contests, would be desegregated in September when the city's schools are scheduled for integration.

If the pattern emerging in other Southern cities holds true, Fort Worth merchants can expect some protests and loss of business when they first begin accepting Negroes. But experience shows that such adverse effects are rarely lasting.

Fred Harvey, president of Harvey's Department Store in Nashville, says that when his store desegregated its lunch counters in 1960 only 13 charge accounts were closed out of 60,000. "The greatest surprise I ever had was the apparent 'so-what' attitude of white customers," says Mr. Harvey.

Even where business losses occur, they usually are only temporary. At the 120-room Peachtree Manor Hotel in Atlanta, owner Irving H. Goldstein says his business dropped off 15% when the hotel desegregated a year ago. "But now we are only slightly behind a year ago and we can see we are beginning to recapture the business we initially lost," declares Mr. Goldstein.

William F. Davoren, owner of the Brownie Drug Co. in Huntsville, Ala., reports that though his business fell a bit for several weeks after lunch counters were desegregated, he's now picked up all that he lost. Says he: "I could name a dozen people who regarded it as a personal affront when I started serving Negroes, but have come back as if nothing had happened."

Memories Are Short

Even a segregation-minded businessman in Huntsville agrees that white customers frequently have short memories when it comes to the race question. W. T. Hutchens, general manager of three Walgreen stores there, says he held out when most lunch counter operators gave in to sit-in pressures last July. In one shopping center where his competition desegregated, Mr. Hutchens says his business shot up sharply and the store's lunch counter volume registered a 12% gain for the year. However, this year business has dropped back to pre-integration levels "because a lot of people have forgotten" the defiant role his stores played during the sit-ins, he adds.

Some Southern businessmen who have desegregated say they have picked up extra business as a result of the move.

At Raleigh, N.C., where Gino's Restaurant was desegregated this year, owner Jack Griffiths reports only eight whites have walked out after learning the establishment served Negroes, and he says "we're getting plenty of customers to replace the hard-headed ones."

In Dallas, integration of hotels and restaurants has "opened up an entirely new area of convention prospects," according to Ray Bennison, convention manager of the Chamber of Commerce. "This year we've probably added $8 million to $10 million of future bookings because we're integrated," Mr. Bennison says.

Conventions for Atlanta

Within a day after 14 Atlanta hotels announced on June 13 they would begin accepting Negro guests who come to the city with conventions, the Atlanta Convention Bureau had nailed down three organizations for 1964 and 1965 meetings, a total of 3,000 delegates who otherwise would not have visited Atlanta. Walter Crawford, executive vice president of the Convention Bureau, says the hotels' decision opens up "the remaining 40% of the convention market that we estimate we haven't even been able to talk to before."

One frequently expressed fear of Southern white businessmen, that their establishments would be overrun by Negroes if they integrated, apparently is not materializing. "The Negroes want the right to enter your place of business, but they're not so anxious to use the right," says a Nashville banker.

At Knoxville, Tenn., William Tiller, assistant manager of the city's largest hotel, the Andrew Johnson, reports that although the hotel has been integrated more than a month, "we've had only three Negro families and two couples."

SOUTHERN REGIONAL EDUCATION BOARD
130 SIXTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 13, GEORGIA
TR 5-9211

SB

FROM: RUDOLPH PATE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATLANTA, Ga.---At the close of the 1963 legislative sessions in early summer, ten states of the South had moved to establish a planned state-wide system of state colleges and universities, or to strengthen existing state systems.

These systems are now operating in Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Arkansas, Kentucky, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia, the Southern Regional Education Board said in a publication released recently. Each of the systems is organized to suit the needs of the individual states, but all were designed to produce educational opportunity with a minimum of confusion and without duplication.

Georgia, Florida and Mississippi centralize planning and coordination in a single coordinating-governing board. Arkansas, Kentucky, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia operate through a liaison coordinating board which serves as an intermediary between higher institutions that have their own boards and the state legislative and administrative agencies.

"The future of higher education in the South will depend on planning and coordination within each state--the twin keys to effectiveness and quality," SREB said in its publication, "State Planning and Coordination" by A. J. Brumbaugh. "Without this planning, higher education will develop in a state of confusion and will not be able to meet the demands we place upon it."

One state in the South enrolled 135,000 students in its publicly supported colleges and universities in 1961, but in 1970 it will enroll 249,000, the SREB publication said.

(more)

√ SREB was established in 1949 under interstate compact, now ratified by the legislatures of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

√ SREB aids in the social and economic advancement of the South by assisting states to improve the quality of higher education . . . provide the widest opportunity possible in higher education . . . build educational programs which meet the social and economic needs of the region.

√ SREB is devoted to helping Southern colleges build high quality research and educational programs . . . by providing regional support and utilization of advanced programs . . . and avoiding unnecesssary duplication of facilities among the compact states.

"Its higher institutions must find more efficient methods of operation and more effective educational procedures within a decade or this state will have to double its educational facilities and employ more than 8,000 new faculty members," according to Dr. Brumbaugh's report.

Dr. Brumbaugh lists 11 requirements for effective state planning of higher education:

1. A state must adopt a formal approach to state-wide planning and coordination to achieve excellence and to gain the highest possible return for every dollar invested in higher education.

2. Whatever the organization for state-wide planning and coordination may be, it must grant higher institutions the largest possible degree of autonomy within the limits of general policies necessary for a coordinated system of higher education

3. A state planning and coordinating agency must have a clear concept of planning and coordination.

4. An agency must limit itself to planning and policy-making and leave institutional management to other bodies.

5. Members of the board of a state agency must be the highest type of citizens who divest themselves of partisan politics.

6. An agency must maintain effective liaison with the institutions, the legislature and the public.

7. The agency must determine criteria for the establishment of new institutions and programs.

8. The agency must have a competent staff.

9. The agency must have adequate financial support.

10. The agency must involve private institutions of higher learning as well as public institutions in planning and coordination.

11. The agency must be suited to individual needs and problems of the state it serves.

* * *

Intergroup Org. Misc.

News Release for Fayette County Workcamps
Virgie Hortenstine, Coordinator
5541 Hanley Road
Cincinnati 29, Ohio

Harassment of Negores and white sympathizers, in some cases, improved race relations , in other cases have followed an early summer workcamp in Haywood county, Tennessee. This workcamp, the sixth in the area, launched a Negro voter registration drive which has been continued after the close of the workcamp by local workers and visiting students. Haywood County Negro Families have been threatended for housing white workcampers who worked on their farms. Workcampers were frequently stopped by police. Several were arrested and fined on traffic charges.

Since the workcamp has ended, the voter registration workers have extended their drive also into Fayette County, where sit-ins are also being held for the first time. There they were met with threats of violence as six carloads of white gangs, armed with ropes and weapons, camped across the street from the building where they were housed. One group of voter registration workers was followed down the highway at high speed. The occupants of the car yelled out, "You better get out of Fayette County or you're going to get killed." The incident and the license number of the car were reported to the FBI and sheriff.

At a mass meeting several Negroes announced their intention to run as candidates in the coming election. Rev. June Dowdy, Vice President of the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League, has already announced his intention to run for County Tax Assessor. Allen Yancey, President of the local NAACP, has stated that he will run for a county office. These will be the first Negroes to run for office in Fayette County since Reconstruction.

Lines of hot and exhausted sharecroppers have stood outside the Fayette County Courthouse. On the last registration day, nearly one hundred were registered. Records show that the Negro total has already become equal to the white in the three years since Negro voter registration.

The most outstanding harassing action in this area has been a paternity suit which was brought against Negro leader, John McFerren, President of the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League, on July 10. McFerren has set forth all the facts of the case in a public statement. He lists adequate proof that he is not guilty, but he was declared guilty by Judge A.V. Luck. It is alleged by the Negro community that this suit is an attempt to discredit one of Fayette County's most effective Negro leaders by the U.S. Justice Depatrment under the 1957 Civil Rights Act, for intimidating the voter registration efforts led by John McFerren and others. Due to the work of the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare

It is significant that the judge is A. V. Luck and that the lawyer for the negro woman who brought suit is John S. Wilder. Both men were sued, in 1961

League, these men were for many months under a restraining order issued by a Federal Judge.

It is also significant to the case that the State of Tennessee has recently passed new "Newburgh, NY" legislation dealing with Welfare payment's to women whohave illegitimate children. These payments are discontinued unless the mother first names the father and attempts court action to make the father pay the support costs.

After the trial, Sheriff C.E. Pattat said to John McFerren, "Why don't you compromies, and stop the sit-ins?"

"You haven't seen anything yet," John McFerren answered. McFerren is appealing the case.

A half dozen groups of teenagers have attempted to use the white sections of restaurants, drug stores, and the Sommerville movie house. They were turned away. One group was threatended with a pistol. An affidavit on this matter was filed with the U.S. Justice Department. According to local Negroes, Somerville has been bracing itself for a larger sit-in movement to come. The sheriff has deputized local whites.

The first integrated facilities were reported in Brownsville, in Haywood County, this month. The Library is now integrated and so is the bus stop. Negro policement have been added to the police force for the first time.

Workcampers, who attended the early summer workcamp, who chopped cotton and talked to Negroes about voting, represented Swartmore College, Sarah Lawrence College, and Ohio State University. Fayette and Haywood County workcamps are coordinated in Cincinnati by Mrs. Virgie Hortenstine, 5541 Hanley Road, Cincinnati 39, Ohio. Sponsoring organizations for the workcamps are the Baptist Ministers Conference of Cincinnati, the Race Relations Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends (Quakers), the Cincinnati Chapter of Operation Freedom, International Voluntary Service (American branch of Service Civil International) and Miami (Ohio) Quarterly Meeting of Quakers. Part of the workcamp project is the raising of funds for building materials for the Fayette County Community Center, where the workcampers will continue to do construction work in August, as they have done in three previous workcamps.

In exchange for the Swartmore and Sarah Lawrence College workcampers, a group of Fayette and Haywood County Students want to Philadelphia for a workcamp in the downtown area there. In addition to working along with local students to renovate houses of needy Philadelphia, they were entertained with sightseeing and a swimming party by families in the Philadelphia Friends Social Order Committee. AS the microbus driven by a representative of the Social Order

News from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La. January 2, 1963

CLARKSDALE, Miss.--Two students from Michigan were jailed when they arrived here with food, clothing, and medicine for Negroes being harassed for trying to vote.

Local police said the shipment included narcotics donated by doctors in Louisville, Ky., from whence the truckload of material was sent. The physicians swore that there were no sedatives or narcotics in the truck when it left Louisville.

Ivanhoe Donaldson and Benjamin Taylor, both 21, were arrested after their arrival at the Fourth Street Drug Store, operated by Aaron Henry, state NAACP president. The store is a receiving station for aid to starving people in the Delta area of Mississippi.

The young men arrived at the store before it was open, so they went to sleep to wait for Henry. Police found them, took them to headquarters, and searched the truck. Officers then charged Donaldson and Taylor with possession of narcotics.

Bond was set at $15,000 apiece and they were held in jail pending action by the Coahoma County grand jury. National civil rights groups began protests and legal action to free them.

Among those calling upon the U.S. Attorney General for help was Methodist Bishop Edgar A. Love, Baltimore, president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), New Orleans. SCEF was one of the groups that sponsored the relief shipment.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Atlanta, headed by Dr. Martin L. King, Jr., asked the Department of Justice to investigate.

Donaldson and Taylor were arrested on their second trip to Mississippi during Christmas week. They first delivered a truckload of goods from Michigan Friends of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), at Ann Arbor. Donaldson and Taylor are students at Michigan State University, East Lansing, and Donaldson works with SNCC.

After delivering the first load, the two returned to Louisville to pick up food and clothing collected under auspices of SCEF; the Student Nonviolent Action Committee (SNAC), Louisville affiliate of SNCC, and Louisville CORE.

Dr. Marshall King of Louisville had directed the gathering of medical supplies to go along with the shipment. Dr. King said that he and a druggist checked the material carefully to make sure there were no objectional drugs.

In Clarksdale, Henry said he thought the police objected to the food and clothing as much as anything. He noted that aid to the hard-pressed Negroes here will cripple efforts of plantation owners to discourage registration and voting.

He declared that police were looking for something to charge the students with, and "they're using it against the total freedom movement."

Henry said he hopes that people elsewhere will continue to send relief to this area, where thousands are on the verge of starvation because of the voter-registration drive. He also asked friends everywhere to seek action by the Federal Government to aid the sufferers and to stop harassment of persons trying to help.

"Let tons of material be the answer of the civil-rights movement to this latest harassment by Mississippi," he said.

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Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La.

January 2, 1963

WB
SB

ACTION MEMO

TO: Friends Everywhere

FROM: Jim Dombrowski, Executive Director

IN RE: Jailing of Students Taking Aid to Mississippi

Two students carrying aid to stricken Negroes in Mississippi have been charged with possession of narcotics and are held in jail at Clarksdale under $15,000 bond each. This despite the fact that they had nothing stronger than aspirin on a truck they were driving. (See enclosed news release for details.)

The leadership in the Delta area of Mississippi has asked SCEF to contact you for help. Two kinds are needed:

(1) Write, wire, or call Robert F. Kennedy, U.S. Attorney General, Washington, D.C., and urge him to act to stop this prosecution. Also ask him to adopt a policy of protecting the rights of people arrested in Mississippi and other Southern states for working for civil rights and integration.

Write to City Attorney William H. Maynard, Stevens Bldg., Clarksdale, Miss., and his brother, Attorney George Maynard, same address, and ask them to use their influence to stop this harassment. Also contact the Rev. James T. McCafferty, The Methodist Church, 1012 W. Second St., Clarksdale, and urge him to use his good offices.

(2) Mobilize your organization, club or church group to send tons of food, clothing, and medicine to the Delta area of Mississippi. Send shipments to Aaron Henry, Fourth Street Drugs, 213 Fourth St., Clarksdale, Miss.

Let tons of material be the answer to this latest harassment by Mississippi.

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12,La. Jan. 10, 1963

CLARKSDALE, Miss.---Nationwide protests helped to bring about the release of two students arrested when they arrived here with relief goods for hungry Negroes. A grand jury will meet January 16 to decide whether to indict them.

Bonds for Ivanhoe Donaldson and Benjamin Taylor, both 21, were cut from $15,000 to $1,500 apiece. Cash bail was provided through the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Atlanta, and the young men were freed after 11 days in jail.

The prosecuting attorney here agreed to the bond reduction after protests to Washington caused U.S. agencies to inquire into the arrests. Attorneys for the young men had also filed a petition for a writ of habeas corpus on the ground that the bonds were too high.

Donaldson and Taylor were charged with possession of narcotics after they arrived here December 27 with a truckload of food, clothing, and medicine for thousands of needy people. They were accused of having a drug used to ease distress in middle-aged women.

However, doctors in Louisville, Ky., swore there were no sedatives or narcotics on the truck when it left Louisville on Christmas day. The goods had been collected in Louisville by SNCC, CORE, and the Southern Conference Educational Fund, (SCEF).

An earlier shipment from Michigan had also been brought here by Donaldson and Taylor. This goods was collected by Friends of SNCC at Ann Arbor, headed by Miss Martha Prescod. Donaldson is a field worker for SNCC and Taylor is a student at Michigan State University.

The arrests of Donaldson and Taylor not only set off protests but also spurred drives to collect more relief goods for the Delta

area of Mississippi. In Cincinnati, Operation Freedom speeded its plans for financial aid to persons punished for registering to vote or encouraging others to do so.

The Louisville Defender made a front-page appeal for aid, and other newspapers were reported doing likewise. Churches and student groups throughout the country joined in the relief drive.

Aaron Henry, Mississippi state president of NAACP, asked that shipments be sent to the Emergency Welfare and Relief Committee, Haven Methodist Church, 400 Yazoo Ave., Clarksdale, Miss.

"We are asking the citizens of this nation for immediate aid," Henry said in a letter to friends throughout the U.S. "We need your help in trying to ease this human misery. We need food, preserved or canned; clothing, coats, dresses, slacks, underwear, socks, shoes of all sizes, and finances to pay utility bills for light and heat.

"Negroes who have been involved in the freedom movement are the first and the most severely victimized, if their activities are known to the white racists."

Among those responding to the appeal was Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker, Louisville, Ky., whose diocese includes much of the Delta area of Mississippi. Bishop Tucker is also president of Louisville CORE and a director of SCEF.

He told Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy that the arrest of Taylor and Donaldson was "a move to thwart the whole freedom movement in Mississippi."

Both he and Henry urged people throughout the nation to continue to pour protests into Washington and relief into this area.

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La. Jan. 24, 1963

CLARKSDALE, Miss.---Circuit Judge E.H. Green has reversed the convictions of four Clarksdale Negro leaders who were charged with conspiracy to injure trade in 1961.

State NAACP President Aaron Henry and three others had been sentenced to six months in jail and a fine of $500 for leading a boycott of white merchants. The boycott is still in progress.

Judge Green's action, on appeal of the case from County Court, came by coincidence on the same day that the Coahoma Grand Jury here dismissed charges against two Michigan students who had been arrested while bringing relief goods to hungry Negroes at Christmas time. This made a day of double-barreled victory for the Mississippi civil rights movement.

The judge said he reversed the boycott conviction "after mature consideration and because of reversible errors in the record."

But his decision came too late for one of the defendants, the Rev. Theodore Trammell. The Rev. Mr. Trammell died of a heart attack last year, while campaigning for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. He was one of the first Negroes to run for Congress from Mississippi in this century.

The other two defendants whose convictions were reversed are R. L. Drew and John C. Melchor. All four were represented by Jack Young, NAACP attorney in Jackson.

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La. Jan. 24, 1963

CLARKSDALE, Miss.---The Coahoma County Grand Jury has refused to indict Ivanhoe Donaldson and Ben Taylor, Michigan students who were arrested her on a narcotics charge when they brought food, clothing and medicine at Christmas time for Negroes being harassed for trying to vote.

This means the charges are dismissed.

Aaron Henry, Mississippi NAACP president, called it "a tremendous victory for the people in all parts of this nation who raised their voices against this injustice." He said he hoped the victory would serve as a springboard for continued campaigns to send in relief goods.

Donaldson and Taylor, who work with the Michigan Friends of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), were free on bond when the Grand Jury refused to act this week. However, they had spent eleven days in jail after their arrest.

The arrest brought nationwide protests sparked by SNCC, the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), a section of the AME Zion Church led by Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker, and CORE, all of which had helped collect the relief supplies the students were delivering when arrested.

"More than 500 families have been aided," Henry said. "Thanks to the individuals of this nation for your responses with food, clothing, and finance. Much more is needed and we ask you to please continue to make contributions."

Volunteer relief goods are received at the Emergency Welfare and Relief Committee, Haven Methodist Church, 400 Yazoo St., Clarksdale, Miss. Mail should be addressed to Aaron Henry, 213 Fourth St., Clarksdale.

Most of the food and clothing / Donaldson and Taylor were delivering when arrested was returned when they were freed on bond, but police held the medicine. Carsie Hall, NAACP attorney in Jackson who represented them, said after the Grand Jury dismissed the charges that the medicine also should now be returned. (Police had claimed the medicine contained narcotics, but doctors in Louisville who donated it said it did not).

Another truck from Michigan took on additional food and clothing supplies this week at Louisville, where the Louisville Defender continued to assist the drive for aid.

Detroit Friends of SNCC set up receiving stations at several places in that city. Similar operations have been started by various groups at Iowa State College, in Chicago, in Los Angeles and at Ann Arbor.

Negroes in the Delta area are having a very hard winter because of a general campaign of reprisals as a result of stepped-up voter registration efforts. Many have been cut off public relief and government surplus food programs.

Meantime, in Cincinnati, Operation Freedom reported that it is making loans to Mississippi residents victimized for registering to vote. The organization extended its operations from West Tennessee into Mississippi last October.

It has helped many persons to stay on the land after they were harassed for voter activity. Funds to help in this work may be sent to Operation Freedom, care of the Rev. Maurice McCrackin, 932 Dayton Street, Cincinnati 14, Ohio.

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La. Jan. 24, 1963

HUNTSVILLE, Ala.---The University of Alabama canceled an extension course offered here after a Negro woman applied for admission.

Officials at the university's Huntsville Center said they acted because they were unable to get speakers needed for the course, a six-week seminar on current affairs.

However, integration leaders are pretty sure that the cancellation was because Mrs. Joan Cashin, wife of a local dentist, applied.

They point out that officials stopped all admissions to the university at Tuscaloosa for next semester after Negroes applied there. There have been no Negro students in any branch of the university since Autherine Lucy was admitted briefly seven years ago.

Mrs. Cashin filed her application for the course in person on December 19, 1962. The seminar was to start Feb. 15, required no previous scholastic record, and would result in no credit.

A white friend applied later so that university officials would not be able to say that Mrs. Cashin was refused admission because she applied too late. All applicants for the course have now been advised that the seminar will not be held.

It was noted that the university center has many students from the Redstone Arsenal near here, which is operated by the Federal Government. Regular college-credit courses are offered in such fields as engineering, and many employees at the Arsenal enroll to improve their qualifications for higher job levels and higher pay.

Civil rights leaders here point out that listings of such courses are regularly posted at the Arsenal as an incentive for employees to

enroll, although Alabama state policies deny Negro Arsenal employees the right to attend the university extension.

Mrs. Cashin was asked about her application after word got around that the course had been canceled. She said: "My main regret is that the State of Alabama, through the university, has in effect put a brake on better race relations which have been developing here.

"Various facilities in this area have been opened to all people on an equal basis and we expect still further gains. Now the university takes a backward step while the rest of Huntsville tries to go forward."

One of the big gains here has been in voter registration in Madison County. During the past three months, more Negroes have registered to vote than in the entire preceding 10 years; the total number of registered Negroes now stands at over 2100, and more are registering all the time.

Mrs. Cashin herself has been active in breaking down the barriers here. Last spring she spent several days in jail after she and six others were arrested for sitting in at a drugstore lunch counter.

Her husband, Dr. John L. Cashin, Jr., has also been active in opposing various forms of segregation.

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La. Jan. 24, 1963

TALLADEGA, Ala.---Another round in the battle to cripple integration work in Alabama will open in State Circuit Court here Monday, February 4.

Judge William C. Sullivan is hearing a suit by the State of Alabama to ban sit-ins, parades, and demonstrations against segregation. Students and faculty at Talladega College are the main targets of the action.

Also named in the suit are several other individuals and organizations working to end segregation. These include Bob Zellner, a field worker for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and Carl Braden, an editor of the Southern Patriot and a field worker for the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF).

The State sought an injunction last April after sit-ins and picketing by white and Negro students and faculty members from the college. First hearings in October showed that throngs of white segregationists were to blame for disorders that resulted.

The injunction, which is now temporary, bars integration activity throughout Alabama by those named. The hearings are to determine whether it shall be made permanent.

Dr. James A. Dombrowski, New Orleans, executive director of SCEF, urged friends and sympathizers in Alabama to attend the hearings, which are held on the second floor of the Courthouse here.

Dr. Dombrowski noted that bans on peaceable protests violate the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, guaranteeing freedom of speech, press, petition and association.

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La. Jan. 24, 1963

DANVILLE, Va.---Five integration leaders were fined $50 in Municipal Court for sitting in at a Howard Johnson restaurant here on New Year's Day. The formal charge was trespass. They filed notice of appeal.

Fined were the Rev. A. I. Dunlap, the Rev. L. W. Chase, the Rev. L. D. Campbell, Julius E. Adams, a taxicab owner, and Arthur A. Pinchback, butler for one of the most prominent families in Danville.

The manager of the restaurant said his place is independent of the national chain. He told the court that the local restaurant is operated by Southern Restaurant, Inc., under franchise from the Howard Johnson Company.

Long-standing segregation in the courtroom was broken down for the first time on motion of Len Holt, Norfolk, defense attorney and member of the Legal Committee of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF). About 300 persons crowded into the courtroom for the hearing.

Both Mr. Dunlap and Holt are members of the board of directors of SCEF, a Southwide integrationist group based in New Orleans. Holt recently filed an omnibus lawsuit to end segregation in all public facilities here. As a result, segregation has been quitely ended in several public buildings.

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Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La.

Feb. 1,1963

SBV

ACTION MEMO

TO: Friends Everywhere

FROM: Jim Dombrowski, Executive Director

IN RE: Victory in Mississippi
Protests Needed over Harassing
of Bob Zellner in Alabama

All of you are to be congratulated on a big victory. Thanks to your protests to various officials, Ivanhoe Donaldson and Benjamin Taylor have been freed of charges that they transported narcotics along with food and clothing for needy people in Mississippi. The grand jury failed to indict them after officials in Mississippi and Washington received wires and letters from all over the nation.

However, an equally serious situation has arisen in Alabama and we need your help again. Bob Zellner, a student working for integration, has been harassed to the point where state agents created a state of terror at the funeral of Bob's grandmother last weekend.

His grandmother was Mrs. J. J. Hardy, Mobile, Ala., widow of a Methodist minister who served many churches throughout Alabama. Bob's father is the Rev. James Zellner, who has also pastored a number of churches in Alabama and Florida.

Young Zellner, a white native of Alabama, has been working for two years as a field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), based in Atlanta. He has a special assignment to carry the message of integration to white students.

Bob has been arrested several times because of his activities, once on a charge of criminal anarchy in Louisiana. He was arrested again January 8, 1963, as he walked with some students on the campus of his alma mater, Huntingdon College, Montgomery, Ala. This time the charge was vagrancy, for which was sentenced to 30 days in jail. He was freed under bond pending appeal.

Just before he was arrested, Bob had given a pawnbroker a check for $85 for a camera he wanted to use in his work. He issued the check with the understanding that money to cover it had been deposited in his account in Atlanta. Through a clerical slip, the deposit was not made on schedule.

When the pawnbroker read of Zellner's arrest for vagrancy, he called the bank and was told there was not enough money in Bob's account to cover the check. Police then filed a charge of false pretense against Bob, although money to cover the check was deposited in the Atlanta bank within three hours after the pawnbroker made his complaint. If the pawnbroker had sent the check to the bank in the normal manner, the money would have been there when it reached Atlanta. State authorities plan to present the false-pretense charge to the county grand jury in Montgomery on Feb. 12. The charge

carries a possible 10-year sentence.

After Bob was released on bond, five men in automobiles and on foot followed him wherever he went in Montgomery, including to the home of his lawyer. They trailed him when he went to Mobile, where his grandmother was near death.

Mrs. Hardy died last week and relatives gathered at the home of one of Bob's aunts in Mobile to pay their last respects. The agents trailing Bob set up a watch outside the home. It was learned by checking car licenses and credentials that they were from the office of Al Lingo, new state safety director in Alabama.

The presence of the agents caused so much distress among Mrs. Hardy's relatives and friends that a state of terror resulted. Bob and his father made a personal appeal to the men to go away. Bob's mother, Mrs. Ruby H. Zellner, wrote a personal note to the agents in which she said:

> "My mother was the widow of a Methodist minister. Both my mother and father were known and loved in many communities throughout Alabama. I am asking that this desecration of their memory be stopped at once."

The pleas were ignored. Instead, the agents followed when Mrs. Hardy's body was removed to Loxley, Ala., for the wake. They hung around the funeral home, followed the family to church on Sunday morning, and then trailed the funeral procession on Sunday afternoon, January 27.

Bob's father made a new appeal to the agents to leave them in peace---but again the plea was ignored. Instead, after the funeral, the agents followed Bob and his father across the state line into Florida. They did not leave until the Zellners reached PanamaCity, about 100 miles inside Florida.

Officials of SNCC and the Southern Conference Educational Fund have protested to various public officials about the harassment of Bob Zellner, which obviously results from his work for equal rights for all people. We ask you to add your voice to the protest by wiring, writing, or calling one or all of the following:

1. Maury Smith, Assistant Circuit Solicitor, Montgomery, Ala., regarding the charges against Bob.

2. Richmond Flowers, Attorney General of Alabama, Montgomery, Ala.; Gov. George C. Wallace, Montgomery, and Al Lingo, State director of public safety, Montgomery, regarding the charges and the harassment by state agents.

3. Attorney General Robert Kennedy or the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C., about the arrest and harassment. Stress that state agents followed Zellner across state lines, putting the case within federal jurisdiction.

It would be helpful to send a copy of your protest to the News Editor, MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER, Montgomery, Ala.

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La. February 1, 1963

MONTGOMERY, Ala.---State agents have harassed Bob Zellner, young integration worker, to the point of creating a state of terror at the funeral of his grandmother.

Protests have been filed with Gov. George C. Wallace, Richmond Flowers, new attorney general of Alabama, and Al Lingo, new state safety director. U.S. officials have also been asked to act because Zellner was followed across state lines by the agents.

Officers of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Atlanta, and the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), New Orleans, said the agents' actions "disgrace America." Zellner is a field worker for SNCC.

Charles McDew, SNCC chairman, told Wallace and Lingo in a telegram that their agents "harassed Zellner's family during the last hour's of his grandmother's life and even during her funeral by following them, parking near the house during the wake, and following the funeral procession."

Methodist Bishop Edgar A. Love, Baltimore, president of SCEF, asked state officials to halt the harassment and discipline the agents. He also urged friends throughout the nation to protest to Alabama authorities and to the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Zellner is a son of the Rev. James Zellner, Methodist minister who formerly pastored in Alabama but now has a church in Florida. Young Zellner's maternal grandmother, Mrs. J. J. Hardy, was the widow of another Methodist minister widely known in Alabama. She died in Mobile, Ala., where she spent the later part of her life.

Bob Zellner has been arrested in several states for his work for integration, especially among white college students. The latest harassment began Jan. 8 when he was arrested on a charge of vagrancy on the campus of his alma mater, Huntingdon College, Montgomery.

He was sentenced to 30 days in jail and appealed. Police then charged him with false pretense. The charge arose from a misunderstanding over a check Zellner gave a pawnbroker for a camera. The county grand jury is to hear this case Feb. 12.

Meantime, Zellner was freed under bond. Five investigators began following him around Montgomery, even to the home of his lawyer. They trailed him to Mobile when he went there because of the illness of Mrs. Hardy.

After Mrs. Hardy's death, the agents loitered outside the house. They followed the family and friends to Loxley, Ala., where the funeral was held. This caused so much distress among Mrs.Hardy's relatives that a state of terror resulted.

Zellner and his father made a personal appeal to the agents to go away. They refused. Neither did they heed a plea from young Zellner's mother. She sent the agents a note that said:

"My mother was the widow of a Methodist preacher. Both my mother and father were known and loved in many communities throughout Alabama. I am asking that this desecration of their memory be stopped at once."

After the funeral, the agents trailed Zellner and his father to Panama City, Fla., where the elder Zellner now lives.

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NEWS from
SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12,La. February 6, 1963

RALEIGH, N.C.---A noted civil rights lawyer here is in prison on income-tax charges, which he denies.

Probation was revoked for Herman Taylor when he failed to pay a $20,000 fine in a 30-day period allowed him to do so. A Federal Court in Greensboro ordered him into custody for transfer to a Federal prison, and he faces a two-year sentence.

Len Holt, civil rights attorney in Norfolk, Va., who represents Taylor, said:

"It has been my belief from the beginning of this case that the prosecution of Herman Taylor, initiated by Southern agents of the Internal Revenue Department, can only be explained by his militant defense of the rights of Negroes in North Carolina."

Taylor has been in the civil rights movement since the beginning of his legal career, working first in the office of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. He then taught law at North Carolina College at Durham before coming to Raleigh. Since 1952, he has handled many of the major civil rights cases in this state.

In 1961, Internal Revenue agents accused him of late filing of returns and fraudulant reporting of income in the period from 1953 to 1956.

He pled guilty to the late-filing charge but denied the fraud. He was convicted, sentenced to two years in prison and ordered to pay a $20,000 fine and $32,000 in back taxes.

He appealed and the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals cut the liability for back taxes to $6,000, let his sentence stand, but granted probation on condition of payment of the fine within 30 days of a final

court order. The U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the case.

Taylor is a former law partner of Samuel Mitchell here. Together they filed the original suit attacking school segregation in Raleigh. They also handled the Raleigh sit-in cases and won the first legal victory of the sit-in campaign when one of these cases was won at the State Superior Court level.

They also attacked North Carolina's use of literacy laws to deny voting rights to Negroes in several key cases. They represented Dr. A. E. Perry, Monroe, N.C. civil rights leader charged with performing an abortion and made a major attack on jury discrimination in that case.

In the 1950's they were responsible for a widespread campaign of prison reform in North Carolina when they won a suit growing out of the death of a young Negro girl in a North Carolina prison, in which it was charged that the girl died from gagging used as punishment.

Mitchell has also been charged with income tax violations, and his case is still pending.

Attorney Holt said it was completely impossible for Taylor to pay the $20,000 fine the court ordered.

"Because of the attacks on him, his business has fallen off drastically," Holt said. "When the threat of a jail sentence hangs over a lawyer, many people are naturally reluctant to bring a case to him. Also, he has felt duty-bound to refuse certain cases in this period because he himself knew that he might not be free to see them through to conclusion."

Holt said there would be further legal action in an attempt to free Taylor.

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La. Feb. 7, 1963

TALLADEGA, Ala.--The State of Alabama has dropped three of the defendants from its lawsuit to cripple integration work in Alabama.

The Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Miss Joanne Grant and Carl Braden were removed from the case by Judge William C. Sullivan in State Circuit Court here.

Judge Sullivan is hearing a petition by the State to permanently enjoin sit-ins, picketing and demonstrations. White and Negro students and faculty members at Talladega College are the most numerous groups named in the action.

Mr. Jimerson, secretary of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, had been dismissed from the suit prior to resuming of the hearing on February 6.

On the morning of February 7, Assistant Attorney General John G. Bookout filed a written request that Judge Sullivan dismiss Braden and Miss Grant. After the request was granted, Judge Sullivan proceeded with hearing of the case against the others.

Braden is assistant editor of THE SOUTHERN PATRIOT, an integrationist journal, and a field worker for the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), New Orleans. SCEF is a Southwide interracial organization working to end segregation and discrimination.

Miss Grant is an associate editor of THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN, New York. She and Braden were in Talladega last April 16 to report the trial of 18 students and a Talladega dean arrested for sitting-in at lunch counters. Braden also helped to organize integration activity in Alabama and throughout the South.

"Our dismissal is a tribute to people all over the country who have protested about these proceedings," Braden told reporters after the dismissals. "We shall continue to work for dropping of the case against the others, as they are guilty of nothing more than seeking their rights as citizens of the United States."

Braden urged friends throughout the nation to write to Attorney General Richmond Flowers, Montgomery, Ala., and ask him to drop the case against the others.

In explaining the request for dismissal to reporters, Assistant Attorney General Bookout said: "We think it will strengthen our case to deal with the local situation only."

Attorneys for Talladega College and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) objected to dropping some of the defendants without dismissing all of them, but the judge overruled their objection. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Atlanta, and one of its field workers, Bob Zellner, also remain as defendants in the case.

Braden's attorneys at the hearing included the Rt. Rev. C. Ewbank Tucker, A.M.E. Zion Bishop of Kentucky and West Alabama and a member of the SCEF Legal Committee. Another was John M. Coe, Pensacola, Florida, chairman of the SCEF Legal Committee and formerly president of the National Lawyers Guild. Victor Rabinowitz, New York, represented Miss Grant.

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NEWS from
SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La. Feb. 12, 1963

LWD
SB

BALTIMORE, Md.--After a whirlwind campaign of exactly one week, Herman Taylor, noted Raleigh, N.C., civil rights lawyer jailed for probation violation on income tax charges, was released on bond.

The U. S. Court of Appeals, Fourth Circuit, set bond at $1500, while Defense Attorney Len Holt of Norfolk, Va., processes an appeal of the revocation of probation.

Holt said it is one of the few times in the history of American jurisprudence that bond has been granted in a probation violation case.

He said that in his intensive week's effort to free Taylor he had the support of the Committee to Assist Southern Lawyers of the National Lawyers Guild and of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, on whose legal committee he serves, plus the assistance of numerous lawyers and individuals in Detroit, Lynchburg, Va., Washington, Baltimore, and New York---people, Holt said, "who helped with research, paid expenses, picked up the telephone bill, or fed and housed me on my travels."

"It is a good example of how people and organizations will pitch in and come to the support of a brave man who takes a stand for civil rights and then gets in trouble for it," he declared.

All in all, he estimated, getting Taylor released on bond took about a week of his time (with time out while he handled a hearing on the Danville, Va., omnibus integration suit) and about $700 in expense money from organizations and individuals.

"It's a small price to pay to have a man like Herman Taylor free again," said Holt. "The question is: how much is a lawyer with courage worth? A person's value depends on what your problem is. If your water

pipes are frozen, a plumber is more valuable than the President of the United States. In North Carolina, there are few lawyers with the courage to militantly defend the rights of Negroes; Taylor is one of them, so he is invaluable. That's why so many people went all-out to free him."

Taylor, along with Attorney Samuel Mitchell, has handled many of the key civil rights cases in North Carolina since 1952. In 1961, he was charged with fraudulant reporting of Federal income tax, which he denied. But he was convicted and sentenced to two years in prison and a $20,000 fine.

The sentence was probated on condition he pay the fine. When he failed to do so, Federal Judge Edwin M. Stanley in Greensboro, N.C., revoked his probation on January 31. He was transferred immediately to a Federal prison in Tallahassee, Fla., on an unusual procedure when an appeal is pending, Holt said.

Holt said the appeal is based on the assertion that it was completely impossible for Taylor to pay the fine because he did not have the money.

"We maintain that this is not a willful violation of probation," Holt said. "It is like a case where a man is required to report to a parole office on a certain date but doesn't get there because he has an automobile accident and lands in the hospital. That man is not guilty of willful parole violation."

Holt said the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, on whose staff Taylor once served, has been asked to file a friend-of-the-court brief in support of Taylor's appeal.

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SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La.

Feb. 13, 1963

STB

ACTION MEMO

TO: Friends Everywhere

FROM: Jim Dombrowski, Executive Director

IN RE: Developments in Case of Bob Zellner

Two weeks ago, we wrote you about the case of Bob Zellner, young integration worker on the staff of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), who was being harassed by Alabama officials even at this grandmother's funeral and had been arrested in Montgomery, Ala., on two charges.

You will be pleased to know that one of the charges, vagrancy, was dismissed this week on motion of the Montgomery city attorney. This happened after officials in Alabama began hearing from people all over the country about this case.

We believe if citizens of good will continue to let the Alabama officials know that they are concerned and outraged by the harassment of this young man, a victory can be won in the other case against Bob.

The second charge is the one of "false pretenses," and it carries a possible 10-year sentence. This charge was filed in connection with a check Bob wrote shortly before he was arrested on the vagrancy charge. He later testified that he had reason to believe funds to cover the check had been deposited in his bank account in Atlanta, but through an error they had not been. They were deposited shortly thereafter, however, and if the check had cleared through normal channels, the funds would have been on hand to cover it. A Montgomery newspaper, reporting the case, stated: "It is rare for such a charge to be filed until such a check is taken to the bank."

At a preliminary hearing, one of the character witnesses on Bob's behalf was a Montgomery woman who is the daughter of a Methodist minister, the wife of a retired minister and mother of two ministers. She said she had known Bob since he was a child. Asked about his reputation, she stated: "It is above reproach in my estimation."

The real purpose of the prosecution was revealed in this same hearing, when Maury Smith, assistant circuit solicitor, stated that he had offered to dismiss the check charge if Bob would plead guilty to the vagrancy charge, accept a suspended sentence, and leave town, and "cause us no trouble in regard to race matters."

"I told you I wanted this boy to leave Montgomery," Smith told Bob's attorney in open court. "This is what I was interested in."

Bob of course refused any such deal.

Please continue your protests to Maury Smith, Assistant Circuit Solicitor, Montgomery, Ala.; to Richmond Flowers, attorney general of Alabama, and Gov. George C. Wallace, both in Montgomery.

Protest also to the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, and ask them to intervene in the case since it is so clearly an effort to discourage Bob from working for civil rights in Alabama.

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SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La.

March 6, 1963

WB ✓
SBK

ACTION MEMO

TO: Friends Everywhere

FROM: Jim Dombrowski, Executive Director

IN RE: Mississippi Shooting; Zellner Case; Rights Debate

James Travis, 20-year-old voter-registration worker, was shot and seriously wounded by three men in a car who fired into an auto driven by Travis near Itta Bena, Miss., last week. Travis missed death by a hair, as the bullet entered his neck and lodged behind his spine. Another bullet hit him in the shoulder. Randolph Blackwell and Bob Moses, riding with Travis, narrowly missed death or serious injury.

Bishop Edgar A. Love, Baltimore, president of SCEF, sent the following wire to Attorney General Robert Kennedy, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington 25, D.C.:

> "We urge prompt and vigorous action, including the dispatching of Federal marshals, to protect Negroes in Leflore County, Miss. The shooting of James Travis, latest in a long series of violent acts of intimidation of registration workers, indicates a reign of terror. Must we wait until someone is killed before we act?"

You, too, may wish to communicate with Mr. Kennedy and other officials.

Your protests against the harassment of Bob Zellner in Alabama had a profound effect. The vagrancy charge against Bob was dropped and he won a hung jury on the charge of false pretense, described in our memos of Feb. 1 and Feb. 13. However, the State of Alabama may retry him on the pretense charge. You are urged to continue protests to Maury Smith, Assistant Circuit Solicitor, Montgomery, Ala., and to Gov. George C. Wallace, Montgomery. See February and March issues of The Southern Patriot for further details.

Shad Polier and Satterfield to Debate

Wednesday, March 13th, 8:30-9:30 p.m., EST, WNDT Channel 13, New York, (and WGBH Channel 2, Boston) Shad Polier, noted civil liberties lawyer, and John C. Satterfield, of Mississippi, former president of the American Bar Association and advisor to Governor Ross Barnett, on the COURT OF REASON PROGRAM, will debate the subject, "Civil Rights and States Rights, Can They be Reconciled?"

Monday, March 11th at 8:00 p.m., Polier and Satterfield will face each other in a debate at the Pharmacy Gym., Rutgers University, Newark, N.J.

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La. March 6, 1963

LOUISVILLE, Ky.--Two more tons of food and clothing have been trucked from here to Greenwood, Miss., to help Negroes victimized for registering to vote. About $100 cash went with the shipment.

It was Louisville's answer to the recent shooting of a young voter-registration worker near Greenwood. James Travis, 20, field worker for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was critically wounded by a bullet that lodged near his spine but he is recovering.

The food and clothing from here was collected under auspices of the Louisville Defender, weekly newspaper. It was taken to Mississippi by Local 89, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, who provided help at the request of Frank Stanley, Jr., Defender editor.

The Hertz Company donated a truck at the request of the Teamsters. Local 89 furnished gas and oil and two drivers, the Rev. James Martin, Local 89 executive board member, and Gilbert Ryan, an assistant business agent.

The food and clothing were collected throughout the Louisville area after civil rights leaders in Mississippi reported that thousands of Negroes in the Delta are in dire need because of reprisals arising out of the stepped-up registration campaign.

Among organizations cooperating in the Defender collection were: SCEF, CORE, SNCC, the Baptist Ministers Meeting, and A.M.E. Zion churches under the leadership of Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker.

Civil-rights leaders in the Mississippi Delta say there will continue to be urgent need for relief through most of April. Aid should be sent to Relief Committee, Haven Methodist Church, 400 Yazoo Ave., Clarksdale, Miss., and to Relief Committee, Wesley Chapel Methodist Church, Howard and Gibbs Streets, Greenwood, Miss.

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News from
SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La.

March 13, 1963

MONTGOMERY, Ala.---The Alabama Court of Appeals reversed two convictions on breach-of-peace charges against the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham integration leader.

The charges grew out of the May, 1961, Freedom Rides, when Mr. Shuttlesworth was charged with conspiring to provoke a breach of the peace because he notified law enforcement officers and the press of the arrival of the Freedom Riders in Birmingham.

Commenting on the reversals, the much-arrested minister said: "This may be a sign that some of the people in the Alabama court system are getting some religion."

The appellate court said in its reversal order that the facts were not sufficient to let the defendant know exactly what he was called on to defend.

Mr. Shuttlesworth noted also that the issues of courtroom segregation had been raised in one of the cases which was reversed. "This issue would have certainly been looked at by the U.S. Supreme Court if the case had gone that far," he said.

The Birmingham leader has been arrested more times for his actions challenging segregation than any other one Southern leader. He still has pending against him criminal charges carrying a total of two years in sentences. These are at various stages of appeal.

Mr. Shuttlesworth is now pastor of a church in Cincinnati but spends much of his time in Birmingham, where, at the insistence of local Negroes, he continues to serve as president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. He is also a member of the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, based in New Orleans.

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La. March 13, 1963

EDENTON, N.C.--New demonstrations have broken out here, in protest against what civil rights leaders describe as "unequal justice."

The first demonstration, in the form of a prayer pilgrimage to the local courthouse, came when Golden A. Frinks, Edenton Movement leader, was returned to jail after losing an appeal of a 30-day sentence for contempt of court.

Frinks had served all but nine days of the sentence last fall before he was released on bond pending the appeal. He was released again March 12 after serving the remaining nine days.

The Rev.Fred LaGarde, president of the Edenton Movement and Northeastern North Carolina representative of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said more demonstrations, including picketing are planned.

Shortly before Frinks was jailed the last time, Edenton Negroes had been outraged by the way local officials handled two cases involving the deaths of Negroes at the hands of white men. In one case, a Negro boy was struck and killed by an automobile; the white driver went free of any charge. While local Negroes do not feel the man deliberately hit the boy, they think some action should have been taken.

In the other case, a white man killed a Negro in an altercation. He was charged with second-degree murder but is free on $5000 bond.

"These two white men are walking the streets free, and Golden Frinks was jailed for a minor matter," LaGarde said. "We simply cannot feel that this is equal justice before the law."

The contempt charge against Frinks grew out of his failure to answer when Superior Court Judge Chester A. Morris called his name

during a hearing in September. Frinks said the whole thing resulted from a misunderstanding.

Frinks has been a leader in demonstrations against segregation here for several years. The contempt sentence came just after he had obtained warrants against the Edenton police chief charging that the officer struck him during picketing of a theater.

His recent return to jail came after the North Carolina Supreme Court refused to reverse his conviction. LaGarde said Sheriff Earl Goodwin told him Frinks would have been let off for "good behavior" except that he appealed the case and called on "outsiders" for support.

Frinks has recently been hospitalized and requires a special diet, but Sheriff Goodwin told his friends this could not be provided in the jail.

LaGarde said the new demonstrations here will also be directed at downtown segregation and job discrimination. The Edenton Movement is a coalition composed of the local SCLC unit, the NAACP, and other local groups.

The Movement is also carrying on a campaign to end segregation at the County hospital here. The Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, administrative assistant to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is due here on the weekend of March 16 to speak in support of the Edenton Movement's activities.

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, Louisiana March 20, 1963

LYNCHBURG, Virginia--People all over Virginia are becoming aroused over the case of Thomas C. Wansley, a Negro youth under two sentences of death for alleged rape.

He is also under a 20-year sentence on a charge of taking $1.36 from one of the women involved. A Negro minister who protested against the treatment of Wansley was charged with contempt of court.

Many citizens are not only outraged by the severity of the punishment meted to the 18-year-old prisoner. They also object to the way the State conducted his trials and the shaky evidence on which he was convicted.

Negro leaders and others point out that Wansley was first sentenced to die on a charge of raping a white woman who could not positively identify him. A short time before this, in the same court, a white man was given five years in prison for raping an 11-year-old Negro girl, although he was caught in the act by a policeman.

The Rev. Virgil A. Wood, a leader in the fight to save Wansley, has appealed to people everywhere to join in asking just treatment for the youth. He asked that protests be sent to Gov. Albertis Harrison, Executive Mansion, Richmond, Virginia, and to United States officials in Washington, D.C.

Wood himself is under a charge of contempt placed against him by Judge O. Raymond Cundiff, who presided at Wansley's three trials in February. The minister was cited for distributing a leaflet calling Wansley's first trial "a legal lynching."

The leaflet charged that the youth's conviction "differs from the old type of lynching only in that this one is done in the name of law and justice. The old type never pretended to be decent or lawful."

It adds that when Judge Cundiff passed judgment on Wansley he "looked straight at Wansley and said, 'You will be electrocuted until you are dead.' This result is the same as when Negroes were

killed at night by hooded klansmen and angry mobs. This court practices a double standard of justice, one for whites and one for Negroes."

Another who has spoken out is the Rev. Harold A. Carter, president of the Baptist Ministers' Conference, which also includes churches of other denominations. Addressing a mass protest meeting, Carter said:

"Ask Judge Cundiff how he can expect a young boy to come up out of a dungeon, denied the normal privileges of a growing boy, and know any better. Go tell him that when God pronounces His judgment he (Judge Cundiff) won't have a higher court to appeal to."

White citizens who are disturbed about the case include the editors of the student newspaper at Randolph-Macon Woman's College here. This is one of the leading women's colleges in the United States and does not admit Negroes.

The student paper, The Sun Dial, said "...serious reservations about this sentence in the circumstances of the trial can not help but be raised in the minds of thoughtful and conscientious citizens."

Wansley's second death sentence was imposed on a charge of raping a woman of Japanese descent. The youth testified that he has sexual intercourse with the woman on two previous occasions before she accused him of rape.

The Wansley trials took place amid growing impatience of the Negro community with the slowness of integration here. Negroes are especially irked by a system under which they are being admitted to previously all-white schools at the rate of one grade a year.

Wansley's attorney, Reuben Lawson of Roanoke, has filed notice of appeal to the Supreme Court of Appeals at Richmond, Virginia. The youth's execution is set for June 7 unless a stay is granted.

The Gandhi Society for Human Rights has agreed to underwrite court costs. The Baptist Ministers' Conference, 1303 Wise Street, Lynchburg, is raising money for other expenses. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Atlanta, Georgia, and the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), New Orleans, Louisiana, have asked friends and cooperating groups throughout the nation to join in protests to state and U.S. officials. The Rev. Mr. Wood is president of the Lynchburg unit of SCLC and a member of the board of SCEF. Methodist Bishop Edgar A. Love, Baltimore, Maryland, is president of SCEF.

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The News, Lynchburg, Va.

FRIDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 8, 1963

Negro Youth Gets 'Chair' In Rape Case

By HORACE OVERMAN

Thomas Carlton Wansley, 18-year-old Negro, was sentenced Thursday by a Corporation Court jury to death in the electric chair for the Dec. 5 rape of a 59-year-old woman on Rivermont Avenue.

An all-white 12 man jury deliberated one hour and 41 minutes before returning the death penalty for the slender restaurant helper.

Judge O. Raymond Cundiff passed judgment and set June 7 for the date of execution. Looking straight at Wansley, Judge Cundiff said "you will be electrocuted until you are dead."

Thomas C. Wansley

Wansley, expressionless throughout the trial, broke into tears. Moans from his mother echoed through the courtroom. Wansley did not testify.

Being led by jailers away from the courtroom back to his cell in City Jail where he spent his 18th birthday, Wansley gasped, "I'm not going." He made a brief attempt to get away until jailers grabbed him and handcuffed him while bystanders comforted his mother.

Commonwealth's Attorney Royston Jester III declared in his opening statement and in his concluding argument to the jury that Wansley should receive "death for this vicious, unwarranted attack" on the dedicated church worker Wansley raped around 7:30 p. m. in the rain.

JESTER SAID if the jury returned any verdict other than death residents here "can't walk safely upon the public streets." Pointing his finger at the Negro, Jester declared "all evidence shows this man is the guilty party."

He referred the jury to testimony of state's witnesses who easily picked out Wansley as the person who admitted to them in words and a signed confession the crimes that resulted in one of the most intensive city manhunts in recent years and the posting of a $1,000 reward.

Witnesses for the state were the woman, Det. Sgts. E. L. Francis and C. W. Loving, Major R. O. Brooks, police chief, and Lee A. Read, chief probation officer of Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court.

All the officers testified to Wansley's confession that was followed by him taking them around to the scenes of the crimes and describing in detail what took place.

* * *

ALSO ENTERED into evidence was a blue coat identified as the coat the woman wore the night she was jumped from behind, dragged into a side yard on Ruffner Place and raped.

She testified she gave her purse to Wansley when he approached her and threatened her hoping that would send him away. She said he then grabbed her from behind and overpowered her while she fought and screamed.

She said he had a knife at her throat and sometime during the attack rammed his first into her mouth in an effort to stiffle her screams for help. She said she was on her way to church when Wansley came up to her.

She was unable to make positive identification of him as the Negro who viciously attacked her.

For that reason the state

See NEGRO Pg. 8, Col. 1

WANSLEY 3RD TO GET CHAIR

Sentence of death in the electric chair in the state penitentiary in Richmond for Thomas Carlton Wansley, 18, Negro, was the third such verdict returned by a Corporation Court jury in recent years.

Carroll Lewis Garland, 26, Negro, died March 2, 1962, in the penitentiary for killing a white service station operator, Jimmy N. Nuckles, 27, the night of May 28, 1961.

Nuckles' body was found on a rock in the James River. Police said he had been beaten over the head with soft drink bottle but death was attributed to drowning.

In November, 1958, another Lynchburg Negro, Clarence Sparrow Dabney, 24, was executed for a similar crime—the slaying of a young white service station attendant during a robbery.

Negro Youth Gets 'Chair'

(Continued from Page One.

built its case around Wansley's admissions of the crimes and the fact he guided officials to the locations of his attacks and filled them in on details.

* * *

CHIEF BROOKS and the others testified that Wansley was advised before he was allowed to say anything that whatever he might say could be used against him and that he was not being made to say anything.

Reuben Lawson, Negro attorney of Roanoke who acted as defense counsel, argued to the jury that Wansley was a "mentally sick boy" who should be put away if he was guilty.

He urged the jury to treat the 18-year-old as they would their own son. He said "the poor little boy, if he is guilty, deserves some punishment" but "he's sick and its your responsibility to help him."

In his final argument, Jester declared Wansley "is not sick" pointing out that if Wansley had been, there would have been evidence introduced by the defense to that effect.

He said Wansley "is not a sick boy. He is a vicious man capable of a man's functions and a man's desires." He insisted to the jury that "there can be no alternative in this case. The only proper verdict is death."

Wansley also was on trial Thursday for robbing the woman of her pocketbook containing $1.37. This charge was contained in another bill of indictment. The jury returned a verdict of guilty of robbery on this charge and sentenced the Negro to 20 years in the penitentiary.

Lawson moved at the presentation of the jury's verdicts that the verdicts be set aside and a new trial set. Judge Cundiff denied the motions.

Lawson spent the majority of the morning making motions that would have delayed the trial. He was overruled on all of them.

Lawson asked that Wansley be placed under observation at Central State Hospital in Petersburg. He moved that the trial be held elsewhere because of publicity given the case in the press.

He wanted the all-white jury dismissed for alleged bias, and suggested that Judge Cundiff disqualify himself. And he insisted that the segregated courtroom be integrated.

One by one Judge Cundiff denied each and every motion.

* * *

WANSLEY now is being held in City Jail awaiting trial Tuesday on another rape indictment. Judge Cundiff said this trial will be held as scheduled.

The case Tuesday charges the Negro with raping a Lucado Place housewife around midnight on Nov. 14 by threatening her and one of her three sleeping children.

Court convened at 9:30 a.m. and promptly settled down to selecting the jury from a special 32 man venire. The selection was concluded and the jury was impanelled shortly before 11 o'clock.

The case went to the jury at 4:40 p.m. and the verdict was returned at 6:21 p.m. Judge Cundiff called the jury back to the courtroom at 6:05 to ask if they felt they could reach a decision before mealtime, then sent them back.

It was the second death penalty for the jurist in his two years on the bench in Corporation Court.

In passing sentence Judge Cundiff set the hours "between sunrise and sunset" on June 7 and said Wansley would be "electrocuted until you are dead."

(Over)

The News
LOCAL
LYNCHBURG, VA., WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1962 B-1

5-Year Term Given Brooks For Rape Of Negro Girl, 11

By HOWARD EANES
The News' City Editor

George W. Brooks, 37, of 1129 Westchester Dr., was sentenced to five years in the state penitentiary Tuesday for raping an 11-year-old Negro girl in his automobile last March 21.

The Corporation Court jury fixed his punishment at the minimum provided for rape. He had pleaded NOT guilty.

Judge O. Raymond Cundiff stayed execution of sentence until Dec. 3 to allow defense counsel, Atty. Paul Whitehead, time to petition the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals for a writ of error. Whitehead had noted an exception when Judge Cundiff overruled his (Whitehead's) motion to set aside the verdict on the grounds of insufficient evidence and as contrary to law and evidence.

* * *

UNDER THE FIVE-YEAR sentence, Brooks, a used car dealer, will be eligible for parole after serving 18 months.

Patrolman C. W. Snow, first witness told of witnessing Brooks having sexual intercourse with the 11-year-old girl in the front seat of his automobile just off Hudson Street on the Presbyterian Cemetery property March 21. He fixed the time of the offense at 3:15 p.m.

Snow said he was on routine patrol on Hudson Street when he observed a car parked on cemetery property. He said he could see it was occupied so he got out of the patrol car and walked to it. He said he observed Brooks and the Negro girl partly undressed.

Snow said he moved around toward the front of the car and looked through the windshield from which point he witnessed the act of sexual intercourse. He said when he tapped on the car window Brooks looked around at him and exclaimed: "My God, do something for me!"

The officer said he had known Brooks for many years.

He identified the girl brought into the courtroom during his testimony as the girl in the car with Brooks. He said the car was parked 75 to 80 feet from Hudson Street.

* * *

DET. SGTS. E. L. Francis and C. W. Loving, who questioned Brooks about the offense within an hour after he was arrested, said the accused admitted having sexual relations with the girl that afternoon and on two previous occasions.

"He told us he didn't know what made him do what he had done," Sgt. Francis testified.

Sgt. Francis said Brooks told him the girl "gave him a sign" when he drove past her on Grace Street and he continued to Grove Street where he stopped and waited for her. She got in his car there and he then drove to the place off Hudson Street where he had sexual relations with her, Francis testified Brooks told him.

Sgt. Loving, who said he had known Brooks at least 10 years, testified the defendant told him he thought the girl was in her teens.

The only other witness called by Commonwealth's Atty. Royston Jester III was the girl's mother, who testified the child was born Jan. 5, 1951. The girl's birth certificate was entered as Commonwealth's exhibit number one as further proof of her date of birth.

(Virginia law prohibits a girl under 16 years of age from giving consent to sexual intercourse. Because of this a man who has such relations with a girl under 16 is automatically charged with rape).

At the conclusion of the commonwealth's case, Defense Atty. Whitehead moved to strike the evidence because there was no testimony from the prosecutrix. He contended it is necessary in this type case. Judge Cundiff overruled the motion and Whitehead noted an exception.

Brooks, only defense witness other than character witnesses, denied having sexual intercourse with the girl on the day in question or at any time. He denied the girl was in his automobile. He further testified he didn't know the girl and had never seen her before. He also denied making any statement to Sgts. Francis and Loving about having sexual relations with her.

* * *

BROOKS SAID he had been in the Hudson Street area on March 21 to call on a prospective customer and not finding him at home had stopped to check some papers before making another call.

He said he was checking the papers to determine where his next nearest call would be when Patrolman Snow attracted his attention by tapping on the car window. He said the Negro girl was standing with the officer beside the car at that time.

Brooks said he has been married twice, once when he was about 20 and the second time Aug. 4 of this year. His teen-age daughter, wife, mother and other members of his family were in court.

On cross examination by Jester, Brooks said he didn't know anything either of the officers had against him "unless it's Thornhill, Wood and the NAACP. They are taking a lot of interest in this case."

An excerpt from the cross-examination:

Jester: "Do you mean that everybody who has testified in this case is telling a falsehood but you?"

Brooks: "Somebody is telling something."

Whitehead called six character witnesses. Five of them testified Brooks' general reputation in the community is good. The sixth said his relationship with Brooks had been a business one and he had no way to know his general reputation in the community.

* * *

A REBUTTAL witness, Dewey L. Fitzgerald, a dry-cleaning route man, said he saw Patrolman Snow talking with someone in a car at the place the offense allegedly was committed on March 21. He said he saw a man and a girl getting out of the car but could not identify them. He said he was unable to say whether the girl was white or Negro.

Whitehead, in his closing arguments, harped on the fact the commonwealth failed to call the girl, the juvenile court officer in whose custody the girl was placed or a physician to testify.

Jester's answer was they were unnecessary, the act having been

See BROOKS, Pg. 3, Col. 1

Brooks

(Continued from Page One)

observed by a police officer and corroborated by statements made by the defendant to other officers shortly after the crime.

ALL SPECTATORS, except immediate families of the two principals in the case and newsmen, were excluded from the courtroom during the trial.

Brooks was declared mentally competent to stand trial after he was examined and observed under court order at Southwestern State Hospital at Marion.

William B. Smith, assistant commonwealth's attorney, assisted in the prosecution of the case.

(Over)

Second Death Sentence Meted Out To Wansley

The News

LOCAL

LYNCHBURG, VA., WEDNESDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 13, 1963 8

By HORACE OVERMAN

For the second time in five days, Thomas Carlton Wansley, 18-year-old Lynchburg Negro, Tuesday was sentenced to death for rape.

He was convicted Tuesday of the rape of a Japanese woman Nov. 13. Last Thursday he was convicted of the rape Dec. 5 of a white woman and sentenced to die.

An all-white, male jury returned Tuesday's guilty verdict and fixed the penalty at death in the electric chair.

The jury deliberated one hour and 18 minutes before returning its final verdict.

The men came out shortly after 6 p. m. to ask Judge O. Raymond Cundiff about Wansley's possibilities of parole if they returned a life imprisonment sentence.

Instructed that they were to be concerned only with fixing the sentence to fit the crime involved, they returned to resume deliberations, then came out 18 minutes later with the death penalty.

Wansley was sentenced to die June 7.

Unlike his first trial last Thursday when Wansley did not take the witness stand, he took the stand Tuesday to say he had had intimate relations with the woman previous to the night the woman reported to police she had been raped.

* * *

HE SAID he had known her carnally at least two times prior to the night she telephoned police. He said the last time before the night of Nov. 13 was one week earlier on Nov. 6.

He also testified he met her through another Negro, Sylvester Dickerson, who, he said, is now dead. Wansley said the reason he failed to tell police about his previous relations with the woman was that she had threatened to get him in trouble.

Wansley further said the woman invited him back to visit with her later and asked him to bring her a pack of cigarettes. He said he never went back because of the threat.

Commonwealth's Attorney Royston Jester III called the woman as the first witness for the state. She testified she fought the Negro and also screamed aloud for help. She said Wansley choked her neck to stifle her shouts.

* * *

POLICE WHO testified were Patrolman S. B. Chapman, Det. Sgts. Hubert Nash, C. M. Harvey, C. W. Loving and J. E. Franklin and Police Chief Major R. O. Brooks.

Patrolman Chapman was the first officer on the scene. The detectives identified clothing introduced as that Wansley wore the night of the attack. It was picked up at his 410 H. St. residence and

See 2ND DEATH Pg. 10, Col. 5

2nd Death Sentence Ordered For Wansley

(Continued from Page Eight)

later identified by the woman.

Major Brooks and the detectives verified Wansley's confession of the crime and testified he took them to the Lucado Place woman's home.

* * *

DEFENSE WITNESSES included the Rev. Baby Stokes, Mrs. Willie Mae Thornton, Wansley's mother; Mrs. Effie Wansley, and Estelle Cabell, a neighbor who has known the defendant since "he was four."

They testified to Wansley's "good" character.

Wansley appeared calm and unmoved when he took the witness stand. His testimony concluded the case for the defense.

In his arguments to the jury Jester declared the only just punishment for "a crime of this nature is death." He said the jury was "not concerned only with the fate of the defendant. You are also concerned with the fate of the 60,000 people of Lynchburg."

He said the jury should "let the people know we are not going to tolerate this kind of conduct.' He declared also that the sanctity of the home and the sanctity of womanhood was at stake.

Defense attorney Reuben Lawson, Negro, Roanoke, argued that the state had failed to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that the case was one of rape.

* * *

THE CASE went to the jury at 5:18 p.m. and the verdict was returned at 6:36 o'clock. Members of the jury were George Bass, A. Lee Booth, Edward T. Boyd Jr., Claiborne W. Craddock, Ernest W. Mitchell, John A. Myers, David B. Padgett, Clyde L. Tyree, William P. Wood, James T. Smith, J. Lyons Davidson, and Henry O. Porter.

Two alternates, Ralph B. Anthony and Werth W. Harvey were excused after hearing all of the testimony but immediately prior to the jury retiring to consider the verdict.

Wansley, who appeared stunned and burst into tears last week when Judge Cundiff passed the death sentence on him, appeared indifferent Tuesday.

His mother, who last week broke into sobs audible throughout the courtroom, calmly approached her son Tuesday and embraced him and kissed him.

Wansley was led smiling from the courtroom.

(Over)

Randolph-Macon Woman's College
The Sun Dial, Thursday, February 21, 1963

Controversy

A recent trial in Lynchburg has excited widespread interest and controversy. We wish to present the facts and pose four questions.

A young Negro, eighteen years old, was sentenced to death for the rape of a white woman and a Japanese woman. He was also sentenced to 20 years imprisonment for the robbery of $1.36 at knife-point of the first victim. Verdicts in both cases were returned by an all white, male jury.

The defense lawyer filed petitions to have him committed to a mental institution for observation, to dismiss the all-white jury because of possible bias, and to try the case in another place because of the publicity surrounding it and because of the possibility that it had been prejudged in the papers and other news media.

The motion for a mental observation was denied because the defendant was examined by several psychiatrists and found to be legally sane (though of low normal intelligence), able to distinguish right from wrong. The other motions were also overruled.

In his arguments to the jury the Commonwealth's Attorney stated that the only just punishment for "a crime of this nature [a savage, brutal attack] is death." If the jury returned a verdict other than death, citizens "can't walk safely upon public streets."

The only legal requirement for a defendant's ability to stand trial is that he know what he is doing and be able to distinguish right from wrong, regardless of his level of intelligence or any mental illness.

This trial raises many serious questions.

1) "He shall not be deprived of life or liberty, except by the law of the land or the judgment of his peers . . ." (Article I, section 8, Constitution of Virginia.) Can an all-white, male jury in the state of Virginia, city of Lynchburg be considered the "peers" of a Negro boy on trial for the rape of two non-Negro women?

2) In the emotionalism surrounding any trial of this type is it possible to arrive at an impartial decision? Should the trial have been held somewhere else?

3) Five days after the first trial, the young defendant was tried again and sentenced to death a second time. Would not the publicity between the trials and the widespread attention it had attracted affect the jurors of the second trial?

4) The penalty for common law rape in the state of Virginia ranges from death to not less than five years imprisonment with the punishment fixed by the jury. Is death the only "just punishment" in this case? The decision to say to someone "you will be electrocuted until you are dead" is of great magnitude.

Certainly the obligation to protect society must be considered, but serious reservations about this sentence in the circumstances of the trial can not help but be raised in the minds of thoughtful and conscientious citizens.

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RICHMOND
TIMES-DISPATCH
P. 2
Date: MAR 6 1963

Man's Sentence Set On Perjury Charge

LYNCHBURG, March 5—(AP)—A 37-year-old white man was sentenced to three years in prison Tuesday for perjury resulting from his testimony during a trial in which he was convicted of the statutory rape of an 11-year-old Negro girl.

The three-year sentence given George Walton Brooks must be served after he has served a five-year prison ferm on the statutory rape charge.

Corporation Court Judge O. Raymond Cundiff refused to set aside the jury verdict in the perjury case and pronounced the sentence fixed by the jurors.

Brooks was convicted last September on the statutory rape charge and appealed to the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals. The court last week upheld the conviction and Brooks started serving his 5-year sentence Monday.

NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La. April 2, 1963

LYNCHBURG, Va.---Len Holt, noted civil rights attorney from Norfolk, has been employed as counsel for Thomas C. Wansley, 18, under two death sentences for alleged rape.

He will take the place of Reuben Lawson of Roanoke, who died March 23 while preparing Wansley's Appeal to the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals, Richmond.

Holt will work with William Kunstler, New York attorney employed by the Gandhi Society for Human Rights. They will seek to void the death sentences and a 20-year prison term faced by Wansley.

The Negro youth is scheduled to die June 7 unless there is a stay. Two all-white juries found him guilty of raping a white woman who could not positively identify him and a Japanese woman with whom Wansley said he had been having sex relations before she charged him with rape.

A short time before this, in the same court, a white man was sentenced to five years in prison for raping an 11-year-old girl after a policeman caught him in the act.

Concerned white persons in Lynchburg are forming a group to work with Negro leaders seeking freedom for Wansley. They are especially disturbed over the double standard of justice shown in the Wansley case and that of the white man.

People all over the nation are protesting to Gov. Albertis Harrison, Executive Mansion, Richmond, Va., and to U.S. officials in Washington.

Nationwide support for Wansley is being rallied by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Atlanta, which has a unit in Lynchburg, and the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), New Orleans.

Holt is a member of the Legal Committee of SCEF and is a co-secretary of the Committee to Aid Southern Lawyers (CASL), of the National Lawyers Guild.

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12,La.

April 3, 1963

DANVILLE, Va.--Over 100 Negroes marched singing through the streets here to attend the appeal trial of five persons arrested in January for sitting in at a Howard Johnson restaurant.

The five received $100 fines---double what they had gotten in their previous conviction in Municipal Court. The charge was trespass. The defendants included the Rev. A. I. Dunlap, leader of the Danville Progressive Christian Association and a member of the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

The marchers were not allowed in the courtroom. The judge excluded all spectators after Defense Attorneys Len Holt and Michael Standard moved for desegregation of the courtroom and removal of all racial signs.

The judge also over-ruled motions by Holt and Standard challenging the jury system here. They charged that the system provides for only "token inclusion" of Negroes; they pointed out that the total Danville population is 45,000 of whom 11,000 are Negroes, but that there were only 75 Negroes on a panel of 500. They said a correct ratio would be one-fourth of the panel.

Holt, of Norfolk, Va., and Standard, a New York attorney, represented the Committee to Assist Southern Lawyers of the National Lawyers Guild. Holt is also a member of the SCEF Legal Committee. They said the convictions would be appealed further.

The mass march to the trial followed a few days after 2,400 persons turned out to hear Dr. Martin Luther King speak at the City Auditorium here. It was said to be the largest crowd ever gathered at the auditorium. The Danville Progressive Christian Association is an affiliate of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which Dr. King heads. The city auditorium was recently desegregated after an omnibus integration suit was filed here.

? our file

Other speakers at the meeting included Mr. Dunlap, the Rev. L.D. Campbell and the Rev. L.W. Chase, both of whom are also defendants in the trespass case; Dr. Milton A. Reid, Petersburg, Va., SCLC state representative; and Carl Braden, SCEF field secretary.

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La.

April 5, 1963

JACKSON, Miss.--Four more NAACP boycott pickets were arrested on downtown Capitol Street. Arrested were Arverna Adams, Jimmy Armstrong, Frank Dickey, and Austin Moore III, all natives of Mississippi and students at Tougaloo Southern Christian College.

The charge was "obstructing the sidewalk"--an offense punishable by six months in jail each and $500 fines apiece.

Witnesses say the sidewalks were clear and the picketing, which lasted only a few minutes, was orderly. Between 75 and 100 Jackson city police were involved in the arrests.

The arrests marked another round in the four-month-old Jackson anti-discrimination boycott which is levied against 127 business establishments, 17 are members of national chains.

Leaders threatened to make the boycott a "permanent institution" unless their demands are met, namely, equality in hiring and promotion, desegregation of store facilities, use of courtesy titles, and service on a first come-first served basis. The effectiveness of the boycott is estimated at about eighty percent.

The boycott movement, initiated by NAACP youth and supported by all other civil rights organizations, began shortly before Christmas when a Tougaloo faculty member and his wife and four students picketed briefly before being arrested by between 50 and 100 police and charged with "obstructing." Later, two more Tougaloo students were arrested on the same charge.

Bail bonds of $500 each have been provided for all arrested pickets by interested individuals, the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, and the New Orleans-based Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Legal defense, which includes efforts to get the trials of the

pickets transferred from the state courts into Federal court on a primarily First Amendment basis, is being furnished by the Gandhi Society. Attorneys for the arrested boycott pickets are R. Jess Brown, Jackson; Clarence Jones, New York City, and William Kunstler, New York City.

The Mayor has threatened to line downtown Capitol Street with 1000 policemen to prevent picketing; a shot has been fired through the window of one boycott leader and threats have been made to dynamite his home; workers have been harassed.

Boycott leaders answered by stepping up their campaign of mass distribution of leaflets, telephoning, public meetings, speakers in churches, and have promised more picketing. They were encouraged recently when white students in Jackson joined the boycott movement and helped with leaflet distribution---perhaps marking the first time in Mississippi history that white students from the state have been involved openly in a local civil rights project.

(NOTE TO THE EDITOR--If possible, please box the following)

The Jackson Movement asks you to withdraw your trade from these chain stores; let them know why: Bakers Shoes, Bell Brothers Shoes, Bomar Shoes, Butler's Shoes, Grayson's Dress Shops, H.L. Green (dime stores), J.C. Penney, Lerner's Dress Shops, National Shirt Shops, Nora Day Shops (women's wear), Owens Ltd. (Men's clothing), Parisian (women's wear), Schwobilt (Men's clothing), Shainbergs (dept. stores), Thom McAn Shoes, Walgreen Drugs, Woolworth.

Jackson Youth would like to hear from you as to what you are doing. Write North Jackson NAACP Youth Council, Box 13, Tougaloo Southern Christian College, Tougaloo, Miss.

NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La.

April 17, 1963

NORFOLK, Va.--Civil-rights leaders from over the South will gather here April 26 and 27 for a conference on "Time for Action in the Mid-South."

Purpose of the conference is to stimulate action leading to equal rights for all citizens and to provide information on which people may act. There will be workshops on job opportunities, housing, voting, civil liberties, public facilities, and education.

The conference will open Friday night, April 26, with a keynote session in the auditorium of Norfolk Division, Virginia State College, on Corprew Avenue. The workshops will be held all the next day at the college.

Keynote speaker will be the Rev. C. T. Vivian, Chattanooga, a leader in the Tennessee Voters Council and a noted exponent of non-violent direct action. He will be introduced by the Rev. C. E. Griffin, pastor of First Calvary Baptist Church here.

Presiding will be Dr. Herman H. Long, director of Race Relations Institute at Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., and vice-president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), New Orleans. Music will be by Guy Carawan, Atlanta, Ga., noted Southern folk singer.

The welcome will be by Dr. Lyman B. Brooks, provost of the Virginia State Norfolk Division. Those making brief talks will include Dr. Samuel Newman, Danville, Va.; David D. Alston, Norfolk labor leader; Dr. Daniel Bowers, Portsmouth, Va.; and the Rev. James Curtis, Norfolk.

Presiding at the opening of the workshop sessions on Saturday will be the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, leader of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. He was arrested twice in Birmingham during recent demonstrations there.

The Rt. Rev. Edgar A. Love, Methodist Bishop of Baltimore and president of SCEF, will preside at the opening of the afternoon workshops. Dr. G.W.C. Brown, director of adult services at Norfolk

State, will preside at the closing session, where the conference will be summarized by Miss Ella J. Baker, Atlanta.

Among resource people at the workshops will be student leaders who have been in the forefront of the struggle in Georgia and Mississippi. They will include Charles Sherrod, who has been heading the voter-registration drive in Albany, Ga., for the Voter Education Project (VEP).

There will also be students who took part in the recent demonstrations at Greenwood, Miss. Included will be James Forman, executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), who spent several days in the Greenwood jail.

Also present will be Mrs. Diane Bevel, Cleveland, Miss. She led the student upsurge at Nashville in 1960, was jailed for nonviolent direct action in South Carolina in 1961, and is under a two-year sentence at Jackson,Miss., for her part in the Freedom Rides.

Other resource people will come from Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland, Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Louisiana. Participants will be drawn mostly from Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland and the District.

Workshop chairmen will be Dr. Withrow McEnge, Virginia State College, Norfolk; W. Hale Thompson, attorney, Newport News, Va.; Dr. S. F. Coppage, Norfolk; the Rev. Virgil A. Wood, Lynchburg, Va.; the Rev. L. Francis Griffin, Farmville, Va., and the Rev. Mr. Curtis.

Sponsors of the conference are the Institute for Community Development (Virginia State College); Norfolk Committee for Social Justice; Norfolk-Portsmouth Council on Human Relations; Peninsula Coordinating Committee; Tidewater Voter Registration Project; Student Movement for Human Dignity; and SCEF.

Conference Coordinators are Dr. G.W.C. Brown and Dr. W. P. Robinson of the Institute for Community Development. Housing chairmen are the Rev. Godfrey Tate and Mrs. Mary Rose Curtis, both of Norfolk.

Persons desiring housing should write them at 503 Massachusetts Avenue, Norfolk 8, Virginia.

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La. April 23, 1963

LYNCHBURG, Va.---"If it weren't for you people I don't know what I would do," Mrs. Willie Mae Thornton told a mass meeting sponsored by the Wansley Defense Fund.

Mrs. Thornton is the mother of Thomas Wansley, 18, who is under two sentences of death for alleged rape of a white woman and a Japanese woman.

Her statement was made after she read to the gathering a letter written by her son. He is in the Death House at Richmond, Va., awaiting execution on June 7.

In the letter young Wansley asked his mother to "tell Grandmother that I am going deeper into the Bible." He wrote Mrs. Thornton after she visited him recently.

"He looks well and seemed to be in very good spirits," his mother told the assemblage of ministers and other white and Negro supporters.

She later told a reporter about her son's deprived background. His father died several years ago and she remarried. Wansley dropped out of school at 16, when he was still in the 6th grade.

He had done fairly well in his studies but got behind because he was absent so much. This resulted from a chronic scalp ailment which the family did not have the money to treat adequately.

Mrs. Thornton, who works as a maid, said that Wansley went to work as a dishwasher after he left school. She noted that he had never been arrested or been in any kind of trouble before he was accused of rape. He is also under a 20-year sentence on a charge of taking $1.36 from one of the alleged rape victims.

"I sat in those trials here in February," Mrs. Thornton said. "From the evidence I heard they haven't convinced me that he's guilty of anything.

"The only thing he is guilty of is being with the Japanese woman. Like he told in court, he had been with her before she charged him with rape. I think she made the charge because her neighbors saw my son going into her house and she was afraid they would tell it."

Wansley testified that he had intercourse with the Japanese woman on at least two occasions before she alleged rape. The other rape victim could not positively identify the young man as her attacker.

His conviction and sentences have aroused the Negro community and many white persons in this area, as well as persons in other parts of the state. The Rev. J.A. Carter told the mass meeting: "We want justice. Righteousness exalts a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

Another speaker was the Rev. Herman Ford, local president of NAACP. He said of young Wansley: "Though he may be far from our eyes, he is near to our hearts."

The Wansley Defense Fund was started by the Baptist Ministers Conference, headed by the Rev. Harold A. Carter and including other denominations. "God is blessing our cause if for no other reason than the publicity it is getting all over the world," Rev. Mr. Carter declared.

"We got a letter and a check today from Tel Aviv, Israel. It is symbolic at this time of year to have a communication and a contribution from the Holy Land."

He reported that money and messages of support have been received from other parts of the world and from all over the United States. There have been donations by professors and students at all-white colleges in this area.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Atlanta, and the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), New Orleans, are urging friends and associated groups to aid the Wansley defense.

Protests are being sent to Gov. Albertis Harrison, Executive Mansion, Richmond, Va., and to the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, both in Washington, D.C.

A representative of SCEF told the mass meeting that the Wansley case would be made an "international issue." He was commenting on reports in the Lynchburg press, which scoffed at claims that the Wansley Case would become a national issue.

The likelihood that it will become one has the local newspapers worried. They have reacted by smearing several persons working in behalf of Wansley.

These include the Rev. Virgil A. Wood, a board member of both SCEF and SCLC, and Len Holt, an attorney for Wansley. Holt is a member of

the SCEF Legal Committee and is active in the National Lawyers Guild; he is also a former field worker for CORE.

Holt has asked the Corporation Court to grant Wansley new trials because of the death of his trial attorney, Reuben Lawson of Roanoke, Virginia. Lawson died March 23 but Holt notes that he was ill when Wansley was tried Feb. 7 and 12.

Another basis for the request is that no court reporter was present for the trial on Feb. 7, and the death of Lawson "denies to the defendant the sole person properly capable of making up and insuring the accuracy of a transcript of the proceedings."

A tape recording was made of the trial, but Holt notes "that none of the present counsel for the defendant including myself, has any way of determing the accuracy of the purported tape."

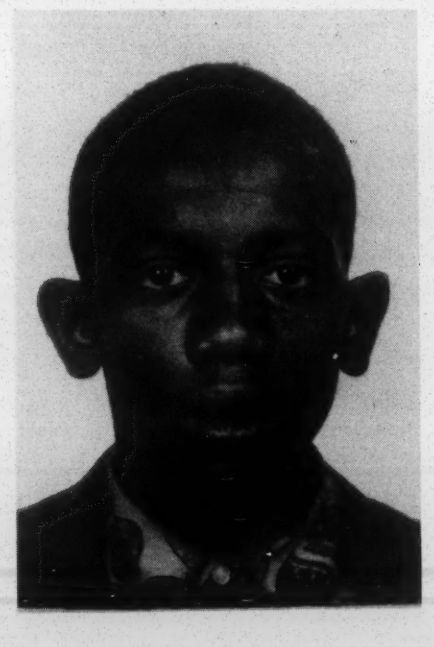
He said there is no way to tell "whether there have been any additions or whether some mechanical accident may have destroyed part of the recordings."

Numerous other violations of Wansley's constitutional rights are noted, including racial segregation in the courtroom and systematic exclusion of Negroes from the juries which tried him.

Denial of the requests for new trials would clear the way for taking the case to the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals at Richmond. The next step after that is an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court in Washington.

Holt is working with William M. Kunstler, New York attorney employed by the Gandhi Society for Human Rights. They expect to get a stay of Wansley's execution so they will have time to prepare his appeal.

Mrs. Willie Mae Thornton
Wansley's Mother



Thomas Wansley
Front View

Thomas Wansley
Side View

LWD ✓ PA ✓ JS

NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La.

April 30, 1963

NORFOLK, Va.--A massive assault on token integration in the Mid-South was mapped at a meeting of civil-rights leaders here recently.

The two-day conference at Virginia State College (Norfolk Division) brought together key people from nine Southern states. Many of these came from the Deep South to share experiences with leaders from North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland.

They took part workshops on voting, civil liberties, job opportunities, and how to end segregation in schools, housing, and public facilities. There were also four general sessions.

"The Mid-South is a symbol of the tragedy of success," Mrs. Ella J. Baker said in a summary at the closing session. "We have succeeded in achieving little goals and satisfied ourselves; we failed to see that we have only scratched the surface."

Most speakers and resource persons warned participants not to wait for someone else to do the job--but to get out and do it for themselves.

"If we want liberals in office we are going to have to make them ourselves---with votes," said the Rev. C.T. Vivian, of Chattanooga, the keynote speaker.

Mr. Vivian is a leader in the Tennessee Voters Council and an advocate of nonviolent direct action (N.V.D.A.). He stressed that N.V.D.A. must be combined with political, legal, and economic action--that all must be used together.

"We changed the law and really changed very little in the segregated pattern," Mr. Vivian declared. "Laws grow out of a culture, so now we find that we must change the whole culture from which the laws grow. There must be a full-scale assault on the status crow!"

He urged mass action mixed with a spirit of love--a total mobilizing of the individual. "We'll pit ourselves, our total personality, against this evil system," he asserted.

Negroes must fight as hard against injustices to white people as they do against injustices to their own people, said David D. Alston, Norfolk, international vice-president of the International Longshoremen's Association (ALF-CIO).

James H. Curtis, minister of the Unitarian Church of Norfolk, called upon the group to "never be afraid to raise your voice for honesty and truth and compassion...You will change the earth."

The assemblage adopted a resolution praising the Norfolk Virginian Pilot for supporting the right of an integration leader to speak on the campus of Old Dominion College here.

An officer of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), New Orleans, one of the conference sponsors, had to address a group of students in a professor's back yard after being barred from the O.D.C. campus on a technicality.

The O.D.C. action was also criticized in a talk by Dr. Otto H. Olsen, a professor at the college and president of the Norfolk branch of the American Association of University Professors.

Dr. Lyman B. Brooks, provost at Virginia State, welcomed the conference participants. Dr. G.W.C. Brown and Dr. W.P. Robinson of the college's Institute for Community Development were coordinators of the meeting, of which I.C.D. was also a sponsor.

The board of SCEF held its semi-annual meeting here in connection with the conference. The board voted to continue all-out support of the struggle in Birmingham, which it called the "most crucial battlefield in the South."

SCEF condemned the use of court injunctions against people demonstrating against segregation. It urged supporters throughout the nation to back the boycott of stores that discriminate in the South, especially Woolworth, Kress, Newberry, and H.L. Green.

The board complimented the Federal Government on finally acting against recent injustices in Mississippi, but said that the actions were far from enough and the Government should do more. The U.S. Justice Department was urged "to extend the application of federal power beyond the token stage."

SCEF expressed shock at the assassination of William Moore in Alabama. It noted that such murders result from the kind of hate generated by segregation.

The board voted support of the Freedom Walk started as a memorial to Moore by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and CORE.

SNCC members, SCEF directors, and other conference participants were among about 100 persons who took part in a vigil for Moore on the sidewalk in front of the Federal Building here. The vigil was held on the afternoon that Moore was buried, which was the last day of the conference.

The Executive Committee of SNCC met after the conference to complete plans for the Freedom Walk. Several members of the Executive Committee had taken leading parts in the action conference.

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PAV
SBV

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La.

May 6, 1963

ACTION MEMO:

TO: Friends of SCEF Everywhere

FROM: Jim Dombrowski, Executive Director

RE: Outrage in Alabama

NOTE ON THE NEWS

By Marjorie S. Wheeler

Behold --- these modern men calling out dogs
To help them keep the law! But what is that
Behind the law -- equipped with broken staves
And garbled words? I think it is our fathers'
Ghosts ordering old bloodhounds into the swamp.

The use of vicious dogs, fire hoses, and electric shock sticks, upon citizens demonstrating peacefully against injustice in Alabama, should outrage people of good will everywhere.

Behind this barbaric and sadistic outburst is the refusal of business men and city officials to grant modest demands previously agreed to, such as the desegregation of lunch counters, fountains, and rest rooms in downtown Birmingham.

More than fifteen hundred have been arrested in Birmingham, including more than five hundred teen-agers still in custody. Among those arrested yesterday was Guy Carawan, noted folk singer, and his wife. Carawan was arrested as he tried to enter a Negro church to provide music for the service. Police had ordered all whites to stay out of the church.

Nineteen "freedom-walkers" are in jail. Eight were arrested on May 1, one on May 2 at Attalla, and on the 3rd ten more from SNCC and CORE were arrested at the Georgia-Alabama line. All were charged with "disturbing the peace."

I was present when the first group of eight young people was arrested May 1, "Law Day." Marching single file along the shoulder of Highway Eleven, they had stopped for a red light in Attalla where four state highways converge.

They began their walk in memory of William Moore at about the spot where he had been murdered. The signs they wore, sandwich style, carried the legends "Love!," "All Men are Equal," "Love Thy Neighbor--Thou Shalt Not Kill." They attracted little attention during the 15 minutes they had been walking. There were no incidents.

When the light turned green, the pilgrims crossed the street where a state patrol car was waiting. In a few seconds the Sheriff's car charged up, along with other state cars. The signs were snatched off and placed in the trunk of one of the cars. With a crude command, "get in that car, boy," they were hustled off to the Etowah County Jail, where they are refusing bail, as are the 10 others in DeKalb County Jail.

ACTION:

Here is what you can do:

(1) Telegraph or write to The President, The Attorney General, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, all at Washington 25, District of Columbia; Governor George C. Wallace, Executive Mansion, Montgomery, Alabama; Mayor Albert Boutwell, City Hall, Birmingham, Alabama.

(2) Leaders of the Birmingham Movement ask that delegations of one or more be dispatched to Birmingham, May 16-18, to give moral support to the freedom movement and to picket the federal building; also Woolworth, Kress, Newberry, H.L. Green.

(3) Support the nationwide boycott of Woolworth, Kress, Newberry, H.L. Green. If any of these national chains have stores in your community, tell them how you feel about their segregated policy in the South.

(4) If you would like to write to the freedom-walkers: (For the nine arrested in Attalla, write to: Mrs. Diane Bevel, Etowah County Jail, Gadsden, Alabama.

(For the ten arrested at the Alabama-Georgia line, write to: Mr. John Robert Zellner, DeKalb County Jail, Fort Payne, Ala.

* * * * *

Following is a copy of our telegram to Governor Wallace on May 1st.

TODAY IN ATTALLA, ALABAMA, I WITNESSED A TRAGIC MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE. EIGHT YOUNG AMERICANS WALKING PEACEFULLY ALONG HIGHWAY ELEVEN WERE ARRESTED AND JAILED FOR TELLING PEOPLE TO LOVE EACH OTHER.

IN A SENSE THIS DEPRIVATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS IS MORE SHOCKING THAN THE MURDER OF WILLIAM MOORE BECAUSE IN THIS INSTANCE THE OFFENDERS ACTED UNDER COLOR OF LAW AS OFFICERS SWORN TO UPHOLD THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

WE CALL UPON YOU TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF ALL CITIZENS AND TO USE YOUR GOOD OFFICES TO SECURE THE RELEASE OF THESE YOUNG IDEALISTS WHOSE FORTHRIGHT WITNESS TO CONSCIENCE WILL BE REMEMBERED LONG AFTER THEIR JAILERS ARE FORGOTTEN.

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La. May 7, 1963

LOUISVILLE, Ky.--A man who was about to die in the electric chair one year ago is now expected to be free on parole by the end of 1964.

Robert Jones, Jr., a Negro, was saved from execution through the efforts of an interracial group called the Committee for Clemency for Jones and Brown.

He was granted a new trial by the Kentucky Court of Appeals after protests by the committee and by concerned people throughout the nation. The court cited errors in Jones's trial for armed robbery in December, 1961.

The court gave similar reasons for granting a new trial to John Brown Jr., a white man who was facing death for another armed robbery. He was given life in prison upon retrial, which means probable freedom on parole about five years hence.

In Jone's case, the man he had robbed dropped dead recently. The State offered to let him off with a sentence of 8 years, and he agreed. He will be credited with 13 months served in the Death House.

"This means that he will be eligible for parole in a year and a half," said Mrs. Verna Pfuhl, secretary of the Committee for clemency.

Leading members of the committee included Dr. M.M.D. Perdue and Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker, both members of the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), an interracial integrationist group based in New Orleans.

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La. May 7, 1963

LYNCHBURG, Va.---Interest in the case of Thomas Wansley, a Negro youth under sentence of death, has resulted in a movement to save the lives of four white men scheduled for execution.

It has also inspired the formation of a committee to end all capital punishment in Virginia. Meantime, the date of Wansley's execution was delayed indefinitely to allow time for an appeal to the Virginia Supreme Court.

An interracial committee called Death to Death was formed by persons who attended a hearing here May 2 on a plea for new trials for Wansley.

They integrated Corporation Court for the first time in history, in the wake of a U.S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated seating in courtrooms throughout the nation.

Courtroom segregation was one of the grounds on which Wansley's attorneys sought to win him new trials. It will now be one of the bases for appealing two death sentences and a 20-year prison term which he faces.

The youth is accused of raping and robbing a white woman who could not positively identify him, and with raping a Japanese woman with whom he said he had previous sexual relations.

Len Holt, Norfolk attorney, and William M. Kunstler, New York, told Judge O. Raymond Cundiff in a written motion that Wansley's previous attorney was ill when the youth was tried on Feb. 7 and 12. The attorney, Reuben Lawson, died March 23.

Holt and Kunstler noted that a tape recording was made of the trial on Feb. 7 because no court stenographer was available. They

said that this, combined with the death of Lawson, made it impossible to provide a record for appeal on which all parties could agree. Systematic exclusion of Negroes from the juries that tried Wansley is also a basis for appeal.

Judge Cundiff refused new trials on the ground that such a decision was now out of his hands. However, he did allow Wansley to appeal as a pauper. The youth was a dishwasher before his arrest last fall. His mother works as a maid to support herself and other children.

White students and professors from colleges in this area were among the integrated group at the May 2 hearing. Also present was Mrs. Greta Crosby, white minister of the Unitarian Church here and secretary of the Lynchburg Council on Human Relations.

She became secretary of Death to Death, which was formed after supporters of Wansley learned that four white men were awaiting execution in Virginia. Death to Death organized a delegation that visited Gov. Albertis Harrison at Richmond on behalf of these men and Wansley during the week of May 6.

The committee's address is P.O. Box 1152, Lynchburg. It will cooperate with the Wansley Defense Fund, which is heading the drive to save Wansley. Other groups working in his behalf are the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, New York; the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Atlanta, and the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), New Orleans.

Mrs. Crosby had questioned the whole concept of capital punishment in a letter to The Lynchburg News after the conviction of Wansley.

Her letter also raised the issue of "double justice," pointing out that no white man had ever been executed for rape in Virginia,

so far as could be determined. (The death sentence for rape has been traditionally reserved for Negroes in the South.)

"Would Wansley now be awaiting execution if he were white?" Mrs. Crosby asked in her letter. She developed this theme further in a sermon to members of her congregation. She asked them pointedly:

"If he had been your son or mine, do you think he would now be awaiting his execution? Would he not have been tried as a juvenile? Would he not have spent a long time in a mental institution under observation?

"...would a son of yours or mine under the same accusation and conviction now be waiting to die by our hand?"

Wansley himself was visited by Attorney Holt just before the May 2 hearing. He was in the Death House at Richmond with the four white men whose lives he has already affected. He told Holt:

"I want to thank everybody for their help. I hope that they will fix it so that what happened to me won't happen to anyone else ---either black or white."

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La.

May 8, 1963

LOUISVILLE, Ky.---The Louisville and Vicinity Baptist Ministers and Deacons Meeting voted to recruit people to join the demonstrations against racial segregation in Birmingham, Ala.

They acted in response to a request from Dr. Martin L. King, Jr. and other leaders in Birmingham for a mobilization there on May 16 and 18.

Dr. M.M.D. Perdue, a director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), New Orleans, was named chairman of a special committee to recruit participants from this area.

The committee also includes Dr. D. E. King, a director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Atlanta, which is headed by Dr. Martin L. King Jr.

Other committee members are the Rev. W.J. Hodge, a leader in the NAACP here; the Rev. C.B. Lucas, director of the Baptist Fellowship Center, and the Rev. J.V. Bottoms.

The ministers also voted to contact President John F.Kennedy and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and urge them to use the power of the Federal Government to protect the rights of Negro citizens in Alabama.

It was also voted to raise money in the churches in this area and send it to Birmingham to help finance the struggle there. Half the Negroes in Louisville are members of churches affiliated with the Ministers and Deacons Meeting.

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La. May 8, 1963

NEW ORLEANS, La.---The Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, leader of the integration movement in Birmingham, Ala., has been elected president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF).

He was chosen by the SCEF board of directors at a special election caused by the resignation of Bishop Edgar A. Love, Methodist bishop of Baltimore.

Bishop Love resigned as president on orders of his physician, but will remain on the board and active in the affairs of SCEF, a Southwide interracial group working to end segregation and discrimination. Aubrey W. Williams, Montgomery, Ala., will remain as president emeritus.

The Rev. Mr. Shuttlesworth has been president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights since it was founded in 1956 after the NAACP was outlawed in Alabama.

As leader of the struggles in Birmingham, he has been beaten and jailed numerous times. He and his family narrowly escaped death in 1956 when hoodlums destroyed their home with dynamite.

The SCEF board also added several new members to its number, including the Rev. James A. Zellner, Methodist minister in Panama City, Fla., and Mrs. Diane Bevel, Cleveland, Miss., former student leader in Nashville and now a key figure in the struggles in Alabama and Mississippi.

Mrs. Bevel is in jail in Gadsden, Ala., for taking part in a Freedom Walk as a memorial to William Moore, who was assassinated

on a highway near Gadsden.

The Rev. Mr. Zellner is the father of Bob Zellner, who is in jail at Fort Payne, Ala., for taking part in another Freedom Walk for Moore.

Young Zellner and Mrs. Bevel are both field workers for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), based in Atlanta.

Mrs. Bevel is under a two-year sentence in Mississippi for her part in the Freedom Rides, while Bob Zellner faces up to 25 years in prison for various charges in Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi.

Also elected to the SCEF board were Methodist Bishop Charles Golden, Nashville, and the Rev. Robert E. Seymour, Baptist minister in Chapel Hill, N.C. The Rev. James H. Curtis, minister of the Unitarian Church of Norfolk, Va., was named to the SCEF advisory committee.

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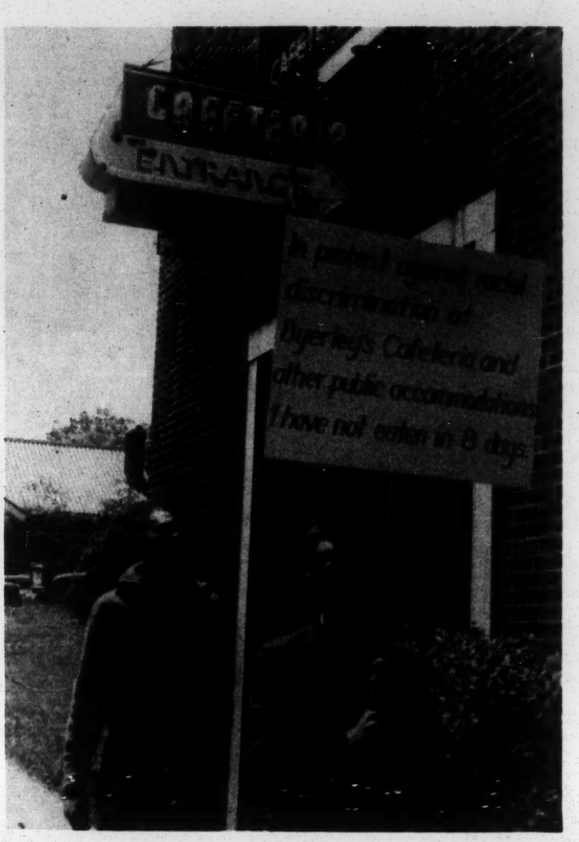
NEWS FROM
SOUTHERN CONFERENCE
EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
822 Perdido Street
New Orleans 12, La.

May 9, 1963



Philip Bacon and Marion Barry,Jr.

KNOXVILLE, Tenn.--A white graduate student at the University of Tennessee has become the symbol of the integration movement in this city.

He is Philip Bacon, pictured here with the sign he has been carrying in the University area and in downtown Knoxville. The sign announces the one-man fast Bacon has been carrying on as a protest against segregation and arrests of young student demonstrators here.

With Bacon in this picture is Marion S.Barry, Jr., a Negro student integration leader. Barry described Bacon as the "symbol of the Knoxville movement" in an article scheduled for publication in the May issue of The Southern Patriot.

"What is so unique about Knoxville and the University of Tennessee," Barry added, "is the number of white students who have joined the fight for equal rights for all. Two-thirds of the movement here is made up of white students."

Barry himself is a leader of the Southwide Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). He rose to leadership in the original student sit-ins in 1960, when he was a student at Fisk University in Nashville; he is now a graduate student at the University of Tennessee and is one of the founders of the interracial action group here, Student for Equal Treatment (SET).

The main target of the student movement here has been eating establishments around the University. Students began the campaign to integrate them in the fall of 1961, Barry reports. For an entire school year they attempted negotiation and persuasion, and five restaurants did open their doors last spring.

Two establishments, Byerley's and the Tennessean, adamantly refused, and last fall when the students returned to school they found that two of those which had integrated in the spring had reverted to their segregated policies. They then organized SET to engage in direct action.

Picketing, sit-ins, and stand-ins have been going on at the restaurants since January. There have been a number of arrests, and the restaurant owners have obtained injunctions against the demonstrators.

In April, when Knoxville was to receive an All-American City Award from Look Magazine, students demonstrated in protest. Students from Knoxville College, high school students, and townspeople joined University students in the demonstration. Forty-nine were arrested.

It was while he was in jail following this demonstration that Philip Bacon began his fast. He continued it after his release; a few days later he walked into the downtown area with his sign and was arrested for parading without a permit.

"Knoxville is beginning to move, and we hope to keep it moving," Barry wrote.

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NEWS from
SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La. May 15, 1963

LOUISVILLE, Ky.--Virtually all Negro churches in this community are joining in sponsorship of a mass meeting to be held here May 28 in support of the Birmingham, Ala., integration movement.

Main speakers will be the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth and the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, two of the key leaders in the recent Birmingham struggle.

Sponsors of the Louisville meeting have also invited the city's white churches and interracial religious groups to join in support of the meeting.

Purpose of the meeting will be to pledge moral support and raise funds for the Birmingham freedom movement and to provide Louisville citizens with an opportunity to hear a first-hand report of recent events in that city.

Negro ministers and laymen in Louisville had planned a pilgrimage to Birmingham in support of the movement there but called that off after a truce was reached there. They said, however, that they stood ready to proceed with the pilgrimage plans if leaders in Birmingham indicated that such expressions were needed in the future.

Initiator of the pilgrimage plans and the May 28 mass meeting is the Louisville and Vicinity Baptist Ministers and Deacons Meeting. Joining in sponsorship of the meeting are leaders of the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance and local A.M.E. Zion Churches headed by Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker.

The sponsors sent invitations to be co-sponsors to the Louisville Ministerial Association, the West End Ministerial Association, the Louisville Pastors Conference (all predominantly white groups) and the Jewish congregations of the city.

The Rev. M.M.D. Perdue, chairman of the planning committee for the meeting, said: "We want this to be an interdenominational and interracial occasion, a time when we all pledge our support to the brave people struggling for freedom in Birmingham.

"We see Birmingham as the symbol of the American Negro's yearning to be free, but we don't see this as a battle of black against white. It is a struggle of people of good will against injustice, and we are inviting our white brothers to join us in this effort."

The planning committee for the meeting represents a unity of representatives of several regional and national civil rights groups. Mr. Perdue is vice-chairman of Louisville CORE and a member of the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF); another leader of the committee, at whose church the meeting will be held, is Dr. D.E. King, noted churchman who has led many local civil rights efforts and is a member of the board of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) which has sparked the Birmingham struggle; another is the Rev. W.J. Hodge, Louisville NAACP leader. Bishop Tucker is chairman of Louisville CORE and also an SCEF board member.

Many church leaders in Louisville joined in the nationwide effort to get stronger Federal action in Birmingham. At the height of the crisis there, Bishop Tucker sent a telegram to President Kennedy in which he said:

"As one of the presiding bishops of the African Methodist

Episcopal Zion Church, with a constituency of 1,000,000 and a membership of 30,000 in Alabama, I implore you to employ the powers inherent in your high office to bring to an equitable consumation the deplorable situation in Birmingham.

"The use of dogs against men, women, and children clamoring for their constitutional rights is not in keeping with our boasted American civilization, and it is hard to realize, Mr. President, that this could happen in a civilized country."

In a telegram to the President the following day, Bishop Tucker told the Chief Executive that he could take action in Birmingham under Title 18, Section 242, of the U.S Code which says:

"Whoever, under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, wilfully subjects any inhabitant of any State, Territory, or District to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or to different punishments, pains, or penalties, on account of such inhabitant being an alien, or by reason of his color or race, than are prescribed for the punishment of citizens, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both."

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La.

May 22, 1963

PA LWDY SBV ML

(please ret. MA)

LOUISVILLE, Ky.---White Baptist ministers here have joined in supporting a mass meeting for May 29 for the Birmingham freedom fighters.

The rally will be in Convention Hall, which seats 7,500 persons and is in the heart of the downtown section. Featured speakers will be Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and his administrative assistant, the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, both of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Atlanta.

The Rev. Leo T. Crismon, clerk of the Louisville Baptist Pastors Conference, said the group "voted to pledge sympathy, prayer, and support for the meeting." The action by the white ministers was unanimous, Mr. Crismon added.

Wide local support of the Birmingham movement came in the wake of passage of a city ordinance banning discrimination by Louisville businesses that cater to the public.

One of the factors in gaining passage of the law was fear that demonstrations similar to those in Birmingham might break out here again.

The ordinance came after a three-year struggle which included the jailing of hundreds of demonstrators in Louisville during 1961 and 1962. At one time the city held the record for the number of persons jailed for demonstrating in one day.

Those who led the demonstrations and the fight for the ordinance were among initiators and early sponsors of the rally for the freedom fighters in Birmingham.

These include Dr. M. M. D. Perdue, Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker, and the Rev. Daniel J. Hughlett, all members of the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), and Miss Mary Pendleton.

Perdue and Tucker are also top officers of Louisville CORE; Hughlett is secretary of the Jefferson County Sunday School Association, and Miss Pendleton is a leader in the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and CORE.

Last January, Bishop Tucker threatened to lead a march on City Hall if the public-accommodations ordinance was not passed.

His threat caused a flurry of activity among liberals and moderates, who applied pressure to city officials and the Board of Aldermen. The vote for the measure was 8 to 3 and one alderman abstained.

Mayor William O. Cowger had come out in favor of the ordinance. He told Dr. Perdue, general chairman of the May 29th rally, that he also is supporting that effort.

#

NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12,La.

June 4, 1963

LWD ✓
PA ✓ VJ ✓
ML ✓
SB ✓

LYNCHBURG, Va.---Supporters of young Thomas Wansley are mystified by the arrest and sudden release of a white man who was accused of murdering a friend of Wansley's.

Wansley is under two death sentences, one on a charge of raping a white woman who could not positively identify him, the other on a charge of raping a Japanese woman.

At one of his trials in February, Wansley testified that he had sexual relations with the Japanese woman at least twice before the November date on which she said he raped her.

Wansley also testified that he was introduced to the woman by Sylvester Dickerson, 29, the business manager of a dance band. Dickerson was found stabbed to death in a field north of here on January 3, five weeks before Wansley's trial.

On May 7, Elmon Baldwin was transferred from his job at a bus-station restaurant here to another restaurant in Charlottesville, Virginia. Nine days later he was arrested and charged with murdering Dickerson. Authorities refused to give out any details. Baldwin is 20 and a native of Mississippi.

The Rev. Virgil A. Wood, leader in a movement to save Wansley from death, hailed Baldwin's arrest as a most significant development in unraveling the Wansley case.

On May 29, the charge against Baldwin was dropped in court at Amherst, Va. He had been arraigned there because Dickerson's body was found in neighboring Amherst County.

(more)

Adding to the mystery surrounding Dickerson's death is the way it has been reported in the press here. When Wansley testified about Dickerson introducing him to the Japanese woman, the local newspapers did not mention that Dickerson had been murdered. They merely stated that he was dead.

In reporting Baldwin's arrest, the press did not mention that the victim of the slaying (Dickerson) had any connection with the Wansley case.

The newspapers here have also carried on a campaign to discredit any person working in behalf of Wansley. This has mostly been done by smearing the leadership, including Mr. Wood and Wansley's attorney, Len Holt.

Another leader in the movement to save Wansley is Mrs. Greta Crosby, the white Unitarian minister here. She was one of a delegation who visited Gov. Albertis Harrison in Richmond early in May. The Governor assured the group that he would see that nobody was executed in Virginia as a result of racial prejudice.

Mrs. Crosby also helped to organize a committee called Death to Death to work for an end of capital punishment in Virginia.

Wansley's execution has been indefinitely postponed to give his attorneys a chance to appeal. Holt is working with William M. Kunstler, New York attorney employed by the Gandhi Society for Human Rights.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Atlanta, and the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), New Orleans, are among other organizations assisting in efforts to save Wansley from the chair.

#

NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La.

June 13, 1963

LWD
VJ
PA
SB
BP

NEW ORLEANS, La.---The Executive Committee of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) voted full support of President Kennedy's proposals for ending racial discrimination. A telegram pledging such support was sent to the White House.

At a special meeting here, the leaders of the integrationist organization urged Kennedy to hold fast to his proposals and "to cope creatively with the problem of unemployment and the need for job training."

The Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham leader and president of SCEF, said the group also asked Kennedy to push for legislation empowering the Justice Department to file suit in any violation of constitutional rights.

"We urge you not to be swayed by the noisy voices of the past coming from the Southern Dixiecrats, acting in alliance with conservative Republicans," SCEF told Kennedy.

"Instead throw your weight fully with the thousands of Southerners, many of them silent, who can represent the voice of the future and will respond to leadership from you on a program that is to the benefit of all of us, Negro and white. This is the time for the voice of the President to be heard throughout the land."

While he was here for the Executive Committee meeting, threats were made to bomb Mr. Shuttlesworth's home in Cincinnati, and a police guard was placed around the residence. He pastors a church in Cincinnati but maintains voting residence in Birmingham.

#

Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La.

June 18, 1963

GBV

ACTION MEMO

FROM: Jim Dombrowski

TO: Friends Everywhere

RE: Danville, Va.; Cambridge, Md.; National Legislation

SCEF has been requested to ask your aid in freedom struggles now taking place in Danville, Va., and Cambridge, Md. Leaders in those cities believe their cause will be helped by protests from people in other parts of the nation. Here is the situation in each of those places and what you can do to help:

Danville, Va.--Police here have proved to be as brutal as those anywhere in the South. On Monday, June 10, they beat 28 Negro and white demonstrators with specially made clubs which split open people's heads and faces and broke their bones. Young women hit in the face will be disfigured.

A state court issued an injunction against further demonstrations. Those arrested under it include two members of the board of directors of SCEF, the Rev. A.I. Dunlap and Leonard W. Holt. Mr. Dunlap and two other leaders have also been charged with inciting to riot.

Dozens of persons have been arrested for violating a hurriedly enacted ordinance limiting demonstrations. Conviction could result in a 12-month jail sentence.

This law limits the number of demonstrators to six walking ten feet apart, and it bars picketing after business hours. Persons under 18 are forbidden to demonstrate. This is clearly a violation of liberties guaranteed under the First and 14th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution.

The Danville demonstrators seek equal access to all places that serve the public; the employment of Negroes as policemen and firemen, and the right to jobs in industry on an equal basis. The Mayor has even refused to discuss these requests.

Action requested: Letters, wires, calls, or personal contact with President John F. Kennedy at the White House and to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy at the Justice Department in Washington, D.C.; same to Gov. Albertis Harrison, Executive Mansion, Richmond, Va., and Mayor Julian R. Stinson, Municipal Building, Danville, Va.

* * * * *

Cambridge, Md.--For 18 months the Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee (CNAC) has carried on action aimed at breaking down segregation in places that cater to the public. Demonstrators also want equal job opportunities and fairhousing in this city, described as one of the most segregated in the South.

Recently the protests have taken the form of marches by 200 to 500 people to the Courthouse. These have included the very young as well as adults. Many have been arrested. Two 15-year-old leaders in the movement, Dwight Cromwell and Miss Dinez White, have been put in juvenile reform schools.

This resulted in increased protests by Negroes and white sympathizers. Last Tuesday night, several Negro girls were chased into the Negro section of the city by about 50 whites. The resulting disturbance caused the governor to send in the state militia.

Action requested: Protests to Governor J. Millard Tawes at the Executive Mansion, Annapolis, Md., and to Mayor Calvin Mowbray at City Hall, Cambridge, Md. Urge them to grant the demonstrators' requests for fair treatment and to guarantee their right to protest without harassment. Especially ask the release of the two young people, Miss White and Mr. Cromwell.

National Legislation

We also urge you to work diligently in the next few weeks for passage of national civil-rights legislation. Because of a new sense of urgency throughout the nation, this is the year to get passage of strong laws.

However, counter pressure is already building up from the Southern Dixiecrats and conservative Republicans. We cannot take passage of new legislation for granted. It is important that every person who wants such laws on the books should contact his U.S. Representative and Senators and get his friends to do so.

The President has proposed legislation forbidding discrimination in all places catering to the public and empowering the Department of Justice to act where constitutional rights are violated. The SCEF Executive Committee has urged the inclusion of legislation providing for equal employment opportunities, job training, and fair housing practices.

#

Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La.

July 23, 1963

ACTION MEMO

TO: Friends and Organizations Everywhere

FROM: The SCEF Staff

IN RE: Aaron Henry; Danville, Va.,; Greenville, Miss.

The Mississippi Supreme Court has taken the unusual action of reversing one of its own decisions. This was done in the case of Aaron Henry, Mississippi NAACP president, who had been sentenced on a trumped-up morals charge.

The court's action is one of the most blatant instances of the manipulation of the courts by the segregationists in the South.

On June 3 the State Supreme Court held that Henry's conviction was illegal because the police chief in Clarksdale had searched his car illegally. Six weeks later the court reversed itself on the ground that Henry's lawyers had not raised the question of illegal search in the trial court.

Henry and his attorneys must now carry the case to the U.S. Supreme Court in an effort to get justice. Here is the way Henry describes the situation:

"Just how and what is behind the action of the Mississippi Supreme Court is not too difficult to understand. You know it is rumored that the death of Medgar Evers was the result of the toss of a coin--heads, Medgar; tails, Aaron.

"The State of Mississippi is still trying to destroy us both--Medgar physically and Aaron Morally. However, the death of Medgar has served as a great impulse to the freedom movement. I feel that to some extent my persecutions are having a similar effect.

"I think that this action by the State Supreme Court, yielding to the White Citizens Council or whoever the pressure bringers were, should be brought to the attention of the nation."

You are urged to help by writing to the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice and to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, both Washington 25, D.C.. Urge them to join Henry's attorneys in asking the U.S. Supreme Court to reverse the Mississippi Supreme Court's reversal of its own decision. Get your friends and organizations to do likewise.

* * *

The struggle in Danville, Va., continues to be deadlocked. City officials refuse to negotiate with leaders of the movement there, despite protests from all over the nation.

Leaders of the movement in Danville believe that city officials will act only when prodded enough by the people who hold the

economic power in that city. It happens that Dan River Mills employs 9,700 in that city of 47,000 and is by far the largest employer in that area. Its hiring practices have been under attack by the demonstrators.

The president of the mills, William J. Erwin, is chairman of the Danville mayor's advisory committee on race relations, but this has not resulted in any gains for the people who have been picketing and going to jail for almost three months. Leaders of the movement in Danville ask you to do the following:

1. Refuse to buy clothing and other material made from Dan River Fabrics. There are usually tags on cotton goods showing whether they are made of these fabrics. Often the goods are sold under the names of Wrinkl-Shed; Wrinkl-Shed with Danpel, and Wrinkl-Shed with Dri-Don. Sometimes the tag simply says Dan River Fabrics. Watch for tags and labels with those names and don't buy until our friends in Danville are accorded decent treatment. They are asking for the opening of all places that cater to the public; city jobs for Negroes on an equal basis, and fair hiring practices at industries and stores in the area.

2. Write to William J. Erwin, president of Dan River Mill, Danville, Va., and tell him you are not buying his products. Urge him to usehis influence with city officials.

* * * *

Greenville, Miss., has been the scene of demonstrations for almost a month. Greenville is relatively liberal for a Mississippi city, so nobody has been jailed for demonstrating. However, fifty persons have been arrested for sitting in at lunch counters and similar places. All are free under bond.

Leaders of the movement there want their friends elsewhere to write to Mayor George Archer and the City Council, City Hall; the Chamber of Commerce, Washington Street; the County Board of Supervisors, Washington County Courthouse, and Hodding Carter, editor of the Delta Democrat-Times, all in Greenville, Ask them to use their influence to open public parks and lunch counters to all citizens; hire Negro firemen, and induce the merchants to employ Negroes on an equal basis. These are the chief demands of the movement there.

Greenville leaders also want the Mayor and City Council to start their own drive for voter registration instead of leaving it to groups of citizens. The Greenville Student Movement is leading the demonstrations and the Negro Citizens Committee is negotiating with city officials. They believe they will do a lot better if they have some help from outside. So write today.

* * * * *

Those of you who protested the harassment of Herman Taylor, N.C. civil rights attorney, will be pleased to know that the U.S. Court of Appeals in Baltimore has set aside the order for his imprisonment on a charge of failing to pay a fine for income-tax evasion. The lower court in N.C. was ordered to review the whole matter.

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La.

WBV
SBV

July 23, 1963

JACKSON, Miss.----A rare action by the Mississippi Supreme Court has brought new protests about the kind of justice meted to integration leaders in this state.

The court reversed itself and upheld the sentencing of Aaron Henry, state NAACP president, on a trumped-up morals charge. The judges had previously freed Henry on the ground that his car had been illegally searched by the police chief at Clarksdale, where Henry lives.

In reversing their own decision, the judges said the search was illegal butthat Henry's lawyers failed to raise objection to the search during testimony in the trial court. The attorneys therefore lost their right to object, the high court declared.

The latter point was brought to the attention of the judges by the state attorney general's office. After the judges reversed their reversal, the attorney general's office crowed:

"This is the first time in modern history that a suggestion of error has been sustained in behalf of the state, after a criminal conviction had been earlier reversed."

Henry said: "Just how and what is behind the actions of the Mississippi Supreme Court is not too difficult to understand, You know it is rumored that the death of Medgar Evers was the result of the toss of a coin---heads, Medgar; tails, Aaron.

"The State of Mississippi is still trying to destroy us both---Medgar physically and Aaron morally. However, the death of Medgar has served as a great impulse to the freedom movement. I feel that to some extent my persecutions are having a similar effect.

"I think that this action of the State Supreme Court, yielding to the White Citizens Council or whoever the pressure bringers were, should be brought to the attention of the nation."

The Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), New Orleans, has asked friends and supporters throughout the nation to join the protests against the court's action.

Protests are being sent to the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice and to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, both in Washington.

These agencies are being asked to petition the U.S. Supreme Court to reverse the Mississippi Supreme Court's reversal of its own decision.

Henry's attorneys are preparing his personal petition for review to the U.S. Supreme Court.

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La. July 23, 1963

BALTIMORE, Md.--The U.S. Court of Appeals has set aside a lower court order that sent Herman Taylor to jail. Concern about the case had been expressed by people across the nation.

Taylor is a North Carolina civil-rights attorney who was charged with income-tax evasion after he filed a suit to speed school integration in Raleigh, where he lives.

He was sentenced to two years in prison but was granted probation on condition that he pay a $20,000 fine in 30 days. When it came time to pay the fine, he did not have the money.

U.S. District Judge Edwin M. Stanley, Greensboro, N.C., immediately revoked the probation and sent Taylor to prison. There was such an outcry that the Court of Appeals ordered Taylor's release and agreed to review Stanley's order.

The appeals judges suggested in their reversal order that Stanley should consider the possibility of letting Taylor pay the fine over the five-year period of his probation. They said that any part still owed after that time could be collected through liens.

Taylor's case was argued by Len Holt, Norfolk, Va., member of the Legal Committee of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, New Orleans, and a member of the National Lawyers Guild's Committee to Aid Southern Lawyers.

Holt's services were made available without cost to Taylor.

#

NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La. July 23, 1963

WILLIAMSTON, N.C.---Integration leaders here plan to test a city ordinance limiting the number of pickets downtown. They say that such a law is in violation of their right to peaceable assembly under the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

About 200 persons have been demonstrating daily for several weeks in this town of 7,000 in Eastern North Carolina. Among the leaders are two who fought segregation in Edenton, about 35 miles from here, in a struggle that lasted many months.

They are Golden Frinks, field secretary, and the Rev. Fred LaGarde, regional representative, Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The local leader of the movement is Mrs. Sarah Small.

They reported that three drugstores integrated their lunch counters but one later backslid. A biracial committee has been set up by the city but a swimming pool leased by the city has been closed.

"Everybody is now equally deprived of it," LaGarde said. He reported that 51 persons have been arrested for sitting-in but the judge delayed sentencing till August 29.

"They don't want to arrest us," LaGarde added. "We had a sit-down on the sidewalk in front of City Hall and nobody was arrested. We are confident of early victory."

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LWD
~~VJ~~
SB

NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La. August 7, 1963

NEW ORLEANS, La.--The Hon. John M. Coe, vice-president of SCEF, for 46 years a member of the bar in Pensacola, Florida, testified before the House Judiciary Committee in support of H.R. 7328, the Administration Civil Rights Bill.

Mr. Coe told the committee the Public Accommodations provisions of the bill were important because they "lay the basis for a change of customs, and public education in racial equality."

In enacting such requirements, said Mr. Coe, "We are taking no revolutionary step, but merely applying the ancient common law doctrine of the duties of innkeepers to other businesses similarly affected with the public interest."

"It is an ironic fact," said Coe, "that one of the leading cases in the United States on the doctrine of the innkeepers duty to receive all orderly comers who could pay his price comes from Alabama."

Mr. Coe advocated that these provisions be extended to "all businesses for public accomodation licensed under the laws of any state, territory, or the District of Columbia."

On the subject of elections, Mr. Coe stated that Rep. Kastenmeier's approach was preferable to that of the Administration because it would enforce the right to vote in State as well as Federal elections.

> "It is of little consequence to Negroes who is senator or Congressman, but of vital importance to them who is sheriff, because oppression springs from local officers who are near at hand, and responsive to a highly prejudiced local constituency."

The Florida lawyer urged that in drafting the administrative provisions of the bill, "the realm of discretion reposed in local officers (including Federal District Judges) be curtailed as drastically as the law permits because they respond to time honored prejudices, even though in their hearts they know them to be outmoded and unjust."

New Orleans Attorney Benjamin E. Smith, treasurer of SCEF, also appeared before the Judiciary Committee in testimony on H.R. 7328.

#

NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, La. 70112

Sept. 6, 1963

LOUISVILLE, Ky.---Dr. M. M. D. Perdue, 69, one of the South's outstanding civil-rights leaders, died here Sept. 4. He had suffered a stroke Aug. 27 after helping to organize Kentucky's delegation for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

Dr. Perdue was unable to go with the delegation because he was feeling ill. His wife, Mrs. Marie Speed Perdue, went in his place. The delegation was on the way to Washington when Dr. Perdue was stricken.

The noted minister had devoted his life to the struggle for freedom and justice for his people. He was a lifelong member of the NAACP; a member of the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, New Orleans, and vice-chairman of Louisville CORE.

Tribute was paid to Dr. Perdue by one of his closest friends, the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president of SCEF and of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, Birmingham.

Mr. Shuttlesworth had hoped to be in Louisville to speak at Dr. Perdue's funeral but the school crisis in Birmingham kept him in that city. Mr. Shuttlesworth said:

"The South has lost a great statesman and the nation a mighty warrior. Having worked so long and so hard for realization of the American dream, I am sure he died satisfied that his labors were on the way to fulfillment."

Dr. Perdue was a leader in the Interracial Hospital Movement, which played a major role in opening Kentucky hospitals to all citizens. He led a march on Frankfort, the state capitol, in

connection with this campaign in 1951.

He was a former chairman of the Militant Church Movement, which worked for many years to open public facilities to all. Dr. Perdue also headed the Committee for Democratic Schools, which sought to integrate schools in Kentucky before the U.S. Supreme Court outlawed school segregation in 1954.

In 1954 and 1955, he was co-chairman of the Wade Defense Committee, along with Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker, another member of the SCEF board. This committee was formed to protect the right of a Negro couple, Mr. and Mrs. Andrew E. Wade IV, to live in a previously all-white neighborhood in Louisville.

In 1960 Dr. Perdue helped to organize a rally which resulted in demonstrations against segregated theaters and restaurants in Louisville. The demonstrations, accompanied by hundreds of arrests, eventually resulted in passage of a public accommodations ordinance in Louisville this year.

Dr. Perdue was pastor of Emmanuel Baptist Church, a fast-growing institution in Louisville's West End. His father, the late Dr. John H. Perdue, served the church as pastor from 1898 to 1938, when Dr. M.M.D. Perdue became pastor.

The minister was also a retired U.S. Army Chaplain. He held a doctorate of divinity from Simmons University here. He was at one time an instructor at the university and was on the school's board of trustees at the time of his death.

Before returning to Louisville in 1938, he was pastor of churches in several Kentucky cities; Grand Rapids, Michigan; Colorado Springs and Pueblo, Colorado; Xenia, Ohio, and Indianapolis, Indiana.

#

NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, La. 70112 Sept. 17, 1963

KNOXVILLE, Tenn.---Federal District Judge Robert L. Taylor has refused to remove the cases against Highlander Center workcampers from the state courts and take them into his court.

The eight defendants had asked Judge Taylor to do this because they claim their rights under the U.S. Constitution have been violated. They say they cannot get a fair trial in the state courts in Blount County, where the integrated group was arrested.

They also say that they believe they will be in physical danger if required to go back to Blount County for trial. The cases are now set for trial in the second week in December.

The defendants are some of the young people, white and Negro, from the North and South, who were assembled by Highlander Center this summer to begin work on a new conference center in the Smoky Mountains.

Highlander Center, now located here in Knoxville, is carrying on in the tradition of Highlander Folk School, which was for many years an adult education center at Monteagle, Tenn., training leaders in the integration movement. The state of Tennessee succeeded in closing the folk school in 1961, and later its main building was burned.

But Highlander supporters envisioned a new Highlander "rising like a phoenix from the ashes." In its early days this summer, the Smoky Mountain workcampers made good progress--clearing land,

raising tents, and beginning work on an amphitheater. Then all twenty-seven campers were arrested by the Blount County sheriff's force in a 3 a.m. raid. Charges were placed against eight of them.

The charges included disorderly conduct, "lewdness" against one girl, possession of whiskey against two persons, and contributing to the delinquency of minors against the adult directors.

All of the campers deny the charges and maintain that the real purpose of the raid was an attempt to destroy the new Highlander.

Blount County is a Ku Klux Klan stronghold, and the Klan meets openly on the courthouse lawn in Maryville, the county seat. This is one reason the defendants cited in asking that the cases be moved to Federal court in Knoxville.

The director of Highlander, Myles Horton, and his attorney, Edward D. Lynch, declare that they were beaten by a white man in a Maryville restaurant soon after the raid. The beginnings of the camp site were burned at night by unknown persons about the same time.

Such incidents indicate the tension in Maryville, Horton said. It is reported that the Ku Klux Klan membership in the area has increased by 400 per cent since the Highlander raid.

#

NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, La. 70112 Sept. 17, 1963

LOUISVILLE, Ky.---Federal indictment of integration leaders in Albany, Ga., is apparently "a bone" thrown to the segregationists by the Kennedy Administration, a noted civil rights attorney said here.

William M. Kunstler, of New York, who is one of the lawyers in the Albany Case, said this was his "suspicion."

Addressing a meeting sponsored by the Kentucky Civil Liberties Union, he added: "I'm afraid they are looking to the 1964 elections. When the Kennedys are attacked by the segregationists, they can say, 'Look, we arrested these people in Albany too; we are not one-sided.'"

The Albany indictments were brought by a U.S. grand jury in August. It was the first time that the Federal Government has filed felony charges against persons active in the civil-rights movement.

Three leaders of the Albany Movement are charged with "conspiring to injure or influence a Federal juror": six others are charged with committing perjury before the grand jury investigating the case. Both charges carry long sentences upon conviction.

The charges were made after the Albany Movement organized a boycott of a grocery operated by a white man, Carl Smith, in a all-Negro neighborhood. Smith had been a juror in a damage suit brought by a Negro against a sheriff who he claimed beat him

while he was under arrest. Smith voted with a majority of the jury that ruled against the Negro and in favor of the sheriff. He claimed that this vote was why his tore was boycotted; he closed the store as a result of the boycott.

Leaders in the Movement say the real reason the store was boycotted was Smith's refusal to hire Negro clerks and his treatment of Negro customers. They point out that other stores were boycotted at the same time.

Kunstler said: "In all the long months of the Albany Movement--when the constitutional rights of the Negroes were being violated--not a single Federal indictment was made. Now when the Federal government finally indicts someone, it is the movement leaders."

It is a "sinister and dangerous trend" that will have an effect in communities far beyond Albany, he said.

He added that he could not believe the indictments were just the doing of local jurors and prosecutor either. He pointed out that announcement of the charges was made by the Justice Department in Washington, an unusual procedure.

He also declared that the indictments were "carefully timed," coming just after Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., had told the press he might be going back to Albany.

The defendants were carefully chosen too, he said, noting that they included the past president of the Albany Movement, the current president and secretary, a minister who has been one of the most militant leaders, a 19-year-old representative

of young student participation, and a white student from the North.

"This is one person from several different groups that took part in the movement," he noted. "It's made a big difference in Albany. People are frightened and they look defeated. Nobody knows who may be indicted next."

He added that he thought indictment of the Northern students would make many Northern parents refuse to let their sons and daughters go south to work in the integration movement. In fact some have already written their children to come home.

"It's one thing to face state charges, usually misdemeanors with small sentences," he said. "It's very different when it's a federal charge and a felony."

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido St., New Orleans, La. (70112)

Sept. 25, 1963

NEW ORLEANS, LA.--Two noted civil-rights workers have been added to the staff of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), an integrationist group with its main offices here.

One is Miss Ella J. Baker, Atlanta, former director of branches for NAACP and formerly executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). She will be based in Atlanta.

The other is John R. Salter, Jr., Jackson, Miss., who had a leading role in picketing and demonstrations in that city last winter and spring. He was beaten and arrested several times.

Salter will maintain an office in Raleigh, N.C., where he and his wife and infant daughter now live. He and Carl Braden, who has been with SCEF six years, will be field organizers.

Miss Baker will be special consultant to SCEF, working on various specific projects from time to time. Mrs. Anne Braden will be editor of the Southern Patriot, an integration journal published by SCEF. Editorial offices will continue to be in Louisville, where the Bradens are based.

The Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, SCEF president, said that Miss Baker and Salter will make a tour of Western and Midwestern states this fall to arouse support for civil-rights legislation pending in Congress.

Miss Baker is a native of Norfolk, Va., who was reared in Virginia and North Carolina. She was with NAACP for many years, and returned to the South as executive director for SCLC. She has worked closely with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and will continue to do so.

Salter is a graduate of Arizona State University. He taught sociology at Wisconsin State College and was professor of social studies at Tougaloo Southern Christian College, Tougaloo, Miss., until recently.

He was formerly with the International Chemical Workers Union. His wife, Mrs. Eldri Salter, has also been active in the integration movement. Their daughter, Maria, narrowly missed being killed when Mississippi hoodlums fired a bullet through the window of her bedroom last winter.

NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido St., New Orleans, La. 70112
Issued Through News & Editorial Offices,
4403 Virginia Ave., Louisville, Ky. 40211

Oct. 5, 1963

NEW ORLEANS, La.--State and city police raided offices of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) and arrested two of its top officers on Oct. 4. All records of the organization were seized.

Civil-rights leaders across the nation immediately protested this action against SCEF, which is a Southwide group working to end segregation and discrimination. The protests were led by the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, SCEF president and leader of the movement in Birmingham, Ala., and by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Atlanta, Ga.

Those arrested were Dr. James A. Dombrowski, SCEF executive director; Benjamin E. Smith, treasurer of the group, and Bruce Waltzer, Smith's law partner. They were later paroled by State Judge J. Bernard Cox pending filing of formal charges.

Homes of all three men were ransacked and boxes full of personal papers and books were seized. Smith and Waltzer's law offices were also stripped of files having anything to do with SCEF business.

Dombrowski, Smith, and Waltzer were charged with "operating a Communist conspiracy" in violation of a state sedition law. A spokesman for the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities said the raids and arrests followed a year-long investigation of SCEF by the committee.

The Rev. Mr. Shuttlesworth said: "We recognize this as part of a three-state conspiracy in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, our

three most backward states, to frustrate the drive for freedom by civil-rights organizations. We expect more of these attacks on all civil-rights groups and all persons working for full freedom.

"Evidence of the three-state conspiracy includes the testimony of Governor Wallace of Alabama and Governor Barnett of Mississippi before Congress this summer, in which they sought to label all civil-rights organizations as subversive and vilified their leaders.

"More recent evidence is the fact that an Alabama legislative committee on subversion has invited Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and myself to appear before it.

"The tendency has been and still is to label anybody communistic and subversive who seeks in a righteous way to uphold the principles embodied in the Constitution of the United States. It should be made clear that, to a segregationist, integration means nothing else but communism or subversion.

"Certain persons operating under the guise of super-Americanism will stop at nothing and will do anything to bolster the crumbling walls of segregation. But civil-rights forces are not about to be stopped in their march toward freedom. The segregationists are riding the last coach on the last train on the last track to nowhere and are getting there slowly."

In Atlanta, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee wired President Kennedy, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, and the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington. SNCC declared that the action against SCEF "can only be termed an act of despotism."

"State sedition laws under which these person were arrested were outlawed by the U.S. Supreme Court seven years ago," SNCC noted. "This is another demonstration of the lawlessness and defiance of authority by the segregationists."

#

NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido St., New Orleans, La. 70112

Issued Through News & Editorial Offices,
4403 Virginia Ave., Louisville, Ky. 40211

Oct. 6, 1963
(Also see Oct. 5 release)

ATLANTA, Ga.---Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. denounced the police raid on headquarters of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, New Orleans, and asked U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to intervene.

He sent a telegram urging Kennedy "most urgently to take action to stop this additional harassment and intimidation of civil-rights organizations and their supporters."

In a statement to the news media concerning the raid and the arrest of SCEF officers, Dr. King described SCEF as "a courageous civil-rights organization." Dr. King, who is president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), said in part:

"...This appears to be another phase in a continuing effort by hard-core racists to place responsibility for integration in the South on Communist influence...Such smear tactics against efforts to bring about true brotherhood of man in the South have shown signs of increasing intensity during recent months.

"This breach of federal law, which was clearly established by the U.S. Supreme Court in April, 1956, calls for immediate action by federal authorities. Such tactics of harassment will not deter the march for freedom in the South and the nation, but will serve to point up most vividly the acute need for federal laws to protect all freedom-loving citizens."

Dr. King's reference to the Supreme Court decision of 1956 concerned the ruling by which the court declared state laws against sedition and subversion to be null and void.

The high court held that such matters were the responsibility of the Federal Government, and that laws of this kind could be misused by the states. Persons charged with sedition in Kentucky and Massachusetts were freed as a result of this decision, which arose out of a case in Pennsylvania.

#

NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, La. 70112

Issued Through News and Editorial Offices,
4403 Virginia Ave., Louisville, Ky. 40211

Oct. 16, 1963

BLUEFIELD, W. Va.---An immediate end to racial segregation and discrimination in the Bluefield area was demanded at a meeting of 250 Bluefield State College students and other citizens.

They advocated and endorsed nonviolent direct action (N.V.D.A.) of a continuous and intensive nature---including picketing, sit-ins, and mass marches. A strategy meeting was set to plan for action.

John R. Salter Jr., a field organizer for the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), was one of the main speakers at the rally. He told how action was organized at Jackson, Miss., where Salter was beaten and arrested several times for his part in demonstrations.

Salter declared that the racial situation in Bluefield was a "serious and sorry blight" on the community and on the state. "Several civil-rights organizations are becoming quite interested in Bluefield," he said.

"If you are arrested," Salter told the students, "fill up the jails. If there is brutality, intensify the demonstrations and continue to fill up the jails. Whatever happens, continue the movement until full equality is won."

One student leader said: "On the basis of what demonstrations have secured in other sections of the country, we feel that they can be most successful in Bluefield."

Salter declared that the students are the "real heroes" and the spearhead of the civil rights movement in the South.

#

NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.,
822 Perdido St., New Orleans, La. 70112

Issued Through News and Editorial Offices,
4403 Virginia Ave., Louisville, Ky. 40211

Oct. 16, 1963

NEW ORLEANS, La.---Church, labor, and professional groups here have joined in denouncing police raids on offices of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) and its officers.

The White Citizens Council applauded the raids, which were followed by the arrest of two top officers of SCEF, an interracial group working for integration and civil rights.

The raids and arrests were protested in a statement by the Louisiana State University at New Orleans chapter of the American Association of University Professors.

The chapter said it "denounces laws authorizing sudden arrests and confiscation of property and records apparently for political reasons and in disregard of the Bill of Rights..."

It added: "This chapter stands firmly committed to the American principles and rights guaranteed by our constitution and in favor of an atmosphere free from intimidation, without which the freedom of inquiry essential for education is not possible."

On the other hand, the White Citizens Council declared that "a blow for freedom" had been struck by the raids and the arrest of Dr. James A. Dombrowski, SCEF executive director; Benjamin E. Smith, treasurer of the fund, and Bruce Waltzer, Smith's law partner. They are charged with "participating in the management of a subversive organization."

The W.C.C. had special praise for the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, which instigated the raids. The

segregationist group said the committee should be proud of attacks on it by the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, SCEF president; Carl Braden, SCEF field organizer and information director, and the Louisiana branch of the American Civil Liberties Union. Smith is counsel for the branch.

The Rabbinical Council of New Orleans declared: "We denounce the subversive practices of sudden arrests and immediate confiscation of property and records..."

The rabbis also endorsed the statement of the ACLU Louisiana branch, which called the raids "a dangerous act of political repression committed by our state government." It said the law under which charges were filed "is an unconstitutional device designed to inhibit the flow of free ideas and free speech."

Other groups denouncing the committee action were the board of First Unitarian Church; the Ideal Baptist Missionary Association; the Louis A. Martinet Legal Society; the Interdenominational Ministers Alliance, and Local 857, Intl. Longshoremen & Warehousemen's Union.

The local protests followed those by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Atlanta, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Atlanta, and other civil-rights groups and leaders throughout the nation.

Protests from all over the country are going to U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.; Gov. Jimmie Davis, Baton Rouge, La., and Mayor Victor Schiro, New Orleans.

Officials here had not expected such reaction to the raids and were losing some of their early enthusiasm for the action by the state committee.

The committee said it will hold hearings "before long" to evaluate material seized in the raids. A van was used to haul away all the records kept in the main office of SCEF here. Records and papers were also seized at Smith and Waltzer's law offices and at homes of the arrested men.

#

Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

NEWS & EDITORIAL OFFICES

4403 VIRGINIA AVENUE, LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY 40211 • Area Code 502 774-3331

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Oct. 22, 1963

Dear Friends:

You have no doubt heard that our main office in New Orleans was raided by city and state police on Oct. 4. Our executive director, Dr. James A. Dombrowski; our treasurer, Mr. Benjamin E. Smith, and Smith's law partner, Mr. Bruce C. Waltzer, were arrested and held in jail several hours.

The charge against them is "participating in the management of a subversive organization." The only "subversive" thing they have done is to work for integration and civil rights all over the South.

A request for intervention by the Attorney General of the U. S. has been made by Dr. Martin L. King Jr., the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, the American Civil Liberties Union, and many other concerned groups and individuals.

The sedition statute under which our officers were arrested was outlawed by the U.S. Supreme Court in a Pennsylvania case in 1956. This resulted in dropping of similar charges against individuals in Kentucky, Massachusetts, and Louisiana.

The enclosed fact sheet will show that the raid and the arrests are a threat to every organization working for integration and civil rights. We therefore ask you to join in a petition to the Attorney General of the U.S. We are assembling these petitions in our main office in New Orleans; we'd appreciate your signing the enclosed and returning it to New Orleans in the enclosed envelope as quickly as possible. Thank you very much.

Sincerely, F. L. Shuttlesworth

The Rev. F.L. Shuttlesworth, President

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A Petition To The Attorney General of The United States

To the Attorney General of the United States:

The undersigned organizations, through their officers, urgently request you to intervene in the case of the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities versus Southern Conference Educational Fund of New Orleans and its officers.

This committee has caused raids to be made and has brought about the arrest of two officers of this organization because they have been working for civil rights and civil liberties. This committee, like the House Un-American Activities Committee in Washington, seeks to equate integration of the races with "subversion."

The American people are tired of hearing the cry of "Red" every time they seek their just rights under the U.S. Constitution. We earnestly urge you to join in stopping this effort of the Louisiana committee to destroy and disrupt an organization working for integration and civil rights.

_____

Name of Organization

_____

Street Address or P.O. Box City State ZIP Code

_____

Officers and Titles

_____

Officers and Titles

_____

Officers and Titles

FACT SHEET ON THE RAID AND ARRESTS

Conducted by State and City Police at SCEF New Orleans Headquarters at the Behest of the Louisiana Committee on Un-American Activities October 4, 1963

THE CHARGES: Violation of Louisiana Revised Statute Title 14, Section 388 **et seq.** "The Subversive Activities and Communist Control Law" and Section 390 **et seq.** "The Communist Propaganda Control Act" by "organizing between themselves and with other unknown people and their doing certain acts to carry out said agreement, to violate the aforesaid statutes by knowingly and willfully participating in the management of a subversive organization, and secreting books, records and files of a subversive organization, said subversive organization herein referred to being specifically the Southern Conference Educational Fund Inc., and also distributing and storing Communist political propaganda in the State of Louisiana."

THOSE ARRESTED: Dr. James A. Dombrowski, executive director of the SCEF. Benjamin E. Smith, SCEF treasurer, labor and civil rights attorney and counsel for the ACLU in Louisiana, and former assistant district attorney in New Orleans. Bruce C. Waltzer, Smith's law partner, who has no connection with the SCEF.

THE RAID: Conducted by about 100 policemen and jail trusties in five simultaneous strikes at the offices and the homes of the three arrested men. Streets outside were cordoned off during the three-hour ransacking, in which personal and official property was indiscriminately seized.

The Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities proclaimed it had inspired this action.

The committee's legal counsel told the press the raid hadn't been "coordinated" with the FBI because, while the committee had complete confidence in J. Edgar Hoover, "we have no confidence whatsoever" in U. S. Attorney-General Robert F. Kennedy.

"We knew that if we told the FBI about this raid they would have to tell Bobby Kennedy. We cannot trust him and we expect him to tell his friend, Martin Luther King."

Although the committee boasted that the raid had been planned for eleven months, the raiders first came to the wrong office in the building and broke down the door of an empty room with sledgehammers.

At the Dombrowski home, policemen repeatedly threatened to shoot the family dachshund, although the dog was on a leash.

THE REACTION: The Rabbinical Council of New Orleans declared, "We denounce the subversive practices of sudden arrests and immediate confiscation of property and records in imitation of Communistic tactics."

The rabbis also endorsed the statement of the Louisiana branch of the ACLU, which called the raid "a dangerous act of political repression committed by our state government" and said the law under which the charges were filed "is an unconstitutional device designed to inhibit the flow of free ideas and free speech."

At the time of this writing, other groups in New Orleans—religious, labor and legal—were reported preparing similar denunciations.

In Atlanta, the Reverend Martin Luther King said, "Such smear tactics against efforts to bring about true brotherhood of man in the South have shown signs of increasing in intensity during recent months. This Friday action followed shortly after a massive demonstration last Tuesday in New Orleans by some 10,000 Negroes and approximately 300 whites seeking freedom, and followed . . . . charges brought by Ross Barnett and George Wallace before a congressional committee in recent weeks that the search for freedom in this country was communist-inspired."

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee wired Attorney-General Kennedy, asserting that "state sedition laws under which these persons were arrested, were outlawed by the U. S. Supreme Court seven years ago."

"This is another demonstration of the lawlessness and defiance of authority by segregationists," their telegram concluded.

WHAT CAN BE DONE: We ask you to—

- Wire or write the U. S. Attorney General and the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights in Washington, D. C., asking them to intervene in this unconstitutional outrage. Protests to Louisiana Governor Jimmie Davis and New Orleans Mayor Victor Schiro would also be helpful.
- Spread the word of the case to others—to organizations, to individuals. A letter to the editor of your local paper can do much to foster nationwide interest.
- Advise us of what action you have taken.
- PLEASE, if possible, send a special contribution to help us with the expenses of virtually rebuilding an office and with the even greater prospective costs of the legal battles that lie ahead.

THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND
822 Perdido Street
New Orleans 12, La.

October 10, 1963

NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, La. 70112

October 25, 1963

NEW ORLEANS, La. -- Judge Bernard J. Cocke of the Louisiana Criminal District Court Division, at a preliminary hearing today, discharged and dismissed the case against James A. Dombrowski, executive director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (S.C.E.F.), Benjamin E. Smith, treasurer of S.C.E.F., and New Orleans attorney, and Bruce C. Waltzer, Smith's law partner.

Judge Cocke ruled that there was no factual basis for the State's charge that the men had conspired to violate the State's Subversive Activities and Control Law or its Communist Propaganda Control Act by managing S.C.E.F.

S.C.E.F. is an organization dedicated to furthering integration. Smith and Waltzer are active civil rights lawyers.

The Reverend Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president of S.C.E.F. and leader of the Birmingham integration movement, said: "The dismissal of the charges against Smith, Waltzer and Dombrowski, is a signal victory for the forces of civil rights and civil liberties in their efforts to bring about justice, freedom and fair play."

The three men had been arrested on October 4th by the Louisiana State Police and New Orleans police at the behest of the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities; and their offices and homes were searched. Records and personal possessions were confiscated.

Arrest and search warrants had been signed by Major Russell Willie of the Louisiana State Police. Defense attornies brought out in court today that Major Willie had acted upon alleged information from a "confidential informer" whose identity Willie refused to divulge.

In a strongly worded statement, Judge Cocke ruled that the State had failed to produce a single fact to justify its actions. The three men were cleared of all charges in less than 90 minutes.

Testimony at the hearing by James A. Pfister, chairman of the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee, revealed that the records and personal effects seized on October 4th were subpoenaed on October 5th by Senator James O. Eastland's U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

"The fact that a State District judge dismissed the charges," said Reverend Shuttlesworth, "solidifies our hopes that justice has the same meaning in the deep South as it has in the rest of the nation. This is a definite setback to the three-state plot to destroy the integration movement master-minded by Senator James O. Eastland, Governor Barnett and Governor Wallace."

NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street New Orleans, La. 70112

November 8, 1963

BLUEFIELD, W. Va.---A full-scale campaign to completely end racial discrimination lies directly ahead for this rigidly segregated mountain city on the Virginia border.

Speaking at an enthusiastic community mass meeting, the Rev. C. Anderson Davis, president of the West Virginia NAACP, said: "We're going to march up and down the streets, picket block traffic, and sit in."

John R. Salter, Raleigh, N. C., field organizer for the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), told the meeting---which included high-school and college students, clergymen, and other older persons ---that "the freedom movement in Bluefield will continue on a day-after-day and week-after-week basis until full equality is secured."

"Never be afraid of going to jail," said Salter who has been jailed and beaten several times for his civil-rights work in Mississippi. "It's an honor to go to jail for freedom."

Salter and Davis vigorously attacked the economic and political power structure of Bluefield, and strongly condemned its use of "paltry tokenism." Both declared that equality in employment and promotion on the job as well as equal access to public accomodations, are the key issues here.

Students from Bluefield State College have been picketing some stores. Several were recently attacked and roughed up by store managers. A number of white students are involving themselves in the civil-rights campaign.

Militant student leader John S. Nettles, who is president of the Bluefield State NAACP said: "The students are ready and willing to go---even to jail to stay---for they feel that it is their duty to secure full rights for everyone. We are going to move ahead and we are not going to stop until we win."

#

NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, La. 70112

November 12, 1963

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.---The Board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund accused Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi of stealing SCEF's records after they were seized in raids in New Orleans.

At their semi-annual meeting here, the directors called upon the U. S. Senate to censure Eastland for his action, "just as Senator Joseph McCarthy was censured."

The Rev.Fred L. Shuttlesworth, SCEF President, asked friends throughout the nation to get their senators to support such censure. He said the board also voted "to condemn Eastland in the strongest possible terms for stealing our records."

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, headed by Eastland, caused the records to be moved into Mississippi after officers of SCEF sued for their return. A Federal Judge in New Orleans then held that the records were out of his jurisdiction.

The raids in which the records were seized had resulted in the arrest of Dr. James A. Dombrowski, SCEF executive director, Benjamin E. Smith, SCEF treasurer, and Bruce Waltzer, Smith's law partner.

Three weeks later a state judge dismissed charges of subversion brought against the three men at the instigation of the Louisiana Un-American Activities Committee. It was then that SCEF sued for return of the records.

Dombrowski also filed suit for damages in Federal Court in Washington. He asked the court there to enjoin Eastland and his staff from using the records of the organization in any way. A hearing on this is tentatively scheduled for Nov. 15.

The SCEF board also voted to "condemn Louisiana Officials who carried out the lawless raid on our headquarters, as well as the authorities in Mississippi and Alabama who are working with them to destroy the intergration movement by labeling it subversive."

The Directors said in a resolution: "The segregationists are desperate because their laws are being declared unconstitutional and brutality has not stopped the movement.

"Now they are breaking into offices with sledge hammers, carrying out searches and seizures without due process, and arresting

citizens without evidence. These are the methods of a totalitarian state and betoken the breakdown of all law."

The board also voted to "deplore attempts to compromise and weaken the civil-rights bill now pending in the Congress. Especially do we deplore the removal of the section which would empower the Attorney General to initiate action in cases of violation of Constitutional Rights."

The SCEF directors also:

1. Criticized the arrest of students and ministers in Jackson, Miss., "for trying to worship at churches of their choice"; also the jailing of the Rev. Ashton Jones in a similar situation in Atlanta. Mr. Jones has been in jail since June because he is unable to provide $20,000 bond.

2. Urged the Federal Government to drop the prosecution of six leaders of the intergration movement in Albany, Ga. These six are scheduled to go on trial Nov. 12 on criminal charges in Macon, Ga.

The board said: "We are outraged that the Government should take such action against these people while it fails to act against police lawlessness and brutality against intergrationists in Albany and across the South.

3. Questioned the diligence of local, state, and national authorities investigating the bombing of 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham on Sept. 15, in which four little girls were killed. The board noted that two months have passed and nobody has been brought to justice.

Mr. Shuttlesworth told the board that Negroes in Birmingham "are becoming fed up with the lack of racial progress here. They see no difference between the new City Government and the old one of Bull Connor."

The board meeting was held at offices of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, which Mr. Shuttlesworth also heads.

ACMHR has spearheaded the movement for equal rights in Birmingham for several years. SCEF is a Southwide organization of whites and Negroes seeking to end segregation and discrimination. Directors from several states were present at the Nov. 9 meeting.

#

NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, La. 70112

November 20, 1963

NEW ORLEANS, La.---A federal judge issued a restraining order prohibiting any prosecutive action by Louisiana officials against individuals arrested in connection with the October 4th raids against the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Judge John Minor Wisdom of the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, who signed the orders, is one of three judges named to hear a suit attacking the constitutionality of the state's Subversive Activities and Communist Control Act.

Last week, the Orleans Parish grand jury was ordered to conduct an investigation of SCEF by Criminal District Judge Malcom V. O'Hara. The grand jury subpenaed SCEF records confiscated during the October 4th raids.

The restraining order requested by the Fund's executive director, James A. Dombrowski, is directed to State Representative James A. Pfister, chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities; Major Russell Willie of the state police; Attorney General Jack P. F. Gremillion; Thomas D. Burbank, head of the state police; Govenor Jimmie H. Davis and New Orleans District Attorney, Jim Garrison. The officials are restrained "from in any way taking any prosecutive action against the plaintiffs" under provisions of the Louisiana law "or from presenting evidence to the Orleans Parish Grand Jury for the purpose of showing a violation" of the statute under attack.

Benjamin E. Smith, treasurer of SCEF, and his law partner Bruce Waltzer, both arrested along with Dombrowski on October 4th, asked and were granted the right to intervene in the suit, and thus are protected by the temporary order.

Judge Wisdom granted the order pending a hearing by the entire three-judge court, now set for Monday, November 25th, in New Orleans.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund is a southwide interracial organization promoting intergration.

Intergroup SCEF

Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

PUBLISHERS OF The Southern PATRIOT

822 PERDIDO STREET, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA 70112 ● Area 504 522-7326

November 22, 1963

Dear Friend of the SCEF:

First I want to thank you for the heartwarming flood of letters since the raids on the New Orleans office of SCEF on October 4th. More than a thousand messages were received.

While we have not been able to answer your letters, I have read them all, and they have been a source of deep inspiration and encouragement to the entire staff.

The enclosed fact sheet will bring you up-to-date on recent events. As you will see from the last entry under "November 18th", together we just won an important victory.

I can assure you that we are managing to continue operations, even to mount a counter-offensive, despite the raids by state and city police which virtually stripped our New Orleans office.

The raiders carted off 73 boxes of material, including all of our letterhead stationery, check books, tax records, all our stock of publications, and not only all of our records and correspondence but the filing cabinets housing them.

Our entire mailing list of contributors and supporters was seized, and we would be unable to reach "the outside world", had not our printer in Nashville had a duplicate list. Volunteer typists from the community are presently building up a new file from the printer's list.

We no longer have a record of past contributions, or of the dates when pledges come due.

On the positive side, I can report that the SCEF is finding good moral support among religious and liberal groups in New Orleans.

We have available to us outstanding local legal counsel.

I have every confidence that, given your continued support, we shall be successful. However, we are now facing much effort and expense. I urge you to send a special contribution toward this cause, if you have not already done so.

Sincerely,

James A. Dombrowski

Executive Director

P. S. To help us rebuild your records, please be sure to fill in and return the enclosed blank. If the address we have used is not correct, please give us your old and new address.

FACT SHEET ON THE RAID AND ARRESTS

Conducted by State and City Police at SCEF New Orleans Headquarters at the Behest of the Louisiana Joint Committee on Un-American Activities October 4, 1963

THE CHARGES: Violation of Louisiana Revised Statute Title 14, Section 388 et seq. "The Subversive Activities and Communist Control Law" and Section 390 et seq. "The Communist Propaganda Control Act" by "organizing between themselves and with other unknown people and their doing certain acts to carry out said agreement, to violate the aforesaid statutes by knowingly and willfully participating in the management of a subversive organization, and secreting books, records and files of a subversive organization, said subversive organization herein referred to being specifically the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. and also distributing and storing Communist political propaganda in the State of Louisiana."

THOSE ARRESTED: Dr. James A. Dombrowski, executive director of the SCEF. Benjamin E. Smith, SCEF treasurer, labor and civil rights attorney and counsel for the ACLU in Louisiana, and former assistant district attorney in New Orleans. Bruce C. Waltzer, Smith's law partner, who has no connection with the SCEF. The prisoners were released on parole.

THE RAID: Conducted by about 100 policemen and jail trusties in five simultaneous strikes at the offices and the homes of the three arrested men. Streets outside were cordoned off during the three-hour ransacking, in which personal and official property was indiscriminately seized.

The Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities proclaimed it had inspired this action.

The committee's legal counsel told the press the raid hadn't been "coordinated" with the FBI because, while the committee had complete confidence in J. Edgar Hoover, "we have no confidence whatsoever" in U. S. Attorney-General Robert F. Kennedy.

"We knew that if we told the FBI about this raid they would have to tell Bobby Kennedy. We cannot trust him and we expect him to tell his friend, Martin Luther King".

Although the committee boasted that the raid had been planned for eleven months, the raiders first came to the wrong office in the building and broke down the door of an empty room with sledgehammers.

Police entered the law offices of Smith & Waltzer with drawn revolvers. At the Dombrowski home, policemen repeatedly threatened to shoot the family dachshund, although the dog was on a leash. At the home of Bruce Waltzer, police confiscated the mailing list of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives.

THE REACTION: The Rabbinical Council of New Orleans declared, "We denounce the subversive practices of sudden arrests and immediate confiscation of property and records in imitation of Communistic tactics."

The Louisiana branch of the ACLU called the raid "a dangerous act of political repression committed by our state government" and said the law under which the charges were filed "is an unconstitutional device designed to inhibit the flow of free ideas and free speech."

The Board of Trustees of the First Unitarian Church protested the action of the Louisiana Committee, and endorsed the statement of the LCLU.

The Louisiana State University in New Orleans Chapter of the American Association of University Professors protested the searches, seizures and arrests by the Louisiana Committee. The professors' statement declared, "The technique of terror as an instrument of policy is inappropriate in a democratic society".

At the time of this writing, other groups in New Orleans—religious, labor and legal—were reported preparing similar denunciations.

In Atlanta, the Reverend Martin Luther King said, "Such smear tactics against efforts to bring about true brotherhood of man in the South have shown signs of increasing in intensity during recent months. This Friday action followed shortly after a massive demonstration last Tuesday in New Orleans by some 10,000 Negroes and approximately 300 whites seeking freedom, and followed . . . charges brought by Ross Barnett and George Wallace before a congressional committee in recent weeks that the search for freedom in this country was communist-inspired."

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee wired Attorney-General Kennedy, asserting that "state sedition laws under which these persons were arrested, were outlawed by the U. S. Supreme Court seven years ago . . . This is another demonstration of the lawlessness and defiance of authority by segregationists".

WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE OCTOBER 4TH?

OCTOBER 5th: The SCEF documents, then in the custody of State Police in Baton Rouge, were subpoenaed by the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the U. S. Senate Judiciary Committee, at the direction of committee chairman Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi.

OCTOBER 25th: At a preliminary hearing in Louisiana Criminal District Court, Judge Bernard J. Cocke discharged and dismissed the conspiracy charges against Dombrowski, Smith and Waltzer because of total lack of evidence on the part of the State.

OCTOBER 26th: Dombrowski, Smith and Waltzer requested a temporary restraining order and permanent injunction to prevent removal of the stolen records from Baton Rouge.

(over)

OCTOBER 28th: At the hearing granted, after several postponements, at noon of the 28th, Federal Judge Robert A. Ainsworth declared the question of an injunction moot since testimony revealed that the SCEF documents had been transferred from Baton Rouge to Woodville, Miss., early that morning, at the direction of Senator Eastland. Between October 28th and 31st, at least part of the documents were sent on to Washington, D. C.

OCTOBER 31st: Dombrowski and Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. were plaintiffs in a suit filed in U. S. District Court of the District of Columbia, requesting a preliminary injunction restraining Senator Eastland from using the SCEF documents in any way, also asking for half a million dollars in damages for false arrest and illegal seizures of records and property. A similar suit was filed in New Orleans on October 28th restraining state officials, and asking for $750,000 damages.

NOVEMBER 1st: Notice of appeal to the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals was filed on behalf of James A. Dombrowski, Benjamin E. Smith and Bruce Waltzer, appealing the denial by Federal District Judge Robert A. Ainsworth, Jr. of a temporary restraining order to prevent State Police from delivering Southern Conference Educational Fund records to Senator Eastland.

NOVEMBER 8th: The Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities held a three-hour hearing on SCEF in Baton Rouge, open to the press but closed to the public "to keep out agitators". No SCEF witnesses were called. Photostatic copies of SCEF documents were used as "evidence" in an attempt to label the organization a communist front.

NOVEMBER 12th: Dr. Dombrowski and the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. filed a suit in Federal District Court attacking the constitutionality of the state Subversive Activities and Communist Control Law, and requesting that a three-judge Federal District Court issue a Declaratory Judgement that the law violates the U. S. Constitution. The plaintiffs also requested an interlocutory injunction restraining State authorities from utilizing photostatic copies of the seized SCEF documents. Judge Ainsworth granted a November 20th hearing on the injunction.

NOVEMBER 13th: The Joint Legislative Committee transferred 26 (out of a total of 73) cartons of SCEF materials from Baton Rouge to the New Orleans District Attorney's office, stating that this portion of the confiscated property was useless to the Committee in its continuing investigation of subversive infiltration of SCEF. "The important correspondence files, financial and other records of the SCEF are all still in Washington under the subpoena of the U. S. Senate," said Pfister.

NOVEMBER 14th: Criminal District Judge Malcolm V. O'Hara charged the grand jury now in session with responsibility for investigating possible violations of the State Communist control law. O'Hara issued a subpoena to State Representative James H. Pfister, chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee, requesting that copies of SCEF documents in the Committee's possession be submitted to the grand jury. The grand jury is scheduled to meet Wednesday, November 20th.

NOVEMBER 15th: Chief Judge Elbert P. Tuttle of the U. S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals appointed a three-judge federal panel to hear the SCEF suit attacking the constitutionality of Louisiana's Subversive Activities and Communist Control Law. Named were Judge John Minor Wisdom of the Appeals Court; Federal District Judges Frank B. Ellis; and E. Gordon West.

NOVEMBER 18th: Judge John Minor Wisdom of the U. S. Fifth Circuit of Appeals, issued an order restraining state and city officials from "taking any prosecutive action" against the persons arrested in the SCEF raids.

The temporary restraining order is pending a ruling by the entire three-judge court, on the constitutionality of the Louisiana subversive statutes, now set for Monday, November 25th in New Orleans.

The order specifically directs that officials are restrained "from presenting evidence to the Orleans Parish Grand Jury for the purpose of showing a violation" of the statute under attack.

WHAT CAN BE DONE: We ask you to—

- Write your Senators protesting the action of Senator James O. Eastland.
- Ask that the U. S. Senate censure Eastland for his action, just as Senator Joseph McCarthy was censured.
- Letters to the following members of the Senate Judiciary Committee (Senator Eastland, Chairman) would be especially helpful:

Michigan:	Sen. Philip A. Hart
Massachusetts:	Sen. Edward M. Kennedy
New York:	Sen. Kenneth Keating
Pennsylvania:	Sen. Hugh Scott

THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

822 Perdido Street

New Orleans, La. 70112

November 22, 1963

NEWS FROM
Southern Conference Educational Fund
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, La. 70112

December 10, 1963

NEW ORLEANS, LA. ---A case challenging the constitutionality of Louisiana's communist control laws was taken under advisement by a three-judge federal court on December 9th.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund and its executive director, James A. Dombrowski, original plaintiffs in the case, were joined by attorneys Benjamin E. Smith and Bruce C. Waltzer whose request for intervention was granted by the court.

Smith, who is the Fund's treasurer, and his law partner, Waltzer, were arrested along with Dombrowski on October 4th for allegedly violating the state anti-communist statutes -- as managers of a "subversive" organization and for distributing "communist" literature, -- and all SCEF records were seized. Conspiracy charges against the three men were dismissed by a Criminal District Court, but the records were not returned to SCEF.

The plaintiffs are now asking for a temporary injunction against state and city officials preventing them from enforcing the statutes, and prohibiting the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities (LUAC) from turning over the seized SCEF records to the Orleans Parish Grand Jury.

At the hearing before Judge John Minor Wisdom of the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals and Federal Judges Frank B. Ellis and E. Gordon West, attorneys for the plaintiffs argued that the state anti-communist laws are superseded by federal legislation and are in violation of the 14th Amendment of the U. S. constitution. Milton Brener, New Orleans attorney for SCEF, argued that the defendants know that the SCEF is a civil rights organization and that there is no evidence of communism or subversion in the seized documents.

The court took under advisement a motion by Jack Rogers, counsel for the LUAC, to quash a subpena issued by attorneys for the plaintiffs for production of the records taken during the raids. He claimed that these are now official records of the Louisiana Legislature, "used in the commission of a crime. After some reluctance, however, Rogers consented

to present the court with photostatic copies of the documents within a few days.

Arthur Kinoy, New York, representing Dombrowski and SCEF, argued that the terms and definitions in the statutes -- e.g. "communist", "communist front" -- are so broad and indefinite that they make it possible for the state "to sweep into a dragnet people engaged in peaceful, constitutional efforts", such as SCEF's program to promote racial equality.

"Is it possible that racial segregation is considered part of the constitution of Louisiana?" Kinoy asked the court. "Are activities considered illegal that promote its abolition?..."These statutes have been written" said Kinoy, "as if the First and Fourteenth Amendments do not exist... Every precept, every canon, every concept of constituional law enunciated for years by the Supreme Court to enforce the precious freedoms of the First Amendment have been ignored.. They are patently void on their face ..."

John E. Jackson, Jr., an asst. state attorney general, and William A. Porteus,III representing District Attorney Jim Garrison contended that the state laws were constitutional because they covered only acts against the State of Louisiana.

The court reserved decision on the case and granted a continuation of the temporary restraining order prohibiting prosecution of the plaintiffs until the full determination of the state laws' constitutionality. Before reaching their decision, it is likely that the three judges will schedule another hearing at which witnesses for SCEF and the State will present evidence.

Defendants in the case include: Major Russell Willie of the state police; Attorney General Jack P. Gremillion; Colonel Thomas D. Burbank head of the state police; Governor Jimmie H. Davis; district attorney Jim Garrison; and James H. Pfister, chairman of LUAC, who was defeated as a State Representative in the December 7th primaries by a vote of two to one.

Leon D. Hubert, former District Attorney of New Orleans, represented Smith and Waltzer. In addition to Kinoy and Brener, Dombrowski and SCEF were represented by William Kunstler of New York, national trial counsel for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and of counsel A. P. Tureaud of New Orleans.

NEWS FROM
Southern Conference Educational Fund
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, La. 70112

December 19, 1963

NEW ORLEANS, LA. --- Notice has been served of a deposition to be taken from J. G. Sourwine, Chief Counsel of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security (SSIS). The examination of Sourwine will take place at 2 p.m., December 30, in the offices of Dillon & Dillon, attorneys, at 1625 Eye Street, Washington, D. C.

The notice of deposition was served in connection with an affidavit submitted by Sourwine who, along with SSIS chairman, Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, are defendants in a suit brought by Dr. James A. Dombrowski, Executive Director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF), a civil rights organization.

SCEF and Dombrowski have asked for an injunction in Federal District Court for the District of Columbia restraining Eastland, Sourwine and others from using the records and lists of contributors to the Fund seized by Louisiana State Police and New Orleans city police in raids on the Fund and its officials in New Orleans on October 4. Damages of $500,000 have also been sought.

At the time of the raids, instigated by the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, (LUAC), Dombrowski, Benjamin E. Smith, the Fund's treasurer, and Smith's law partner Bruce Waltzer, were arrested and their homes ransacked. They were charged with violating the Louisiana Communist Control Law by managing a "subversive" organization and distributing "communist" literature.

A criminal court judge dismissed the charges at an October 25th hearing in New Orleans because no evidence of subversion was presented. At this hearing Rep. James H. Pfister, chairman of LUAC testified he was unable to produce the seized SCEF documents as the court had requested, because the documents had been subpoenaed by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the U. S. Senate Judiciary Committee, at the request of Eastland. Pfister said that he and other state officials had been served subpoenaes to this effect, signed by J. G. Sourwine, in Baton Rouge on October 5th, the day after the raids.

In his affidavit, Sourwine insists he had "nothing whatsoever to do

with the acquisition of SCEF material" by LUAC. He states, however, that LUAC attorney Jack N. Rogers informed him of the forthcoming SCEF raids as early as July 1963; and that Rogers asked Sourwine some time in August or September if he would come to Baton Rouge if LUAC subpoenaed the SCEF records - to help evaluate the material.

According to the affidavit, Rogers phoned Sourwine in Washington, D.C. late on the night of the raids, and that he flew to Baton Rouge on the morning of October 5. Sourwine explains the date on the subpoena - "on this fourth day of October" - as a "typographical error."

Sourwine's affidavit makes no mention of the fact that on October 28 all the SCEF records were moved to Woodville, Miss., then were sent to the SSIS in Washington. This transfer was made at the request of Senator Eastland on the day that SCEF was requesting a temporary restraining order against removal of the stolen records from Baton Rouge.

Today a district judge, on the motion of the government and of Senator Eastland dismissed the section of the complaint requesting injunctive relief, but did not dismiss that section of the complaint asking for damages, thus permitting the deposition action to stand.

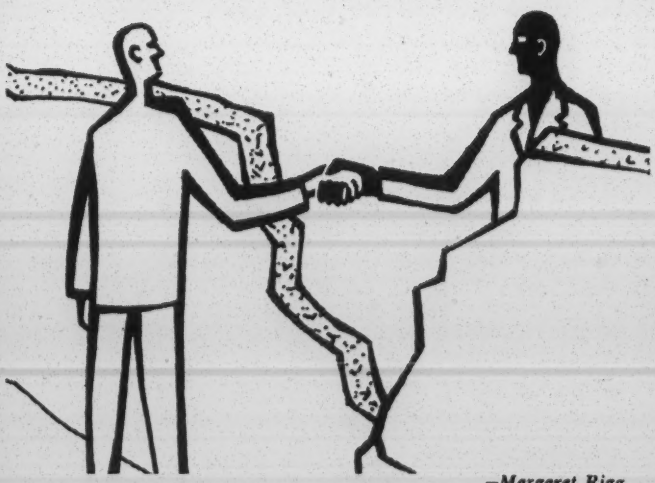
An immediate appeal will be taken to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia from the dismissal of the request for injunctive relief.

Lawyers representing SCEF and Dombrowski are, William Kunstler and Arthur Kinoy of New York; Walter E. Dillon, Jr., Washington, D. C; Milton E. Brener and of counsel, A. P. Tureaud, both of New Orleans.

PAV
SBV
Interracial #
SCEF

What Can I do NOW

to break through the color wall?



—*Margaret Rigg*

How Desegregation . . Can Grow Into . . Integration

BY FREDERICK A. BLOSSOM

(As legal barriers to segregation fall, there is an increasing awareness that even after the laws are removed there is yet a long mile to go before we achieve a brotherly society. Desegregation and integration are radically different processes. This article by a white man, long an opponent of segregation, now a Florida resident, suggests some things each individual can do. The Patriot *welcomes comment from other readers.)*

While of course giving our main attention and effort to the important issues of integrated schools, Negro voting rights, and job opportunities, we should not forget that "apartheid" curses every aspect of our social life.

Even if the school, voting, and job battles are won, racial separation will continue unless countless aspects of the social pattern are corrected.

Without lessening our activity on presently dominant issues, would it not be well for us to study ways we can wear down the separatist habits that nearly all of us unconsciously fall into?

This line of thought was first suggested to me by a pamphlet entitled "There Are Things To Do" which Lillian Smith published 20 years ago. She pointed out that even in those times we could make a start toward tearing down the "Chinese Wall" between the races, and she outlined ways to go about it.

The idea appealed to us and we have since then been doing whatever we could to carry it out.

● **We were living in Washington at that time, and we welcomed the integration of the local cooperative bookshop, which became the most vital cultural center in that city.**

● We patronized Negro movie houses and were most courteously received.

● We rented to a Negro family one floor of our three-story house in a definitely Southern neighborhood. No unpleasant results.

● When we sold our too-large house, we built a cottage in a Negro subdivision and are glad we did. Dependable and helpful neighbors.

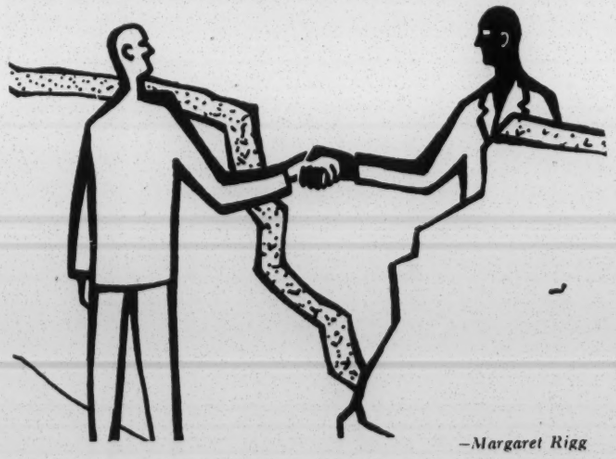
● When I had to put up a legal fight for my government job, I engaged a talented Negro lawyer. Even my integrationist friends urged me not to "throw the case away," pointing out that the chairman of the appeals board was a Southern "colonel." We won a smashing victory.

● We encouraged Negro friends to attend and to join the Unitarian church we attended. We went as friendly observers to a statewide Negro P.-T.A. convention. We invited Negro friends to accompany us to concerts, lectures, mass meetings.

● We patronized a Negro gas station, dry-cleaning establishment, barber, dentist (the most expert and cultured we have met in our four-score years), and employed Negro carpenters, electricians, painters, etc.

And here are some other suggestions of things white people can do to change the over-all pattern:

● Give Negro friends and neighbors a lift to and from market, etc. Always have them sit up in front.



—Margaret Rigg

● Invite their children to play with our children and vice versa, both indoors and out, and plan birthday and Christmas parties together. Also picnics and excursions.

● **Invite Negro friends and neighbors to drop in and have a chat and cup of tea. Exchange garden hints, seeds, cuttings, etc., with them and try to get them admitted to garden clubs.**

● Always invite and urge Negroes to "sit up front" at meetings. Whenever possible, include Negroes on civic and social committees.

● Buy extra copies of *The Southern Patriot* regularly and distribute them to Negro leaders—also to white persons.

● Be seen with Negroes in a natural but unprovocative manner as often as possible. In a bus, at public meetings, etc., take a seat beside a Negro *whenever* possible, and converse naturally.

(Our Negro fellow-supporters of SCEF can reciprocate along parallel lines and help develop this program.)

There are those who will say that an "intentional" program as here outlined places too much emphasis on race and would keep people from just acting naturally. We agree that it would be ideal if we could all, for example, just walk into a meeting and sit down by anybody without looking at his color.

But the facts of life in our society today do not give us this ideal situation. Separation is an insidious and all-pervasive habit in the thinking and living of most of us. Some such conscious program as this seems needed to initiate change.

If we make it a practice to do these little things, we will build for ourselves happier and richer lives, set an example for others, and thereby be instrumental in bringing nearer the time when we can all forget color completely.

(If you like these ideas and would like to distribute this article to others, you can send contributions for reprints to SCEF, 822 Perdido St., New Orleans 12, La.)

Reprinted from *The Southern Patriot*

THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC., is a Southwide interracial organization working to bring integration to the South.

The board of directors of the Fund consists of 80 Negro and white citizens from seventeen Southern and border states and the District of Columbia. In addition about 100 persons from these states make up its advisory committee.

SCEF's monthly publication, The Southern Patriot, prints news and pictures of the Southern integration movement, profiles of personalities in the news, articles on the philosophy of the movement, and suggestions of what individuals can do, such as the article reprinted here.

Subscription Blank

The Patriot is sent to all persons who give $2 or more annually to the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

I enclose_____, of which $2 is for Patriot subscription.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

Return form to:

SCEF
822 Perdido St.
New Orleans 12, La.

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, Louisiana

President-Emeritus
AUBREY W. WILLIAMS

President
BISHOP EDGAR A. LOVE

Vice-Presidents
JOHN M. COE
DR. HERMAN H. LONG
MODJESKA M. SIMKINS

Treasurer
BENJAMIN E. SMITH

Secretary
DR. JOHN R. BROSS

Assistant Secretary
JESSIE P. GUZMAN

The following persons might be interested in the work of the SCEF:

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

_____

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

_____

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

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NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

_____

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

_____

In writing these persons use my name. { You may_____ / Please do not_____

ATTENTION ATLANTA COMMUNITY

FREEDOM IS CALLING YOU

WILL YOU HELP?

WILL YOU FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

WE HAVE NEGOTIATED, REQUESTED, PROPOSED——

ALL IN VAIN...

JOIN THE DEMONSTRATION AND SUPPORT THE SELECTIVE BUYING CAMPAIGN

Segregation is a malformed ugly octopus whose tenacles strangle my dreams, your dreams, and the dreams written in the Constitution of the United States. Are you going to continue feeding it ? Now is the time to stop giving your dollars to the octopus' evel mouth.

We have been carrying on fruitless negotiations for two years. We have requested the employment of a significant number of Negroes at Rich's department store in Atlanta. We have been thrown "wells", "you sees", and many other evasive answers.

Last year, Rich's agreed to hire 12 Negroes - they hired 6. This year they proposed hiring 41 Negro Saleswomen by Christmas and up to 100 by June 1. When asked to sign this agreement they rudely refused. Negroes comprise 25-30% of their net sales. Out of 740 sales people at Rich's, only 6 are Negroes. Is this equal opportunity ? Are you going to contribute to these conditions ? Support the Selective Buying Campaign.

SUPPORT EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

B Y

JOINING THE SELECTIVE BUYING CAMPAIGN

(For further information, phone 524-0207 — COAHR Office - Rush Memorial Church)

Intergroup Org. Misc.

ATTENTION ALL STUDENTS!

FREEDOM IS CALLING YOU!

WILL YOU HELP?

WILL YOU FIGHT FOR FREEDOM?

WE HAVE NEGOTIATED,
REQUESTED,
PROPOSED-ALL IN VAIN.

OUR ONLY HOPE NOW IS TO LAUNCH

DEMONSTRATIONS!!

1,000 STUDENTS ARE NEEDED!

MEET US AT TREVOR ARNETT

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 21

AT 2:45 P.M.

(For further information, phone 524-0207 -- COAHR Office)
Rush Memorial Church

July 13, 1962

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Art:

Enclosed is a draft outline for the M.I.S. report. I discussed it by phone with Arnold, and he seemed happy. I wish, however, that you would regard it as merely a stimulus to your own thinking, and suggest revisions as drastic as you wish or even a complete re-doing.

After you have had a chance to study this, the next step would be, I think, to frame a cost estimate and to send it and the agreed outline off to I.C.M.A. Simultaneously, we can be seeking research assistance. I hope you may have some suggestions as to a person.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Outline)

A. Background

1. A brief introduction

(a) Statement of subject of report

(b) Definition of Problem of urban racial tension and its implications for municipal policy

(c) Contrast of situation of Negroes with that of other minorities who, in the past, have migrated to cities
(Both "b" and "c" to be briefly treated here and returned to at later points)

2. Population distribution of Negroes, movement and projection

3. Nature of prejudice and cultural separateness

(a) North

(b) South

B. Principal Problems for Municipal Policy

1. Community tension

2. "Negro" crime

3. Mass disorders
(Each of these to be discussed at length, with illustration of "1" and "3" North and South, and illustrative documentation of "2" from statistics and authoritative comments and interpretations. In each sub-section, purpose will be to define and describe problem as it presents itself to municipal policy-makers, North and South. Sub-section "1" would include, e.g., such issues as protest demonstrations in the South and block-busting in the North.)

C. Municipal Instrumentalities: Policies and Methods

1. Short review of legal precedents
(Purpose would be to show types of municipal ordinances and policies which have been invalidated by courts; e.g., segregation laws, zoning ordinances.)

2. Police
(A rather full discussion which would:
(a) draw on professional literature for principles of good police work in areas of

racial tension; (b) describe selected incidents; (c) describe selected training programs of police forces.)

3. Human rights commission
(A number of cities have established these under one name or another. We should make a representative list, indicate powers, composition, effectiveness.)

4. Ordinances and laws
(The problems are various and perhaps cannot be fully defined until after research. Generally, we would want to consider how to guard against the use of commonplace laws and ordinances -- such as trespass, breach of peace, licensing ordinances -- to serve the end of racial restriction.)

5. FEP's, etc.
(For those cities with anti-discrimination commissions, what problems exist of meshing the work of these with other municipal agencies; describe typical powers and composition of commissions, and judicial decisions regarding their constitutionality.)

6. Administration of municipal programs, such as recreation, parks, fire-fighting, hospitals, etc., and implication for race relations

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 6, D.C.

Les, fyi

November 16, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Rather than delay further getting to you the part of the manuscript on Municipal Race Relations Practices which Margaret has completed, until the entire manuscript is finished, I thought it best to shoot down to you the enclosed sections.

Understand that this represents exactly what has come off Margaret's typewriter, without any editing or attempt at final organization. It represents what Margaret intends for parts "B" and "C" of our outline, with section A still to be written. Harold and I have read this, but neither of us have done more than that.

I'm starting on part A, which I hope to have completed right after the Thanksgiving holiday, with a copy to you. Then I will go over the entire manuscript, integrate it into a readable whole, with suitable topical, and subtopical sectioning. Let us have your ideas on the enclosed and if you think there is reason to get together again, how about giving me a call?

Heard you were ill, and I hope you're over whatever it was by the time you get this. Best regards to all.

Sincerely,

Art

Arthur J. Levin

AJL:hjh

enclosure

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.

Date: 11/27/62

To: Les Dunbar

From: Art Levin

Subject: International City Managers' Assoc. Report

Here is the first part of our paper, which completes the content of the entire report. We are editing — shorter sentences and paragraphing, and breaking up with sub-heads — the section that I sent you last week.

I'm eagerly awaiting your call Thursday. Incidently, I did find reference in one of Arnold's letters to Dec. 1st as the deadline.

Best regards

ajl

INTRODUCTION

In war and in peace, the American people have met many challenges with vigor and resourcefulness. One of the most persistent challenges in our history is that of civil rights, and this field has proven no exception to the imaginative use of public and private initiative. That we have made much progress is indisputable, as this report will show; that we have a long way to go in providing equal opportunity to all of our citizens is equally clear.

this is news!

Definition of Minority Group.

An eminent social scientist 1/ once defined a minority "as a group of people who, because of their physical ar cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination. Minority status carries with it the exclusion from full participation in the life of the society".

Minority Rights Reinforced.

Minorities have grown increasingly ~~more~~ restive under the restrictive practices which circumscribe their full participation in American society. Legal challenges to existing community cus-

1/ Louis Wirth, "The Problem of Minority Groups", in Ralph Linton (ed.), The Science of Man in the World Crisis, Columbia University Press, 1945, p.347.

toms and laws have resulted in a growing series of court decisions striking down racial barriers. The first series of cases sought to clarify the meaning ~~and practice~~ of "equal" in the "separate but equal" doctrine ~~under which this nation was governed from the time of the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 to 1875 and the Fourteenth Amendment, ratified in 1868.~~ which prevailed in our constitutional law from the late nineteenth century + which is most famously associated with the Plessy v. Ferguson decision of 1896. These legal decisions ~~successively struck down laws which "abridged privileges or immunities of citizens", which tended to "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process", and which "denied any person equal protection of the laws".~~ tended to permit segregated - i.e. "separate" - treatment + facilities of Negroes while at the same time holding to the constitutional theory that the treatment or facilities had to be "equal". The "equality" requirement, poorly defined in early cases, was given more + more strict emphasis by the federal courts in the years between about 1915 and 1953.

Full Equality Established.

The historic school desegregation decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954 brought to a culmination the legal trend of the previous half century of litigation, declaring that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal". It was the death knell of the "separate but equal" doctrine.

Although the new principle initially applied only to public education, it has since been ~~applied~~ extended to most facets of civil rights in succeeding court cases. And where, to begin with, these decisions applied only to direct state actions (and, by extension, to actions of local jurisdictions), recent rulings have enjoined private discrimination whenever "to some significant extent the state in any of its manifestations has been found to have become involved" in private acts of discrimination.[2/]

Today, there is little doubt of the legal responsibility and authority of executive officials to end discrimination through

2/ Burton v. Wilmington Parking Authority, 365 U.S. 715,722

the use of public policy, law, and administrative machinery, ~~attested to by~~ a growing body of court decisions, acts of Congress, executive orders, administrative rulings, and state and local legislation, ~~all that~~ all

THE PROBLEM

Civil rights problems do not arise in the abstract. Those who are denied their constitutional rights are very often also the victims of poverty and inadequate education. The quest for equal opportunity has created large mobile masses, moving from rural to urban centers, from region to region, and from city to city, in search of a better way of life. Like earlier immigrants before them, many of today's minorities have been crowded into urban slums, restricted to the poorest schools, and employed in the lowest paying occupations. In their adjustment to city life under such handicaps, they have required a disproportionate share of health, welfare, police, and other services, and have been more vulnerable to personal and social maladjustment.[3/] These deprivations have led to discrimination, which in turn reinforces the deprivations.

Past Inequities.

Many of the hardships of today's minorities -- the Negro, the Puerto Rican, the Mexican-American, the American Indian --

3/ Philip M. Hauser, "Urban Boom and Crisis in the Sixties", address before the International Municipal Assembly, May 12, 1960.

are the cumulative result of past denials of civil rights. This has produced a new deprivation - the lack of motivation and incentive. Often, newly opened opportunities are not used, even when they are evident. Frustration of ambition and lack of hope breed delinquency and crime, which further raise the cost of public services. These are essentially social problems, yet, they are inextricably bound up with civil rights issues.

Present Discrimination.

Unemployment hits Negroes more than twice as hard as others, underlining the fact that they are confined to the least skilled, worst paid, most insecure occupations, highly susceptible to cyclical lay-offs. Much of the housing market remains closed to millions of Americans because of ~~their~~ race, religion, or ancestry, so that they are mainly confined to substandard housing in slums. In public education, eight years after the Supreme Court desegregation decision, only a little over seven per cent of the South's 3,200,000 Negro children attend biracial schools, (and most of this group are in the so-called border states) 4/ ~~mostly in token situations, and~~ De facto inequalities in public educational systems exist in many northern & western cities. ~~elsewhere in the nation.~~

In a number of Southern states, voting restrictions are enforced by outright discrimination, physical violence, or economic reprisal. In the North, where citizens may vote freely, malapportionment and gerrymandered districting seriously dilutes votes. Recent headlines from Brown v. Board of Education about "sit-ins", "kneel-ins", "wade-ins" and other attemps to secure equal treatment in public accommodations indicate that ~~this~~ problems are tense. ~~is far from resolved.~~ There are still

4/ Seventeen Southern and border states.

places in the nation, however, where the fear of racial violence is very real, and where police brutality ~~remains~~ is a national shame.

New Minority Image.

Against this picture of widespread deprivation, a new minority image -- especially of the Negro -- has emerged to challenge discrimination and the denial of equal opportunity. Bolstered by legislation, court decisions, and recent changes in public policy, Negroes and other minority groups have more and more taken to direct, though "non-violent", action to secure their rights immediately and in full. The prevailing majority, accustomed to the concept of "gradualism", has frequently reacted with a sense of shocked resistance, ~~to what it had been prepared to grant over a period of time.~~ Frequently, it is not so much a question of rights as a community problem of timing -- but for minority groups, time has run out and unfulfilled promises are being presented for payment now. Herein lies one of the main causes of community tensions.

Population Mobility.

In the past decade, the mobility of our largest minority group has attained unprecedented proportions. "Although the largest cities have generally registered the largest numerical gains, the largest proportional gains have been experienced by medium-sized cities in the 100,000- 500,000 range. Syracuse, Rochester, New Haven, San Diego and Fort Wayne all saw Negro

populations approximately double in the past decade".[5] In Toledo, Ohio, the white population increased one per cent from 1950-60; the Negro population rose 63 per cent. In Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the Negro population tripled in the past ten years. The Cleveland, Ohio, Negro population increased 100,000 (150,000 in 1950 to 250,000 in 1960), and Connecticut has double the number of Negroes (107,800) that the state had ten years ago. Today, one out of every eight citizens is Negro in Los Angeles, Buffalo, and New Haven. Negroes make up one out of every four residents of Philadelphia and Detroit.

The Central City.

Washington, D.C., exemplifies the central city ghettoization of these mobile masses. At the time of the Civil War, the proportion of Negroes in the metropolitan area was about one-fourth the total population. Today, a century later, the metropolitan proportion has scarcely changed at all, but the population of the central city of Washington, D.C., is more than one-half Negro. The surrounding suburbs are almost exclusively white, ringing the central city of deteriorating, substandard, and slum dwellings. Unable to break out of the "white noose", ever more crowded into housing diminished by urban renewal and highway construction, with overcrowded schools and inadequate facilities of every type, Negro pressures and frustrations require disproportionate public services at mounting costs. This unhappy story is repeated in community after community where the problem is often ignored, and where the blame

5/ Eunice and George Grier, "The Impact of Race on Neighborhood in the Metropolitan Setting", Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, 1961.

for tension and incipient violence is often mistakenly and tragically placed upon the victims rather than upon the actual causes, which victimize majority and minority groups alike (although the burden is far from equally shared).

Leadership Responsibilities.

The assumption of responsible leadership ~~responsibility~~ by municipal executives and administrators is a prerequisite ~~to~~ the solution of this modern "American dilemma". A realistic appraisal of community problems, realistic planning for the provision of equal opportunity in all aspects of daily living for every citizen, and the large scale educational job that is required for public acceptance of such planning, call must be undertaken by the city leadership before conditions reach the threshold of violence. Wise city heads will institute a program of prevention that will insure the continued growth and prosperity of the community instead of the traumatic and often economically ruinous conflict that some cities have suffered before bowing to the inevitability of desegregation and integration.

TOWARD A SOLUTION

Despite legal precedent and public policy, ~~on civil rights, there~~ remain great gaps in the implementation of equal rights for all citizens. Differing laws, the nature and numbers of minority groups, and the attitudes of the majority group -- all coalesce

in any particular community to present unique problems and paths to solution. Thus, each community must assess its own stage of civil rights development, its own requirements for achieving progress, and follow its own methods for alleviating present or incipient tensions.

Principles of Practice.

However, there are principles common to all civil rights solutions, and ~~by which~~ specific implementation should be guided by them:

1. A clear-cut policy, firmly enunciated and unequivocally applied. An ambiguous policy half-heartedly applied is AN OPEN ~~a open~~ invitation to resistance and trouble.
2. A growing sense of inevitability. The South has demonstrated that people ~~will rise above their prejudices and~~ adjust to new racial patterns when ~~if they are~~ convinced that change is unavoidable. The "moderate" -- who is often a person who favors change but won't support it until it is "safe" -- becomes effective when he can plead inevitability.
3. Reassurance that change will not be overwhelming or catastrophic. Many whites equate integration with inundation. The only real cure for this fear is experience, but the symptoms can be eased somewhat in advance of experience by facts and interpretation. The cooperation of the communication media can be very helpful in effecting needed change with minimum disruption.
4. Convincing precedents for change, drawn from the experience of other, like areas. It is not easy

to transmit experience from one area to another, but, next to first-hand practice itself, such precedents offer the best way of allaying unjustified fears, familiarizing people with new ideas, and destroying the myth that racial change always means trouble.

5. Communication between the majority-minority groups, allaying fear through the destruction of mutual, long-held stereotypes. Approaches to solution mutually agreed upon and worked out in concert, including the pressing problem of timing, will find much more ready acceptance on the part of all concerned.

6. Practical self-interest (most especially economic self-interest) enlisted on the side of change. This is critical, and should be brought into play at the earliest possible moment to ~~establish~~ demonstrate that the entire community has a great deal to gain from progress toward equal treatment and opportunity.

7. Moral leadership. The churches have a special responsibility to clarify the moral issues involved in discrimination. But all community leaders can contribute to public acceptance of needed social change as a moral as well as practical imperative.

Resource Agencies.

In the accomplishment of these overall objectives, city executives may wish to avail themselves of the services of the many ~~intergroup relations~~ human relations agencies whose representatives serve virtually every community in the country. These specialists ~~in human and intergroup relations~~ are skilled and experienced not

only in community tension problems, but also in affirmative actions which can help to eliminate discrimination and provide equal opportunity to minority groups. If such resource agencies do not have local representatives, the International City Managers' Association or the state university can recommend an agency representative.

Guides to Progress.

Progress toward equal opportunity ~~in this great nation~~ is the sum total of the advances made in the thousands of local communities ~~that comprise it.~~ This report is an account of ~~such progress through~~ community action ~~examples~~ in the areas of education, employment, housing, public facilities, police practices; through policy pronouncements, ordinances, human relations commissions, and other administrative steps. These examples are meant to serve as guides to advancement, illustrations of problems ~~in those communities which conscientiously~~ seek to improve relations among all their citizens, irrespective of race, creed, color, or national origin.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT: AGENT OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

What are the major areas of concern to municipal government in the provision of equal opportunity for all citizens? What examples of good practice are available in employment, education, housing, and other areas?

The principal purpose of this report is to show the work being done by selected city governments in working toward the goal of equal opportunity for all citizens. The principal obstacle in the way of achieving this goal is race relations. Much publicity has been given in the past decade to racial problems both in the north and the south. But the steady progress being made by hundreds of communities in all parts of the country toward the achievement of equal opportunity is a less well-known story. This report shows the scope of progressive practices together with suggestions and guidelines for city government officials.

Growth of Equal Opportunity

Four developments in the past decade have heightened the expectations of Negroes and other minority groups in securing full civil rights.

Court Decisions

The school desegregation decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court in 1954-55 culminated the legal trend of 50 years of litigation by declaring that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." Although the decision applied initially only to public education, it has since been extended to most facets of civil rights in succeeding court cases. Subsequent decisions in both state and federal courts have broadened civil rights in housing, public accommodations, and other areas. This growing body of court decisions has been supplemented by acts of Congress, Presidential orders, federal administrative rulings, state statutes, and county and municipal ordinances. In earlier years this body of law applied only to direct state actions (and, by extension, to actions of local jurisdictions), but recent rulings have enjoined private discrimination whenever "to some significant extent the state in any of its manifestations has been found to have become involved" in private acts of discrimination.[1]

Population Mobility

Approximately 1.5 million Negroes left the South between 1950 and 1960. "Although the largest cities have generally registered the largest numerical gains, the largest proportional gains have been experienced by medium-sized cities in the 100,000 to 500,000 range. Syracuse, Rochester, New Haven, San Diego and Fort Wayne all saw Negro populations approximately double in the past decade."[2]

During the 1950-60 decade, for example, the Negro population doubled in the state of Connecticut and tripled in the city of Milwaukee. The 1960 Census of Population shows that one out of every

[1] *Burton v. Wilmington Parking Authority*, 365 U.S. 715, 722.

[2] Eunice and George Grier, *The Impact of Race on Neighborhood in the Metropolitan Setting*, Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, 1961.

eight inhabitants is Negro in Los Angeles, Buffalo, and New Haven, and one out of every four is Negro in Philadelphia and Detroit.

Population Exodus

The 1950-60 decade also saw a tremendous out-migration of white population from central cities to suburbs. Thus the population change in central cities has been the replacement of middle-class whites with Negroes from lower educational and economic strata. The central cities are accumulating substandard areas with high population densities that require disproportionate services at mounting costs.

New Minority Image

Finally, against this pattern of economic and social change, should be set a new minority image, especially of the Negro, that has emerged to challenge the denial of equal opportunity. Bolstered by legislation, court decisions, and recent changes in public policy, Negroes increasingly have taken to direct, "nonviolent" action to secure civil rights immediately and in full. The prevailing majority, accustomed to the concept of "gradualism," has sometimes reacted with a sense of shocked resistance to what it had been prepared to grant over a period of time. Frequently, it is not so much a question of rights as a community problem of timing – but for minority groups time has run out and unfulfilled promises are being presented for payment now. Herein lies one of the main causes of community tensions.

Role of the City Government

For many cities the question is not whether there will be social change but rather the kind and extent of change that will occur. Will the time of transition be a period of stress, conflict, and recrimination? Or will it be handled expeditiously within the context of constitutional law? The city government has a great deal to do with influencing this choice.

Clearly defined city government policy declarations and ordinances are an essential prerequisite for social change. They provide not only the climate for such change but also the legal tools for accomplishing the job. Such directives should make clear that the city government is committed to working toward the goal of equal opportunities for all. In the unequivocal implementation of official regulations, the city manager, the mayor, or other chief administrator bears prime leadership responsibilities. He is the catalyst in the complex interactions in any given city that finally result in achievement.

The assumption of responsible leadership by the municipal administrator is the key to the solution of this modern "American dilemma." A realistic appraisal of community problems, planning for provision of equal opportunity in all aspects of daily living for every citizen, and the large-scale educational job that is required for public acceptance of such planning, all must be undertaken by city leadership *before* conditions reach the threshhold of violence. Wise city heads will institute a program of prevention that will insure the continued growth and prosperity of the community instead of the economically ruinous conflict that some cities have suffered before bowing to the inevitability of desegregation and integration.

Guidelines to Progress

The following are suggested objectives toward which the chief administrator can work to effect meaningful social change:

I. Municipal Policy. Through resolutions and ordinances, establishing an enforceable policy of nondiscrimination in:

1. Public and private employment.
2. Public and private housing.
3. Public education.
4. Public accommodations and facilities.

II. Enforcement. Coordinating, conciliating, and enforcing official policies through:

1. A fair practices commission which receives and investigates complaints, holds hearings, and enforces policies of nondiscrimination.

2. Regulations binding city departments to nondiscrimination.

3. A civil rights coordinator in the executive branch. As responsibility is increasingly accepted within governmental departments, a special coordinator in the executive branch charged with civil rights responsibilities can stimulate and coordinate functions. Such a coordinator can command the authority of the executive branch in the task of keeping heads of departments alert to their obligations and in giving vitality and implementation to civil rights programs within city departments.

III. Implementation. Providing administrative machinery to implement programs in the fields of:

A. Employment.

1. Affirmative nondiscrimination in recruitment by the civil service or merit system, and comprehensive reporting on minority placement.

2. Inspection and compliance programs in contracting departments of the city respecting fair employment on city contracts.

3. Procedures for obtaining fair employment compliance from private employers, and for correcting violations.

B. Housing.

1. Eligibility for public housing solely on the basis of need as determined by the local housing agency or other appropriate governmental authority.

2. Provision of relocation housing for all who are displaced by redevelopment, and administrative controls to insure nondiscrimination in urban renewal programs especially involving slum clearance.

3. Elimination of discrimination in the sale or rental of private housing.

C. Education (in cooperation with the local board of education).

1. A clear policy declaration and an implementing program to overcome *de facto* segregation in public schools.

2. A specific program to overcome the cultural lag in learning receptivity among minority group children.

3. Inclusion of human relations subject matter in the curriculum.

D. Public Accommodations.

1. Regulations requiring nondiscrimination in public services and accommodations, including those both under private and governmental ownership.

2. Enforcement by the police department and other appropriate city government agencies of regulations barring discrimination in hotels, restaurants, theaters, hospitals, and other places of public accommodation.

3. Licensing controls on public services and accommodations requiring nondiscrimination.

E. Community Tensions.

1. A human relations commission or other such official body which can coordinate community efforts to promote affirmative programs of civil rights.

2. A police training program on community and minority group relations.

3. A human relations training program for recreation workers.

4. In cooperation with the local board of education and institutions of higher learning, a teacher training program on intergroup relations.

Preconditions for Successful Change

The organization job to achieve these objectives will depend principally on the type of community involved, the size and nature of the minority population, historic and existing regional and community intergroup relationships, the structure of city government, political alignments, and a host

of other socio-economic complexities. Each community must assess its own stage of civil rights development and its own requirements for achieving social change. However, there are principles common to all civil rights solutions, by which specific implementation should be guided.

Following are some of the preconditions for successful social change:

1. A clear-cut policy, firmly enunciated and unequivocally applied. An ambiguous policy half-heartedly applied is an open invitation to resistance and trouble.

2. Emphasis on inevitability. The South has demonstrated that people adjust to new racial patterns when they are convinced that change is unavoidable.

3. Reassurance that change will not be overwhelming or catastrophic. Many whites equate integration with inundation. The cooperation of the communications media in reporting needed facts and interpretations can be helpful in effecting change with minimum disruption.

4. Convincing precedents for change, drawn from the experience of other, like areas. Next to first-hand experience such precedents offer the best way to allay unjustified fears, familiarize people with new ideas, and destroy the myth that racial change always means trouble.

5. Communication between majority and minority groups, allaying fear through the destruction of long-held stereotypes. Mutually agreed upon approaches to solutions worked out in concert, including the pressing problem of timing, will find much more ready acceptance on the part of all concerned.

6. Practical self-interest (most especially economic self-interest) enlisted on the side of change. This is critical, and should be brought into play at the earliest possible moment to demonstrate that the entire community has a great deal to gain from progress toward equal treatment and opportunity.

7. Moral leadership. The churches have a special responsibility to clarify the moral issues involved in discrimination. But all community leaders can contribute to public acceptance of needed social change as a moral as well as a practical imperative.

Resource Agencies. In the accomplishment of these over-all objectives, city administrators would do well to avail themselves of the services of the many human relations agencies whose representatives reach virtually every community in the country. These specialists are skilled and experienced not only in community tension problems but also in affirmative actions which can help to eliminate discrimination and provide equal opportunity to minority groups. If such resource agencies do not have local representation, the state university can recommend an agency representative.

Program Areas

The nation's progress toward equal opportunity is the sum total of advances made in thousands of communities. This report is an account of such progress by the presentation of examples from individual cities in all parts of the United States. The following section covers "The Organization Job," and the balance of this report comprises six major sections covering the work of human relations commissions, police practices, public education, employment practices, public and private housing, and the provision of public facilities. A resource reading list is included at the end of this report for those municipal administrators who wish to go more deeply into specific problems and measures to overcome them.

The Organization Job

The preceding section outlines the policy framework for the city government in fulfilling its role as an agent in providing equal opportunity for all citizens. Beyond this, however, a start must be made by the chief administrator in clarifying problems and setting forth immediate and long-term objectives. Depending upon his position in the community, the chief administrator should determine the extent to which he can assume leadership and the degree to which he should work through other leaders in the community. Successful programs depend upon effective leadership and a

systematic job of organizing community resources. In doing this it helps to envision six steps that should be taken.

Identify the Problem

The first step is to identify the problem areas and define objectives. The problems may be cultural rather than ethnic—that is to say, a major problem may be the difficulty that children of urban newcomers have in developing suitable language skills for doing adequate work in the public schools. Remedial reading may be of more importance in the long run than fair employment practices.

Plan a Tentative Program

The next step is to develop tentative priorities for meeting objectives. This program may include, but is not necessarily limited to, establishment of a human relations commission, development of in-service training for the police department in race relations, studies of environmental health programs for ethnic groups, remedial reading programs for the children of in-migrants, and preparation and review of appropriate city ordinances.

Inventory Local Resources

The next step is to inventory the groups within the community that can help in various aspects of a well-rounded program. Such resource groups include the city government itself, both the city council and city employees; the local ministerial association or council of churches; the central labor council; the local board of education and the school superintendent and staff; the downtown businessmen's association; the health and welfare council; and service clubs. It is likely that some of these groups already have demonstrated an interest in some aspects of human relations, and they may even have developed certain programs. These resources provide the foundation on which the city government can develop an over-all approach.

Develop a Detailed Program

When the inventory has been completed, the chief administrator knows about the work that already is being done by private organizations and other governments in housing, employment, and other areas. He then can think in terms of the work that must be undertaken by the city government to meet deficiencies.

It is up to the appropriate authorities, usually the mayor or the city council, to call together representatives of these resource groups for discussion on the work to be undertaken in agreed-upon areas.

Assign Responsibilities

The next step is to assign responsibilities for each of the resource groups, including of course the city government, with respect to program, financing, procedures, staffing, and reporting. Obviously this involves a cooperative approach. Compulsion is neither feasible nor desirable. The more that agreement can be reached, the more specific the responsibilities that can be undertaken and the better the over-all program will be.

Review and Evaluation

Finally, the program should be placed into effect and then modified as needed on the basis of experience. Review and evaluation should be built in to meet changing needs and to learn from past mistakes. It should be emphasized that the role of the city government throughout this process is that of gathering information, meeting with representatives of appropriate organizations, encouraging cooperative action, recommending community goals, and providing, in a nonauthoritarian sense, community leadership.

Human Relations Commissions

To calm the tensions that grow out of racial and ethnic differences, and to help solve problems of minority groups in changing and often overcrowded cities, human relations agencies have been established by many municipal governments.

Cleveland, Ohio, established the Community Relations Board as a municipal agency in 1945. Cleveland thus claims to have the first human relations agency in the United States to be formed by ordinance, although Chicago, Cincinnati, and Detroit, among others, had taken similar action earlier by mayoral decree.

By 1962, more than 40 large cities in the nation had official intergroup agencies staffed by professional workers. Others have nonpaid, advisory citizen groups. Illinois alone has at least 15 official municipal human relations commissions, although only the one in Chicago has a professional staff. In addition, there are a myriad of private, unofficial race relations agencies.

Programs

The programs and activities of human relations commissions are as varied as the problems of minority groups themselves. The examples set forth in the following paragraphs cover employment, political campaigns, education, public accommodations, and housing. The authority of human relations commissions also varies widely from educational and advisory groups to those, as in Philadelphia, with enforcement powers.

Alton, Illinois. The youth committee of the Alton Commission on Human Relations, in cooperation with local businessmen, sponsored a Youth Employment Day in 1961. Negro and white high school students took jobs for a day with various business establishments and, as an immediate result, several of the students obtained part-time employment. The Commission felt that the community as a whole gained a new view of the potential of both white and Negro youth.

Newark, New Jersey. Among the varied activities of the Mayor's Commission on Group Relations of Newark has been the provision of scholarships for qualified residents to attend summer workshops in human relations and community leadership. The Commission also has sponsored a Code of Fair Campaign Practices which pledges political candidates, among other things, to condemn any appeal to prejudice based on race or creed. Forty-one of 52 municipal candidates signed the pledge in 1961.

Toledo, Ohio. The Toledo (Ohio) Board of Community Relations was created by the city council in 1946 primarily as an agency for information and education. The mayor is authorized to appoint 20 persons nominated by business, labor, and religious groups as well as five public members of his own choosing. The Board has an executive secretary, an assistant, and a clerical staff. For five years the Board, together with the University of Toledo and the local federation of teachers, sponsored a two-week intergroup relations workshop for civic leaders and teachers. This was followed by a pilot demonstration project at one of the elementary schools, with intensive study of intergroup relations problems by the entire faculty.

Cognizant of "the fact that the home and community at large are the learning areas in which youngsters pick up discriminatory practices," the Toledo Board has sponsored, with the presidents of Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant women's groups, a series of annual Women's Institutes on Human Relations. These institutes have dealt with such topics as prejudice in speech, the high cost of discrimination, fair employment, Spanish speaking neighbors, housing, and how to deal with problems and controversies in intergroup relations. In addition, the Board sponsors a Program Planners Institute every other year to explain the group's work to representatives of civic groups.

Wichita, Kansas. Wichita became the first city in Kansas to staff its human relations commission with a paid, full-time professional intergroup relations worker. The commission consists of 30 citizens appointed by the mayor with the approval of the city council.

Philadelphia. The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations was established by the home rule charter of 1951. The following year it assumed the powers and duties of the Philadelphia Fair Employment Practice Commission, established in 1948. With a staff of 21 professional employees,

Commission has been able to initiate a variety of programs. It has developed a special training program in human relations for municipal personnel and for volunteers in community groups.

In 1961 the Philadelphia Commission held a seminar for executives of press, radio and television and intergroup relations agencies to discuss the handling of racial news. A set of guidelines was adopted for voluntary use by news media and agencies. The Commission also began a leadership development and participation program to help prepare young minority group citizens for service on various boards and committees.

The First Negro Family

Sometimes the arrival of the first family of a "different" race in a city can send officials and citizens into action as surely as a great influx. Such was the case in Park Forest, Illinois, and Medford, Oregon.

Park Forest. The trustees (city councilmen) of Park Forest, Illinois, appointed a human relations commission to study what could be done to provide a smooth transition if a Negro family moved to the village. The commission enlisted the support of leaders of the community, including the clergy. The group took no overt action until the first Negro family moved to the city in 1959. The commission and trustees then went into action. All residents in the neighborhood affected were visited by a trustee and their clergyman. It was made clear that the village leaders welcomed the new family. Police surveillance of the area was increased for the first week. This same procedure was used in 1963 (but with less fanfare) when a second Negro family moved in. (The first family in the meantime had moved to New York City.)

It would be less than honest to say everybody was happy about the "move-in," but everybody respected the law. Three factors seem to have been important to this peaceful transition. First, Park Forest is a suburban community with a large percentage of well educated people. Second, the leadership let it be known that the Negro family's rights would be respected. Third, the situation was handled with as little publicity as possible.

Medford. The Oregon State Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights reported in 1961 how a human rights group, in cooperation with other agencies, aided in reaching a satisfactory solution when the first Negro family came to Medford. The U. S. Weather Bureau transferred a Negro family to its Medford station, and the employee asked the aid of his superior in finding housing. They first tried a college town 15 miles away but were rebuffed by real estate agents. Then, the Advisory Committee reported:

> Returning to Medford, they got in touch with a newly formed human rights council in the city which found housing for them, although without employment of real estate agencies. The expected opposition movement developed with derogatory rumors, a circulated petition, and "semi-violent" reactions from two or three families, and hostile reactions from another three or four families. Those opposed made the most noise. But with the support of the ministerial association, the local newspaper and the police, the human rights council was able to hold the line. The chief of police, incidentally, is a member of the board of the human rights council.
>
> Thus, the first Negro family resides peacefully in the city, and the "policy of exclusion" is breached. The human rights council has grown markedly in membership and prestige as a result of this incident, and its members express amazement at the widespread support they received. . . .
>
> The incident shows that even where a firm tradition of exclusion had prevailed for a century, there was a preponderance of people who were willing to support the right of the Negro. . . The case was basically community action. The law gave them backing, but was not invoked. . . .

The South

The southern counterparts to the professional human relations agencies of the North and West and the permanent advisory councils are the official, but for the most part temporary, mediating committees. Some 35 cities in the South now have, or have had in the past few years, such committees. They have been formed most often to mediate controversies growing out of sit-in demonstrations and boycotts. The most common have been the biracial committees appointed by city officials to deal with specific problems. In addition, a number of southern cities have long-standing, unofficial and private race relations councils.

Police

"The key toward gaining community respect is to treat all individuals the same – with fairness, impartiality, honesty, courtesy and firmness." This advice to policemen is given in the *Guide to Community Relations for Peace Officers*, published by the office of the California Attorney General in 1958.

This always has been the goal of good police departments, but the need to make it a firm practice never has been more urgent. With urban areas becoming ever more crowded, with changes in the racial composition of cities and neighborhoods, with aroused Negro citizens pressing with greater vigor for legal equality, and with the court-ordered desegregation of a lengthening list of facilities, tensions mount. If left unchecked, widespread disorder, mob action and violence may result where police departments and city officials have been ill-prepared or unwilling to act.

A detailed examination of all phases of police action in this field is impossible here, but a brief consideration of what some cities have done is indicative of widespread concern.

Prevention

Every good police department emphasizes the duty of officers to enforce laws impartially. As Chief of Police J. E. Curry of Dallas, Texas, has said, "Only so long as we enforce the law equally and equitably will we have the respect and support of the people."

Most law officials agree on the importance of recognizing alarm signals of impending racial trouble, such as: the appearance of threatening or derogatory signs in public places; the circulation of "hate" publications; an increasing number of rumors, growing in sensation; greater activity by known agitators; more threats or incidents of violence; an increase in charges of police brutality and a growing distrust of law enforcement; and gang fights by juveniles.

The consensus of police institutes also suggests the need for an intelligence system which keeps the police department in touch with groups for and against segregation, an awareness of potentially troublesome situations, and cooperation with other community agencies and with public information media.

Many large cities have police manuals which include suggested procedures for controlling mobs, should they form despite precautions. These deal with means of quelling riots, such as the need for a quick show of force (actual use of force may not be necessary), separating the ringleaders, and the use of megaphones, police cordons, and weapons.

Police Training

Police departments in many cities in recent years have conducted or participated in training programs in human and race relations to be better prepared for the changing composition of urban areas. Large-city departments often have organized their own programs, and sometimes have made such training available to smaller neighboring communities. In addition, police-community relations courses and training institutes for law enforcement officers in all types of state and local government agencies have spread across the country. These training programs, in addition to covering general principles, show the ways in which effective and ineffective police action can affect emotionally charged situations extending from racial problems.

The Southern Police Institute, established at the University of Louisville in 1950, devotes much of its 17-week program to human relations. A national institute on police-community relations has been held since 1955 at the School of Police Administration and Public Safety at Michigan State University, with the cooperation of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the National Sheriffs Association, and the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Regional institutes supplement these programs. In addition to these regional programs,

counterpart institutes of one to three days duration are held in at least 12 states, and more than 50 cities hold local programs in cooperation with the national conference of Christians and Jews.[3]

Negro Officers

Employment of Negro officers is a subject which inevitably comes up in any discussion of police and race. A report of such employment in the South issued in 1961 by the Southern Regional Council (*The Unequal Badge* by Elliott M. Rudwick) showed:

The employment of Negro police, which increased after World War II, has gained little ground in the South since 1954. At that time, there were 536 uniformed police in 146 cities in the 11 Southern states, plus Oklahoma and Kentucky, and in 1959 the same cities had 646, a small increase considering the growth of the Negro population in urban centers.

"In the South (as well as other parts of the country), there are not many Negro law enforcement officers who have reached a rank of sergeant or above," the report pointed out, adding that this is partially due to the short period of time Negroes have been employed in substantial numbers. However, Daytona Beach, Florida; Louisville, Kentucky; Atlanta, Georgia; and Durham, North Carolina, all have Negro lieutenants.

In the area surveyed, over 83 per cent indicated that Negro officers operate exclusively in Negro districts, and in over one-half the cities the Negro officer must not arrest white citizens for any crime but must "hold" them until a white officer arrives. Pensacola, Florida, has one of the few southern police departments that does not restrict Negro officers in assignments or arrest powers; the Atlanta police chief lifted similar restrictions in 1961.

Some Examples

The police in many communities must be prepared to deal with school desegregation, juvenile problems, housing, use of public accommodations, and charges of abuse of police authority. The following examples illustrate all of these areas of concern to municipal police departments.

Atlanta. This city was better prepared for a change in racial customs than most southern communities due to various active citizens organizations pledged to law and order and acceptance of court rulings. However, there also were active and highly vocal segregationists and an influx of outside racists and agitators just as determined on the other side. The mayor and police chief tipped the scales in favor of law and order and kept the city free of serious violence during the desegregation of schools.

William Hartsfield, then mayor of Atlanta, and Police Chief Herbert Jenkins, anticipating the desegregation, had sent men from the police force to Little Rock and New Orleans to learn from their experience and held police seminars on riot control. Police maintained files on all race agitators. The superintendent of schools began preparing students by holding meetings stressing the students' responsibility to maintain order when schools were desegregated.

With the opening of school in the fall, Atlanta police kept a 24-hour watch on the schools affected, and the grounds and immediate vicinities were off-limits to spectators. The press was kept fully informed, and an information center was set up in city hall. The long preparation, the show of determination by the police, and the emphasis on firm and impartial control paid off.

Oakland. This city illustrates a growing tendency for police departments to work with other city agencies on the special problems growing out of depressed economic and minority group status.

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[3] Additional information on police training institutes can be obtained from the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 West 57 Street, New York 19; School of Police Administration and Public Safety, Michigan State University, East Lansing; Southern Police Institute, University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky; and the International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1319 Eighteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

An article in *Fortune* magazine "The City and the Negro," by Charles E. Silberman, March, 1962) cited an example how this city coordinated the work of several municipal agencies:

> Wayne Thompson, the young city manager of Oakland, Calif., has pulled together seven public agencies representing four levels of government into something called the Associated Agencies. Fortnightly meetings of the A.A. workers in each section of the city are held to coordinate their work. In dealing with one school marked by frequent violence, for example, the school superintendent allowed the police to seal off the school area and then clean out the guns and knives in the school lockers. The school, police, recreation, probation, and welfare workers then culled a list of troublemakers, letting each agency take responsibility for the children it already knew, or upon whom it had some particular claim. Out of 2,800 pupils, only 54 turned out to be real troublemakers; when the whole job had been finished, only two had to be moved out of school into detention. Since the Associated Agencies program started in late 1957, Oakland has been relatively free of trouble.

Philadelphia. A veteran Negro police executive in Philadelphia, with the rank of chief inspector in 1961 was assigned command of the police department's new community relations program. He and his staff, which includes 22 human relations officers, will serve as liaison between the police commissioner and the commission on human relations, the crime prevention association, and related agencies.

In 1958, the mayor of Philadelphia appointed the first members of the city's police advisory board, a non partisan body composed of leading citizens. The board hears complaints against policemen of such grievances as undue use of force or brutality, discrimination, or violation of constitutional rights. It has settled more than two-thirds of 300 complaints without formal hearings by explaining the legality of the policeman's act or getting an apology for the complainant. Martin S. Barol, lawyer and executive director of the board, said that the agency has acted as a "safety valve in the community. No longer is it necessary for a citizen who feels himself wronged by police action to harbor resentment within himself, or to spread his hostile feelings throughout the community." Barol added the board has not "demoralized the police force," contrary to the prediction of the Fraternal Order of Police, which has opposed such boards. Similar civilian boards have been set up in Los Angeles, Minneapolis, and York (Pennsylvania).

Negaunee, Michigan. The need for a different kind of coordination was pointed up in Negaunee which was faced with a situation in 1961 that could confront other smaller cities. There were approximately 5,000 troops, a high percentage of them Negro, stationed at nearby Sawyer Air Force Base, which had been reactivated four years earlier.

Negaunee is an Upper Peninsula mining town of about 6,000. Recreational facilities in the area are limited, and transportation to the nearest large cities is inadequate for the troops. One Saturday night in September, 1961, violence broke out between some of the airmen and Negaunee civilians. While the commander of the base and the city manager felt early reports of the trouble were exaggerated, nevertheless the incident demanded precautions to forestall any future outbreak.

On the night in question, there were a few minor skirmishes and some taunts and name calling in the town early in the evening. Then, at 9:15 p.m., a Negro airman was found beaten in a municipal parking lot; a rumor spread quickly that he had been whipped with a chain. More Air Force personnel – estimates ranged up to 100 – began coming into Negaunee, and soon a series of fights broke out in the downtown section.

The police chief was away on vacation, and there were only two policemen, plus a desk man, on duty. The senior policeman then in town, a lieutenant, was called and some time later he called City Manager Leonard J. Harris, who took charge. Harris said he telephoned the base for air police assistance but was told by a sergeant on duty that the provost marshal "could not be bothered." The colonel in charge of the base said later that police also had phoned him that night and asked for help and that he referred them to the state police.

The city manager deputized 18 local firemen and sent a call for help to the sheriff's office and the state police. Within a short time, four state troopers and four deputies arrived and by 3:00 a.m. the disorder was under control.

Subsequently two Negro airmen and two white citizens of Negaunee were sentenced to 90 days in jail on disorderly conduct charges, and a high school youth was placed on probation for a year.

A report issued by the base commander and the city manager said rumors that the airman had been beaten by a chain were unfounded. Of the disorder, City Manager Harris says:

> There were a number of contributing factors responsible for this outbreak, some of which were due entirely to lack of foresight on the part of the Air Force and some of the agitation came directly from some undesirable elements in the City of Negaunee. . . . I personally feel that if on the night of this occurrence the Police Department had immediately jailed both the colored and the whites who were involved and cleared the streets as I did when I was called, it would have ended much sooner than it did.

In the days following, several changes were made in the police department, and the City Council agreed to recommendations by the City Manager, including: strict enforcement of the antiloitering ordinance; harsher penalties for repeated convictions for drunkeness and disorderly conduct; and suspension or revocation of licenses of taverns and restaurants not conducted properly. The Air Force agreed to the city manager's request for a courtesy patrol of Air Police and warned troops that further disturbances would result in the maximum punishment allowable under the Uniform Code of Military Justice. Since then only one further incident has been reported in Negaunee. Three airmen who were charged with striking a teen-age boy without provocation were jailed for 90 days and dismissed from the Air Force.

Los Angeles. Negroes began moving into a southwest section of the city. By the time they represented nearly 50 per cent of the student body in the schools, white and Negro gangs were forming, and fights were becoming a daily occurrence. A junior high school became the focal point of trouble. Community organizations began working on the adult level. The police department set up patrols around the schools, and juvenile officers concentrated on the problem. They learned the membership of the gangs and secured evidence leading to the arrest of the agitators.

One of the most important aspects of the Los Angeles police work was investigation of rumors, which were the excuse for most acts of violence. Fact was separated from fiction and the facts made public. The police department, working with the schools and community agencies, brought about such an easing of tension that today this junior high school has fewer problems of a racial or cultural nature than others in the city.

San Francisco. In 1954, when integration of public housing projects was planned, an inspector of the police department was designated a liaison officer with the city housing authority. He was kept informed whenever a member of a different race was to move into a project, and he in turn notified the district police station. Procedures were established to prevent disturbances. Plainclothesmen were on hand, and uniformed police were a short distance away, to observe whenever a member of another race moved into a project. ("We felt that the attendant presence of uniformed police would attract unnecessary attention to the situation wherein the desired atmosphere would be one of normalcy.") After the move, radio cars patrolled in a casual manner and contact was maintained between the individual housing projects and the district police stations in order to spot any friction. Not a single disturbance or incident was reported at any of the housing projects, and integration was successfully accomplished.

Dallas. An area which had been white began a period of transition. Schools were segregated at that time and Negro youths had to pass a white school en route to their own. The Negro and white students began pushing each other as they met on the sidewalk, and tension mounted in the whole community. Additional police squads were assigned to the area. Whenever children were found pushing, a call was made to the homes of all the children involved, both white and Negro. If the same children were involved in several clashes, they were referred to the county juvenile officers. The Negro community soon realized the law was being enforced impartially, and the white community learned that violence directed against a minority group would not be tolerated. Thus a situation which might have resulted in widespread, long-lasting tension was mediated peacefully.

Chicago. In 1961 when a group of Negroes and whites began a series of "wade-in" demonstrations at a public beach formerly used almost exclusively by white persons, week-end crowds varying from 3,000 to 10,000 gathered. Demonstrators had notified police of their intentions, and when the first demonstrating group of about 75 persons arrived, 175 policemen were on hand to patrol. The police captain in charge, carrying a portable megaphone, walked along the beach and told the crowd

either to disperse or be seated on the beach. Twelve persons, 11 whites and one Negro, were arrested the first week-end and charged with disturbing the peace. The calm that prevailed after several week-ends was attributed to heavy police protection, plus support from representatives of the major religious faiths, both on the scene and in statements of approval of the demonstrators' aims.

Education

Since the 1954-55 decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court, publicity has been focused on the resistance, the struggles, and the accommodations of the South and border states to school desegregation. Even the most casual newspaper reader has been aware of the violence in some cities, which in its most extreme form called for Federal troops; of the almost calm acceptance of change in others, a change which has brought token desegregation to eight southern states; and of the resistance and legal maneuvers which have left three states — Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina — with completely segregated elementary and secondary schools.

In the past few years, however, the spotlight has focused increasingly on cities in the North with *de facto* school segregation. (With the start of the 1962-63 school term, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had filed school desegregation suits against 11 cities in New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Kansas, and California.) As Negroes have flocked to urban centers, they have concentrated in central cities which generally offer the only available housing. Consequently, many city schools are predominantly Negro. In short, segregated housing leads to segregated schools.

No long-range, satisfactory solution to the school problem of most large cities is likely until the housing market is broadened for Negroes. But many Negroes are unwilling to wait for the housing picture to change, claiming that in the meantime predominantly Negro schools in the North often are overcrowded, inadequately staffed and equipped, and housed in substandard buildings. Also, they charge that some school district lines are deliberately gerrymandered to keep neighborhood schools all-white or all-Negro.

As a result of one such charge, brought to court in New Rochelle, New York, a federal judge held that gerrymandering in the past had kept a school 94 per cent Negro. He ordered that Negroes be allowed free access to white schools elsewhere in the city.

Neighborhood Schools

One point of controversy has been the neighborhood school which has been the accepted practice all over the country. One side contends that upgrading existing Negro schools is preferable to transporting children across the city to achieve some desegregation. Others maintain that, as the Supreme Court said in its school ruling, "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." They argue that some racial balance must be achieved, and if there is no other way, because of the housing pattern, then pupils must be transported.

Criss-crossing school buses, taking children from one school to a distant one just to achieve some desegregation has not been a very popular solution, involving as it does exhausting bus trips across town in the large cities or the expense of acquiring more buses for smaller communities. However, where Negro schools are overcrowded and there are underpopulated schools in white areas, some transporting can achieve a better balance. Last fall, New York City's "open enrollment" plan allowed 9,000 children in heavily Negro and Puerto Rican schools to attend underpopulated schools in other neighborhoods. Chicago and Newark have similar programs.

Princeton, New Jersey, has abandoned the concept of neighborhood schools and thus eliminated segregation. One school is used for all children in kindergarten through the fifth grade, another for the sixth through eighth grades. The city provides no transportation, and most pupils walk or ride their bicycles or, in the case of small children, are driven in private car pools. Willow Grove, Pennsylvania, has a similar system. The Princeton plan has been studied by a number of other smaller cities where distances are not so great as to present a transportation problem, and by larger cities where similar plans within given areas are under consideration.

The Board of Education in Morristown, New Jersey, adopted a plan to convert a predominantly Negro elementary school to a junior high in 1963 and scatter the displaced children to other schools.

The school board of Danville, Illinois, after protests and picketing by Negro parents who contended new elementary school boundaries perpetuated segregation, has announced that hereafter the predominantly Negro school and two others will be open to students throughout the city. The board has agreed to assign Negro teachers to the high school and to other elementary schools.

Other non-Southern cities which announced plans of voluntary school desegregation in 1962 were Jersey City and Montclair, New Jersey; Stamford, Connecticut; Coatesville and Washington, Pennsylvania; Mount Vernon, Illinois; and Eloy, Arizona.

Aid for Children

As school systems across the country face new problems and challenges because of a growing and changing population, more is heard of the "culturally deprived" child. Studies have shown that many children from rural areas or poor urban families suffer in linguistic development and general ability to follow a curriculum designed for children with middle-class backgrounds. Even though they may be normal or above in native intelligence, these children often have been so removed from the world of the settled, "average" middle-class family, that they cannot communicate, relate textbook examples to their own lives, or even understand them. Their health may be poor, they may be hungry, and their motivation for school nonexistent. To help these children from migrant and deprived families realize their potentialities and become a self-supporting asset to the community, several cities have instituted special supplementary or enrichment programs.

New York City probably has the most far-reaching program, including non-English classes for Puerto Ricans and others who have come to New York schools from outside the continental United States. It includes work with the children and family, field trips and excursions, screening and testing of new entrants, and guidance and counseling. Results have shown up in improved reading ability, attendance, and morale.

Pittsburgh is meeting the challenge in another way by developing new techniques of teaching. A pilot project has been set up in five elementary schools, with teaching teams organized to meet a multipurpose goal, including increased student achievement, better appreciation of education among parents, and gradual lightening of the welfare burden. The team consists of a master teacher, regular teachers, a team mother, and unpaid assistants who are student teachers from local colleges, all of whom work with children in need of extra help in the selected schools.

Milwaukee has special classes for in-migrant pupils. The classes, in several schools with the largest number of newcomers, are kept small, and children are taught there until they are ready to move into regular classes. A welfare counsellor works with parents, and a psychologist and personnel from the local health department cooperate.

St. Louis has the Banneker program in 23 elementary schools, with a 95 per cent Negro enrollment, in the poorer part of the city. Special teaching programs have been developed, parent cooperation in home work assignments enlisted, and children stimulated by field trips, honor awards, and discussions. In three years the number of Banneker pupils in the top of three "tracks" was tripled and the bottom "track" halved.

Negro children have been aided by special programs in Kansas City, Missouri, to overcome their environmental handicaps and gradually are raising their median achievement levels to those of white pupils. Detroit, Chicago, and Washington also have programs designed to aid children with special problems in a new, competitive environment.

Detroit also began an experiment in 1961 with new preprimers for half the first graders in the city schools. Since most primers are based on what has been described as the all-white, antiseptic world of "Dick and Jane," they have little meaning to a child whose front lawn is a crowded city sidewalk — and who may be Negro. After taping conversations with hundreds of elementary school children in Detroit and finding the 100 words used most frequently, the preprimer textbooks were rewritten, using these words and presenting situations about white and Negro children in

crowded big cities. Later, the Detroit groups using the new, and those using the standard texts, will be tested to see if children learn faster from books which reflect their own background.

Washington, D.C., is developing a study guide to show the place of the Negro in American culture and history in an effort to instill pride in the contribution of Negroes. Also under development is a second study guide tracing the development of Nazi racism in Germany, as an object lesson in the value of democracy and tolerance.

The school administration in San Angelo, Texas, has established a free tutoring program at nights. It is open to all high school students, and both white and Negro children have enrolled for the extra classes. The school system of Tucson, Arizona, operates an orientation program for pupils and teachers with respect to problems of integration.

Aid for Adults

Tucson is one of a number of cities with education-orientation programs on the adult level. The University of Arizona's home economics department and a low-income housing project in Tucson sponsor a program to help project residents, including some ex-migrant farm workers, adjust to their new community. Graduate and senior students have met with mothers to discuss budget, diet, and problems of child care.

In Belle Glade, Florida, a paid employee of the local health department works with seasonal farm workers on child care and personal health problems and helps worker families learn to use community health services.

In yet another program, aimed not primarily at newcomers but for adults in the community as a whole, the Mayor's Commission on Group Relations in Newark, New Jersey in cooperation with Fuld Neighborhood House, has been offering an adult education course on "The Negro in American History." The course was instituted to acquaint both white and Negro citizens with the contributions the Negro has made to American development.

The Cleveland Community Relations Board has set up a department of migration to aid the four major newcomer groups to the city: southern Negroes, southern Appalachians, American Indians, and Puerto Ricans. The Board distributes English and Spanish versions of a directory of community services and a kit of materials compiled to aid these newcomers. The Board holds orientation meetings every six weeks with Indian newcomers to answer questions about the city and urban behavior. It also conducts information programs for Puerto Ricans (there were 6,500 from this commonwealth in Cleveland in 1961).

The Board has sponsored programs and a fair to acquaint other Cleveland residents with the cultural contributions of former residents of the Appalachian Mountain region. The staff has visited industrial plants in the area to gather information on the employment problems of the newcomers and has spent a great deal of its educational effort on the matter of wage garnishments since new, underprivileged residents often are the victims of unscrupulous salesmen.

In cooperation with area colleges, the Mayor's Committee on New Residents in Chicago offers a Spanish course to aid police and other municipal workers who deal with the new Spanish-speaking residents of the city. Newark offers a similar course for city employees.

Guidelines

Judging by the experience of cities faced with protests over school segregation, a few guidelines emerge to help smooth the path toward racial harmony. A well-planned public information program can help explain the drawing of school boundaries, where these boundaries have been set in a logical fashion with no effort to gerrymander in order to maintain predominantly white or Negro schools.

A willingness to discuss mutual problems with leaders of minority groups and to enlist their aid in arriving at solutions is helpful to the community as a whole, as is insistence that all schools in the system be housed, equipped, and staffed equitably. Hiring and assignment of teachers and

administrators on a merit basis, regardless of race, and minority group representation on school boards are also sound practices.

Employment

An area that cities are often forced to consider is fair employment practices. It has been estimated that if the present capabilities of the nonwhite population were utilized fully, the gross national product could be increased by 2.5 per cent. But these figures are abstract to the individual. What counts is the failed to get a job because of his race even though he was fully qualified. If so, he turns to government for help, and government is then forced to respond. What is being done to improve employment opportunities for minority groups?

Federal Action

Government employment without racial or religious discrimination is the policy of the United States, based on the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments. The drive to eliminate prejudice in hiring federal employees has been stepped up in recent years, but the eventual goal, and legal requirement, has long been clear: government employment will be based on qualification, without regard to color or religion.

From the passage of the Civil Service Act of 1883, with its principle of merit employment and a subsequent regulation outlawing religious discrimination, to the 1940 civil service rule prohibiting racial discrimination, up to today's President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, the federal government has sought, with variable emphasis, to make fair employment a reality as well as a principle.

Private employment, however, is another matter. During World War II a federal fair employment practices commission was established. The commission lacked power to enforce its decisions and had jurisdiction only over employment by government contractors and federal government agencies. A Presidential Executive Order, issued in March, 1961, stipulates that every private contractor or subcontractor doing business with the federal government must sign a contract with an antidiscrimination clause. Except in this area of federal contracts, action on job discrimination by private employers has been left to states and municipalities. The former can act under their police powers, and the latter where power has been delegated to them by the respective states.

State Action

Twenty-five states and the Virgin Islands have passed fair employment (FEP) laws. Twenty of these provide for enforcement by administrative agencies and, while concerned mainly with private employment, also strengthen bans on discrimination in public employment. The 20 with administrative agencies are Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington, and Wisconsin.

Nebraska bans defense work employment bias; Arizona bars discrimination in public employment and by employers doing state contract work. Indiana and Nevada declare job discrimination to be against public policy and authorize a commission to investigate complaints. Idaho and the Virgin Islands rely on court action for enforcement of employment discrimination.

Municipal Action

Local FEP Laws. Approximately 40 municipalities have enacted local ordinances outlawing discrimination in employment. Most cities with FEP laws are in states which also have FEP statutes, but some cities preceded their states in such action. Des Moines and Sioux City, Iowa, and Baltimore, Maryland, for example, have adopted local laws although their states as yet have no FEP legislation. A sampling of cities which have taken action on fair employment shows the variety of approaches used.

1. City Employment. The Lansing, Michigan, city council has adopted a municipal code of

fair practices requiring city agencies to hire and operate on a racially nondiscriminatory basis. A Des Moines, Iowa, ordinance provides that the city's Commission on Job Discrimination can investigate and hold hearings on possible discrimination in any department of the city government. Violations are reported to the city manager.

The city council of Richmond, Virginia, in 1961 unanimously passed an FEP resolution covering municipal workers. To overcome a legal objection, the resolution was in the form of a recommendation to the city's personnel board. The board was asked to adopt a rule providing for employment and promotion solely on a merit basis, without regard to race, creed, or arbitrary maximum age limits.

2. Contractors for City. Sioux City, Iowa, passed an ordinance in 1951 which applies to municipal employees and to contractors, licensees, and franchise holders of the city. The ordinance, making employment discrimination by such agencies unlawful, is administered by a five-member commission appointed by the mayor and approved by the city council. Maximum punishment for violations is 30 days in jail or a fine of $100.

3. Mediation of Complaints. Cleveland, Ohio, passed a fair employment ordinance in 1950 giving the community relations board the responsibility of receiving complaints and making investigations and recommendations. The board cannot initiate investigations but must wait for individual complaints. Complaints sometimes are referred to union officials, the Ohio Civil Rights Commission, the state bureau of unemployment compensation, the city civil service commission, and the National Labor Relations Board.

4. Investigation and Legal Action. In 1957, Bakersfield, California, adopted an ordinance outlawing discrimination in employment because of race, religion, or place of birth, and created a commission on equal employment opportunity. The ordinance, which applied to "employers, employment agencies, labor organizations and others," provided that if the commission was unable to eliminate any discrimination charged, a majority vote of all members could certify the matter to the city attorney for appropriate legal action. It also provided for procedures whereby any employer, employment agency, or labor union found by a court to have violated the amendment twice within a period of one year would not be eligible to enter into any contract with the city for one year. (See below, "Relation of Local and State Laws.")

The city council of Des Moines, Iowa, adopted an ordinance in 1956 creating a commission on job discrimination, consisting of five members appointed by the city council. The ordinance outlaws discrimination by employers, labor unions, and employment agencies and authorizes the Commission to investigate and hold public hearings on charges of employment bias. If respondents fail to comply with any recommendations, the commission must certify the case to the city solicitor for action. Conviction for violation of the antidiscrimination laws carries a maximum penalty of 30 days imprisonment or a fine of $100. The ordinance also states that the commission may, on its own initiative, investigate and hold hearings on possible discrimination in any department of the city government. Any violations then must be reported to the city manager for appropriate action.

In a 1955 ordinance Pittsburgh strengthened an earlier FEP ordinance and provided for a 15-member commission on human relations appointed by the mayor, who also was authorized to appoint an executive director. It authorizes the commission to initiate or receive and investigate complaints charging unlawful employment practices by city or private employers and to certify any violations to the city solicitor for action.

5. Subpoena Power. Baltimore in 1960 strengthened its 1956 law barring discrimination in private employment by giving the administering agency, the Baltimore Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, subpoena power. If respondents refuse cease and desist orders, the Commission can certify the matter to the city law department, which is required to seek court aid to secure compliance.

Relation of Local and State Laws. The Bakersfield FEP ordinance and a similar one applying to private as well as public agencies passed by San Francisco were forerunners of a state law which became effective September 18, 1959. The California FEP law explicitly provided that local FEP agencies would cease to exist one year from the effective date of the state legislation. On the other

hand, some states — Minnesota and Pennsylvania, for example — allow their municipal FEP groups to operate autonomously in cooperation with the state commission and have set up a procedure for referrals from city to state agencies.

Developing FEP Legislation. Cities contemplating FEP laws should study the various approaches in detail. Careful review of existing laws is helpful. Local situations vary.

All of the approaches demonstrate a concern with the importance of the problem to the families affected and to their communities. However, the appointment of a study group or a committee has no lasting effect unless there is vigorous follow-up; nor does even legislation with legal sanctions and a professional staff necessarily mean a city is meeting all its commitments. Jack Greenberg, in *Race Relations and American Law* pointed out, "Activity and effectiveness are not determined merely by budget, but to a great extent reflect the attitude of the guiding personnel."

Administering the Law

A number of cities demonstrate ways in which FEP legislation can be administered, interpreted or supplemented.

1. Recruitment Advertizing. The Erie (Pennsylvania) Community Relations Commission, for example, has endorsed a resolution interpreting the city's FEP ordinance as barring advertisements for "situations wanted" from including reference to race or religion.

2. Government Employment. In August, 1961, the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors unanimously voted to conduct a survey of the more than 40,000 county workers to determine the employment pattern of "persons of Oriental, Negro and Mexican American antecedents." The study was carried out under direction of a committee of county officials, including the executive secretary of the Human Relations Committee of Los Angeles. The state FEP commission considered it "probably the most intensive and exhaustive study of its kind ever made by a public agency of its own personnel anywhere in the United States" and said it "may serve as a model for similar self-surveys in other cities and counties, and perhaps in large private enterprises as well..."

The Los Angeles committee made two reports to the county board of supervisors. The first covered 16 departments in which the committee believed statistics indicated the possibility of discrimination. As a result the supervisors instructed department heads to review their selection, utilization, and promotion of minority group employees and to eliminate any elements of discrimination. The second report covered departments which seemed to have a scarcity of minority group employees at professional levels. Subsequently, the civil service commission and the board of supervisors instructed departments to review their examining procedures and the use of the "appraisal of promotability" form. A follow-up survey to determine if corrective action has been taken is scheduled for April, 1963.

In December, 1961, the Los Angeles Fire Commission adopted a policy statement strengthening nondiscrimination in the fire department. The action requires that all hiring, assignments, and promotions be on a merit basis. It also provides for an education program to be conducted in cooperation with the University of California in Los Angeles to improve "harmonious relations among personnel in the department." Since 1955 the city civil service commission of Los Angeles has required all applicants for municipal employment to pledge they will "willingly work with or for any associates regardless of race, color or creed."

3. City and Industry Cooperation. The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations conducted an investigation into charges of discriminatory employment policies in the hotel and restaurant business and found that such discrimination did exist. As a result, in 1960, the Greater Philadelphia Restaurant Operators Association agreed to hiring practices conforming to the city's FEP law, which dates back to 1948. A similar agreement was reached with the waiter's and waitresses' union local. Philadelphia now couples its industry-wide investigating technique with a plant inspection program, which it conducted in 1961 at the rate of several per week. The Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce recently appointed a five-man advisory committee to work with the Commission on programs to promote support for merit hiring practices.

4. Job Advancement Programs. New York City Mayor Robert Wagner touched on another phase of employment when he said last year:

> The effort to assure full employment opportunity for all our citizens does not and cannot end with laws prohibiting discrimination and creating governmental agencies to enforce these prohibitions. Steps must be taken affirmatively to recruit and promote members of minority groups into positions of executive, professional, administrative and skilled responsibility.

The statement came with appointment of the Mayor's Committee on Job Advancement to help open to Negroes and Puerto Ricans thousands of higher level private and city jobs. The New York committee will attempt to persuade labor unions to end discrimination in membership and apprentice training, analyze annual reports from participating employers, and conduct programs to encourage school children from minority groups to develop the skills necessary for higher paying jobs.

Housing

Housing for minority groups has become one of the most urgent problems facing many cities today. Officials have watched with concern as waves of newcomers, many from rural areas and often Negro, have crowded into central cities, creating or expanding slums because too often these are all that are available. At the same time they have watched old, established families move to the suburbs, taking their tax dollars with them.

Some of these cities experienced an earlier, immigrant influx from other countries. But it was easier for those inimigrants, who were mainly white, to fade in time into the city background. As minorities, attracted by the promise of better jobs and a freer life, have moved into the cities, they have been crowded into isolated areas across the land, either because this is all they can find at the price they can initially afford, or because discrimination bars them from better housing.

Cities know how overcrowding, substandard housing, and discrimination have added to the problems of welfare, school, health, and police departments and have begun working on better housing for both humane and economic reasons. Probably no community in the United States with a large Negro population has solved its housing problem, but some are trying.

Lack of a comprehensive national policy has hampered cities, since the federal government plays such a dominant role in housing, with its financing, mortgage guarantees, and public housing assistance programs. However, the federal government now has taken steps to bar bias in the sale or rental of some federally aided housing. In November, 1962, the President signed an executive order which requires an "open occupancy" policy ~~by developers~~ using FHA or VA ~~guaranteed loans~~ and in public housing and urban renewal projects. in private development

Private Housing

Until the past few years, almost all legislation prohibiting discrimination in housing applied only to public housing. However, cities in over 20 per cent of the states now are governed by state laws which prohibit racial and religious discrimination in some part of the private housing market. Eleven states, three cities, and the Virgin Islands have passed such housing statutes.

The nation's first fair housing statute applying to private residences became law in New York City on December 31, 1957. Pittsburgh adopted a private housing ordinance the next year. Toledo, Ohio, followed in 1961, but was stalled by a court injunction shortly after the effective date of its housing law.

In 1959, Colorado enacted a law banning discrimination in transactions involving all dwellings except owner-occupied units. The act, applying to public and private housing and both rentals and sales, also bars inquiries and advertisements relating to the race, sex, creed, or ancestry of prospective tenants or buyers. In April, 1962, Alaska adopted legislation banning discrimination in the entire housing field. Minnesota's fair housing legislation went into effect December 31, 1962.

The eight other states with fair housing legislation are Pennsylvania, New York, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Oregon, and California. All these laws, except those of California, Alaska, and New Hampshire, are enforced by administrative agencies.

There is wide variation in the various fair housing laws. New York City, for example, bars discrimination in all housing for rent or sale except the rental of an apartment in an owner-occupied duplex. It has been estimated that the New York law covers over 95 per cent of the total housing market in the city. On the other hand, California and Oregon do not cover private housing as such but affect the market by prohibiting discriminatory actions by realtors. The Connecticut Public Accommodations Act prohibits discrimination in housing by anyone controlling three or more contiguous units. New Hampshire outlaws discrimination "in the matter of rental or occupancy of a dwelling in a building containing more than one dwelling."

The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (NCDH) recently found that even though the various laws have been in effect only a short time, slow but steady progress already has been made in opening formerly restricted residential areas to minority groups. Laws of course must be backed up by administrative action. In the field of housing progress can be made without laws, as in the case of Park Forest and Medford (see the section below on "Cooperative Action for Improved Housing).

Public Housing

There is segregation in most public housing in the United States; 80 per cent of public housing projects remain segregated. This is due in part to the fact that in some areas more Negroes than whites qualify for admission to subsidized, low-rent public housing because of lower incomes. Negroes, who make up about 10 per cent of the population, occupy 47 per cent of the public housing units. This, plus a concentration of Negroes in central cities, often adds up to such a large demand for available public housing that an all-Negro project results. Some local housing authorities with desegregation programs simply have not been able to achieve a racial balance. However, some segregation does and can exist in some local housing projects by design. There also are cities with an appreciable Negro population where public housing projects nevertheless remain all-white.

A measure of the widespread realization of the existence of discrimination in housing is the fact that 444 localities with public housing programs have adopted policies of nondiscrimination. This represents 36.2 per cent of the cities with low-rent public housing programs. City housing authorities or commissions which have passed resolutions against discrimination in public housing include Phoenix, Arizona; Fresno and Richmond, California; Omaha, Nebraska; Superior, Wisconsin; Hazel Park and Mount Clemens, Michigan; Toledo, Ohio; and Washington, D.C.

Housing action often has followed a period of community preparation and discussion. In Peoria, Illinois, for example, the council on human relations worked with city officials for several years. As a result, Peoria now has an explicit policy of nonsegregation in all public housing in the community. Saginaw, Michigan, has a similar policy.

City action sometimes has preceded state action. Hartford, Connecticut, in January, 1949, passed a resolution prohibiting discrimination or segregation in any public housing or municipally assisted private housing development within the city. Included in the resolution was a recommendation that similar action be taken on a state-wide basis by the general assembly. Six months later the Connecticut legislature prohibited discrimination in public housing projects, and four years later the legislature extended the prohibition to all publicly assisted housing.

Urban Renewal

The city council or redevelopment agency of such cities as Sacramento and Oakland, California, and Inkster, Michigan, have passed resolutions of antidiscrimination in urban redevelopment projects. Other cities have enacted ordinances barring discrimination in redevelopment projects, including Los Angeles and Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton, Ohio. Des Moines, Iowa, bars discrimination in the sale or use of land for urban renewal.

The entire matter of "urban renewal" has claimed increasing attention since the program, with its emphasis on slum clearance and rebuilding, was initiated in the 1949 Housing Act of the federal government. The Housing Act of 1954 broadened the concept into a huge federal-local cooperative venture which involves a master city plan, rehousing of displaced families, housing

codes, and financing. The federal government has ruled that private housing developers in federally aided urban renewal projects must comply with state and local antidiscrimination laws.

In 1960 the Housing and Home Finance Agency administrator announced that a community-wide representative citizens' advisory committee was a prerequisite for approval of a city's renewal program. This has been both a challenge and opportunity for communities with such programs to enlist the aid and support of minority groups.

A glance at just one state, Michigan, which is not necessarily typical, shows that at least seven of the 16 urban renewal communities in existence last year had citizens' advisory committees with substantial minority representation: Detroit, Jackson, Kalamazoo, Mount Clemens, Pontiac, Saginaw, and Inkster.

"To have minority groups represented on zoning boards, as well as on planning commissions, is an important step in assuring the protection of minority group rights in urban growth and development," the Michigan State Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights said in its 1961 report. "In only one of the 12 urban renewal communities under consideration (in Michigan) is there a minority group member on the zoning board of appeals. The village of Inkster, where the principal minority is Negro, has two minority representatives on a board of seven."

Relocation of families belonging to minority groups is one of the most difficult problems of urban renewal. The private housing market is often closed to certain groups; this requires some type of government action. (For a factual report on the issues and status of relocation in housing during the late 1950's, see Harry W. Reynolds, Jr., "What Do We Know About our Experiences With Relocation," *Journal of Intergroup Relations*, Autumn, 1961, pp. 342-54.) Hartford, Connecticut, has experimented with semiprivate housing by enlisting the cooperation of the FHA, the city of Hartford, private lending companies, and construction and management firms. The city leased a two-acre tract for 50 years without fee to a nonprofit corporation, Hartford Homes, Inc., sponsored by the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce. Private lending institutions for the 40-unit "Twin Acres" pilot project provided the financing and FHA backed the mortgage. The city government assumed no financial burden but receives taxes; on full payment of the mortgage, land and buildings will revert to the city.

Twin Acres, operated as a relocation project, is nondiscriminatory. Since 1959, 22 white families have lived with 18 Negro families without incident. The director of the Hartford Department of Housing has said of the project, "The acumen of private business and management laws have been harnessed for a social purpose, with the city represented via its departments, to assure the accommodation of those persons for whom the housing is intended and, when necessary, to assist families in their adjustment to a new environment."

In recent years, the city of Windsor, Ontario, has constructed several rental housing projects of single-family dwellings, duplexes, row houses, and a high rise apartment. There is no segregation, and the city manager has commented that persons of all races and creeds live in harmony.

Cooperative Action for Improved Housing

Citizen Groups. Various voluntary groups representing churches, business and civic organizations have been formed in a number of localities to broaden – often in cooperation with city officials – the number of neighborhoods open to minority groups. Such groups often are involved in areas of housing.

In 1958, the Greater Seattle Housing Council, representing builders, architects, real estate firms, and lenders, joined church, labor, and civic agencies to combat housing discrimination. In 1961, the Council set up an experimental clearing service to help minority group families find housing outside the central city, away from areas of racial concentration.

The Brookline, Massachusetts, Fair Housing Committee's *Good Neighbor* pledge drive was cited by President Kennedy as "the kind of constructive response to a great problem that this nation needs." Clergymen of the three major faiths gave strong leadership to the drive, which was endorsed by the Brookline Board of Selectmen (city council) and members of the state legislature and which received extensive coverage by newspapers, radio, and television. The drive is being followed up

by an effort to persuade signers of the pledge to establish neighborhood organizations for fair housing. Similar campaigns have followed in several other cities in the Boston area. The pledge itself reads:

> To keep Brookline ahead in a progressing nation, we the undersigned join the Good Neighborhood for Fair Housing pledge: (1) We believe that all people regardless of race, religion or national origin should have equal opportunity for housing. (2) When renting or selling the property we own or manage we agree to make it available to anyone without regard to his national origin. (3) We want our neighborhood to welcome all regardless of race, religion or national origin and will encourage our neighbors to join us in achieving an integrated neighborhood.

Still other communities have offered different solutions to certain aspects of the housing question. Shaker Heights, Ohio, passed an ordinance in 1961 prohibiting real estate agents from attempting to stimulate panic selling in changing neighborhoods. Two years earlier, over 200 families in Shaker Heights, a suburb of Cleveland, had organized to protect their integrated neighborhood and create a workable plan for democratic living among Negro and white families in the suburbs.

Gainesville, Georgia, sought an answer to its Negro housing problem within the segregation framework of the Deep South. The Negro community has been hemmed in by industrial and white residential areas in the city. The city commissioners appointed a committee to study how the space available for Negro housing might be expanded. As a result, a new high school for Negroes was planned for an open area and private enterprise encouraged to develop a subdivision in the area. The committee developed into a community-wide improvement group considering the broader question of urban renewal.

The city commission of Kalamazoo, Michigan, in 1955, declared its opposition to segregation in housing. Later, at the instigation of the Council on Community Relations, more than 1,000 Kalamazoo citizens signed a newspaper advertisement which endorsed the right of all Americans to buy or rent a home in the neighborhood of their choice. "These positive actions by official agencies and citizens in Kalamazoo have resulted in greater freedom for nonwhites to move out of segregated areas," the Michigan Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights commented. The Kalamazoo city manager, commenting on the interrelationship of minority housing and development of the community as a whole, said "the problems of all persons and all groups in the city are mutual [illegible] unsolved problems of a social and economic nature retard the growth and advancement of the entire city."

Real Estate Agents. The California Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights found that the "presence of Negro realty board members . . . has led to fruitful discussion concerning the role of realtors in dealing with problems connected with minority housing" in San Francisco and Sacramento.

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, said in its 1961 report on housing:

> The real estate broker is a key man in the majority of housing transactions. He finds buyers for housing and housing for buyers and he has detailed knowledge (or access to it) of the location of homes of various styles and prices. His policies and practices are among the foremost influences that determine where the various racial or religious groups will live. . . .
>
> Certain states and municipalities have enacted legislation prohibiting discriminatory practices in varying degrees on the part of this unique group. Others have reached the same result through attorney general opinions and administrative regulations. State authority to license and regulate real estate brokers is also a formidable weapon and has been utilized in at least three states for purposes of insuring equal housing opportunity.
>
> Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Washington, New York, and Oregon expressly cover real estate brokers and salesmen in their anti-discrimination housing laws. Similarly, Pittsburgh's and New York City's ordinances expressly apply to real estate salesmen. Baltimore has adopted an ordinance specifically directed against "block busting" tactics.

Pattern For Action

Whatever method is used to achieve open occupancy, the National Committee Against Discrimination In Housing said in a 1961 report that experience had provided three guideposts for success: (1) A firm, clearly stated policy; (2) An early start on open occupancy, preferably at the planning

stage; and (3) An open housing policy covering the major portion of the housing market, thus placing all buyers and sellers on the same competitive basis.

The report cited examples of the feasibility of integration, "even when initiated under the most adverse circumstances," and mentioned that border cities such as Baltimore, Maryland; Wilmington, Delaware; St. Louis, Missouri; and Louisville, Kentucky, had desegregated long-established segregated projects. It said that open occupancy had proved successful and profitable in high-rent urban renewal housing in such cities as Chicago, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and others and in numerous suburban developments, including 60 in New York state alone. And, it added: "Housing value seems to override even latent prejudice – no instance is known where the interracial character of a development has caused it to be a business failure."

Public Facilities

The freedom rides, boycotts, and sit-in demonstrations which were aimed initially at discrimination in southern and border states, have now spilled over into the rest of the nation. Frequent demonstrations coast to coast, numerous prosecutions, and headlines are a reminder that much remains to be done to assure equal treatment in public facilities everywhere in the United States. A few examples of action by cities in different parts of the country will highlight problems in this area.

Southern Cities

There have been widespread changes in the South in this field. Well over 100 Southern cities now have at least some desegregated eating facilities. For the most part, these have been opened to Negroes after a series of demonstrations and/or boycotts and subsequent negotiations involving merchants and citizens' committees, the latter often appointed by mayors or other city officials.

In the past few years, scores of public golf courses, parks, and transportation facilities have been desegregated in the South. Initially, these were desegregated by federal court orders. The courts in a series of decisions have stated clearly that segregation in publicly owned facilities, whether operated by the state or private lessee, is unconstitutional. More recently, some Southern cities have opened these operations voluntarily, thus saving themselves costly law suits and boycotts and relieving some of the racial tensions and frictions.

More often than not, the changes in racial patterns have been accepted quietly. A few examples of change have been the opening to Negroes of municipal golf courses in such cities as Mobile, Alabama, and Savannah, Macon, and Atlanta, Georgia; swimming pools in Charlotte, North Carolina; and parks in New Orleans and Little Rock.

In the spring of 1961, the Alexandria, Virginia, city council desegregated playgrounds at already desegregated elementary schools and ordered that some city recreation programs be nondiscriminated. Shortly after, the county board of Arlington County, Virginia, voted to desegregate Arlington's 57 parks and playgrounds and five recreation centers.

In March, 1962, the legal department of Houston, Texas, ruled that all segregation in municipally owned buildings must be abolished. The mayor of Houston noted that public reaction was reasonable and understanding. Houston passed an ordinance in 1954 banning segregation on municipal golf courses.

Another Texas city, San Antonio, adopted an ordinance in 1956 barring segregation in municipally owned public facilities. Last summer, the city council of El Paso, Texas, overrode the mayor's veto to pass an ordinance prohibiting discrimination in hotels, motels, restaurants, or theaters. Greensboro, North Carolina, has an ordinance outlawing segregation in public libraries.

Border Cities

A growing number of border cities have enunciated or strengthened policies of nondiscrimination in public facilities.

The council of Montgomery County, Maryland, in suburban Washington, D.C., has adopted an

ordinance forbidding discrimination in public accommodations, as did the Washington suburb of Rockville, Maryland.

St. Louis, in 1961, adopted a fully enforceable ordinance prohibiting discrimination and segregation in places of public accommodation, "including but not limited to public places providing food, shelter, recreation and amusement." Earlier, St. Louis Mayor Raymond R. Tucker had announced:

> The city counselor has informed me that the city government may not use its authority as an arm of the State to enforce a discrimination amongst its citizens which is unlawful within the meaning of the Federal Constitution. If a restaurant operator who otherwise invites all members of the public indiscriminately to his premises for service refuses such service solely on the basis of race, then the city may not enforce this discrimination by the application of its trespass ordinance. To do so would be a violation of the 14th Amendment of the Federal Constitution.

Kansas City, Missouri, amended its city code in 1960 to forbid racial discrimination in hotels, motels, and restaurants. An ordinance provides for establishment of a fair public accommodations committee, to be composed of three members of the city's committee on human relations, appointed by the mayor. The committee, assisted by the staff of the city counselor, must investigate all complaints of discrimination and try to reach an adjustment by conciliation. Failing this, the complaint goes to the city counselor for action; conviction of violation of the provisions of the ordinance is punishable by a fine of from $25 to $200.

Baltimore passed an ordinance in 1961 outlawing discrimination in places of public accommodation. In 1955 the Baltimore Department of Recreation and Parks issued a statement that parks and recreation facilities would be operated on an integrated basis.

Northern Cities

A number of northern cities have passed ordinances or taken executive action to insure equal treatment for all citizens in public accommodations, including hotels, restaurants, hospitals, and recreational facilities. Licensing powers have been a tool for some cities committed to a policy of nondiscrimination.

Recreation Areas. In June, 1960, the city park board of Seattle signed an agreement with the Washington State Board against Discrimination ending racial exclusions on municipal golf courses. The same month, public golf links in New York City and Westchester and Nassau Counties, New York, dropped tournaments of a golf association which barred Negro members. The following year, the East Orange, New Jersey, city council authorized legal action to void the lease of a golf association charged with racial bias in membership selection.

Philadelphia was disturbed by several incidents in 1960 as a result of interracial use of public swimming pools. This prompted the commission on human relations and the department of recreation the following year to conduct a staff training program in human relations for recreation department personnel.

The Denver city council in 1961 approved an ordinance requiring permits for golf tournaments on city courses and forbidding the granting of such permits to groups with discriminatory policies. In 1962 the Chicago Park District notified a yacht club that its lease would be terminated in a year for "refusing membership to qualified applicants solely on the basis of race." Technically, the club was charged with being in default of its agreement with the park district.

Other Public Facilities. Chicago adopted an ordinance in 1956 forbidding discrimination in admittance to or treatment in any government hospital in the city on the basis of race, religion or ancestry. Thirty-nine nongovernmental hospitals in Chicago had, by mid-1962, adopted a pledge sponsored by the city's commission on human relations that they would not discriminate in providing service to patients; 22 others had indicated that they would sign in the near future, and negotiations continued with seven others.

Philadelphia routinely advises all businesses paying a mercantile license tax of the requirements of the city's fair employment practices and public accommodations laws. The welfare commissioner of New York City in 1956 ordered that private nursing homes treating recipients of

public assistance must prove they have policies of nondiscrimination or be dropped from the welfare list. A Denver ordinance makes licenses contingent upon conformance with the state's public accommodations law passed in 1895. Commissioners of the District of Columbia announced in 1961 that in future contracts with private hospitals for the care of indigent patients, they will demand a clause forbidding discrimination against Negro physicians to match an existing one forbidding discrimination against hospital employees.

Note: This report was a joint project of the International City Managers' Association, Chicago; the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta; and the Potomac Institute, Washington, D.C. Grateful acknowledgment is made to Arthur J. Levin, staff director, the Potomac Institute, for ~~preparing the report.~~ directing the work.

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Police

more in South -
e.g. Little Rock 55 ✓
Albany
Birmingham ✓
Nashville during
SNCC meeting
November 62 ✓

Human Rel. Committees
in South

Public Facilities

Cairo, Ill. ✓
✓ Black Muslim question -
use of public
facilities

~~Squibb~~
✓ Omnibus suit in Atlanta

Little Rock, Memphis

Saturday Post piece
on blockbusting

A. Background

1. A brief introduction

(a) Statement of subject of report

(b) Definition of urban racial tension and its implication for municipal policy

1. nature of prejudice and cultural separateness

2. population movement of Negroes; central city

3. community tensions

B. Municipal Instrumentalities

statement

1. Leadership responsibilities of municipal executive

2. Ordinances and Laws (examples of several prohibiting racial restrictions)

bit later

3. Human Rights Commissions, Fep's, etc. (examples: composition, powers, effectiveness, relationship to other city agencies)

4. Police (including equal justice) (selected incidents of good police work in racial tensions, selected training programs of police forces)

Powers detail FEPnote

C. Administration of Municipal Programs

1. Licensing powers

2. Public Facilities - recreation, parks, hospitals, housing, etc.

3. Employment - municipal and city contractor

4. Education

5. Boards and Commissions

#

Bibliography

PUBLIC FACILITIES

The Freedom Rides, boycotts, and sit-in demonstrations ~~of recent years, although~~ which aimed initially at discrimination in Southern and border states, have now spilled over into the rest of the nation. ~~Sporadic~~ Frequent demonstrations coast to coast, ~~occasional law suits~~ numerous prosecutions, and headlines are a reminder that much remains to be done to assure equal treatment in public facilities everywhere in the United States

Cognizant of this, a number of border and Northern cities have passed ordinances or taken executive action to insure equal treatment for all citizens in public accommodations of various kinds, including hotels, restaurants, hospitals, and recreational facilities. (at least 28 Northern States have laws prohibiting segregation in recreational facilities.) Licensing powers have been a tool for some cities committed to a policy of non-discrimination.

There have been widespread changes in the South, too, in this field. Well over 100 Southern cities now have ~~a significant number of~~ at least some desegregated eating facilities. For the most part these have been opened to Negroes after ~~a series of~~ demonstrations (and/or boycotts) ~~and subsequent~~ negotiations involving merchants, Negroes, and citizens' committees, the latter often appointed by mayors or other city officials.

? like Atlanta's two or three; BR's 1

In the past few years, scores of public golf courses, park, and transportation facilities have been desegregated in the South. ~~For the most part,~~ The first of these were desegregated by federal court orders. The courts, in a series of decisions, have stated clearly that segregation in public facilities, whether operated by the state or private lessee, is unconstitutional. More recently, some Southern cities have opened these operations voluntarily, thus saving citizens costly law suits and boycotts and relieving some of the racial tensions and frictions. More often than not, the changes

report won't appear until 6.3, should check the throughout

in racial patterns have been accepted quietly. A few examples of change have been the opening to Negroes of municipal golf courses in such cities as Mobile, Ala., Savannah, Macon, and Atlanta, Ga.; swimming pools in Charlotte, N.C., and St. Petersburg, Fla.; and parks in New Orleans. are St Pete pools open?

In the spring of 1951, the Alexandria, Va., City Council desegregated ~~ordered that~~ playgrounds at already desegregated elementary schools and some city recreation programs ~~be desegregated~~. Shortly after, the County Board of Arlington County, Va., voted to desegregate Arlington's 57 parks and playgrounds and five recreation centers.

In March 1962 ~~of this year~~, the legal department of Houston ~~, Texas,~~ ruled that all segregation ~~policies~~ in municipally owned buildings must be abolished. The mayor of Houston noted that public reaction was reasonable and understanding. Houston had passed an ordinance in 1954 banning segregation on municipal golf courses. Another Texas city, San Antonio, adopted an ordinance in 1956 barring segregation in municipally owned public facilities. This past summer the City Council of El Paso, Texas, overrode the mayor's veto to pass an ordinance prohibiting discrimination in hotels, motels, restaurants, or theaters.

Greensboro, N.C., has an ordinance outlawing segregation in public libraries. This year the city manager of Miami ~~, Fla.,~~ told the city's chief of police that a canteen located in the Municipal Justice Building is on public property, and that its facilities must be available to all.

public? important?

A growing number of border cities have enunciated or strengthened policies of non-discrimination in public facilities by passage of ordinances.

The council of Montgomery County, Md., in suburban Washington, D.C., has adopted an ordinance forbidding discrimination in public accommoda-

tions, as did another Washington suburb, Rockville, Md., early this year.

St. Louis, ~~Mo.,~~ last year adopted a fully enforceable ordinance prohibiting discrimination and segregation in places of public accommodation, "including but not limited to public places providing food, shelter, recreation and amusement." The previous year the six major cafeterias of St. Louis voluntarily agreed to serve Negroes; major downtown hotels ~~previously~~ had been opened EARLIER to Negroes. Shortly after the cafeteria action, the St. Louis chapter of the Missouri Restaurant Association recommended that members serve all groups. During this period, St. Louis Mayor Raymond R. Tucker announced:

"The city counselor has informed me that the city government may not use its authority as an arm of the State to enforce a discrimination amongst its citizens which is unlawful within the meaning of the Federal Constitution. If a restaurant operator who otherwise invites all members of the public indiscriminately to his premises for service refuses such service solely on the basis of race, then the city may not enforce this discrimination by the application of its trespass ordinance. To do so would be a violation of the 14th Amendment to the Federal Constitution."

Kansas City, Mo., amended its city code in 1960 to forbid racial discrimination in hotels, motels, and restaurants. An ordinance provides for establishment of a Fair Public Accommodations Committee, to be composed of three members of the city's Committee on Human Relations, appointed by the mayor. The committee, assisted

by the staff of the city counselor, must investigate all complaints of discrimination and try to reach an adjustment by conciliation. Failing this, the complaint goes to the city counselor for action; conviction of violation of the provisions of the ordinance is punishable by a fine of from $25 to $200.

Baltimore, ~~Md.,~~ passed an ordinance ~~a law~~ this year outlawing discrimination in places of public accommodation; in 1955 the Baltimore Department of Recreation and Parks issued a statement that parks and recreation facilities would be operated on an integrated basis.

East St. Louis, ~~Ill.,~~ adopted a resolution last year to revoke the licenses of businesses which discriminate in service to Negroes.

Wilmington, Del., decided that from this year on no license would be issued to any restaurant owner who refuses to swear he will not discriminate against any customer because of race or religion.

In Maplewood, Mo., a suburb of St. Louis, the city council voted unanimously to open the municipal swimming pool to all after the pool had been closed when 40 Negroes tried to buy admission tickets.

An Oklahoma City, ~~Okla.,~~ ordinance bars racial segregation in municipally owned public facilities.

and border areas

[redacted]. Other areas [redacted] have felt it neeessary to make it clear that tax-supported recreation facilities are to be operated on an "open" basis.

In June, 1960, the City Park Board of Seattle, ~~Wash.,~~ signed an agreement with the State Board Against Discrimination ending racial exclusions on municipal golf courses. The same month, public golf links in New York City and Westchester ~~County~~ and Nassau ~~County~~ County, N.Y. dropped tournaments of a golf association which barred Negro members. The following year, the East Orange, N.J. City Council authorized legal action to void the lease of a golf association charged with racial bias in membership selection.

Philadelphia was disturbed by several incidents in 1960 as a result of interracial use of public swimming pools. This prompted the Commission on Human Relations and the Department of Recreation the following year to conduct a staff training program in human relations for recreation department personnel.

The Denver, ~~Colo.,~~ City Council in 1961 approved an ordinance requiring permits for golf tournaments on city courses and forbidding the granting of such permits to groups with discriminatory policies.

Recently, the Chicago Park District notified a yacht club its lease would be terminated in a year for "refusing membership to qualified applicants solely on the basis of race." Technically, the club was charged with being in default of its agreement with the park district. Jacob Arvey, Commissioner of Parks, said, "Anyone using the public facilities must make them available to all persons."

Public Facilities

Alburquerque, N.M. adopted an ordinance in 1952 prohibiting discrimination in places of public acoommodation, resort, and amusement because of race, creed or ancestry. SANTA FE LATER FOLLOWED SUIT. ~~A similar law was passed by Baltimore, Md., this year~~.

Other examples of city action regarding places of public accommodation: ~~ordinance~~

Chicago adopted an ordinance in 1956 forbidding discrimination in admittance to or treatment in any government hospital in the city on the basis of race, religion, or ancestry. This year the city council ~~passed an~~ amend~~ment~~ed ~~to~~ the ordinance, ~~which~~ by forbid~~s~~ing city hospitals from to discriminate in the employment or appointment of doctors to the medical staffs. Thirty-nine non-governmental hospitals in Chicago had by mid-year ~~of~~ 1962 adopted a pledge, sponsored by the city's Commission on Human Relations, ~~that they would not~~ against discriminating in ~~providing~~ service to patients; 22 others had indicated they would sign in the near future and negotiations continued with seven others.

Philadelphia routinely advises all businesses paying a mercantile license tax ~~of~~ about the requirements of the city's Fair Employment Practices and Public Accommodations laws.

The Welfare Commissioner of New York City in 1956 ordered that private nursing homes treating recipients of public assistance must prove they have policies of non-discrimination or be dropped from the welfare list.

Is this relevant?

The City Council of Vancouver, British Columbia, adopted a municipal by-law in 1960 prohibiting any trade, business or occupation licensee from discriminating on the groupds of race or religion in the selling of goods or furnishing of services. Violators are subject to fines up to $100 or imprisonment up to two months. TORONTO HAS HAD A FAIR ACCOMMODATIONS PRACTICES ACT SINCE 1954. (The provincial legislatures of Nova Scotia, Ontario, New Brunswick and Manitoba also have passed fair accommodations laws.) Recreation facilities in London, Ontario are open to all.

?

7-Public Facilities

A Denver, [redacted] ordinance makes licenses contingent upon conformance with the state's Public Accommodations law passed in 1895.

Commissioners of the District of Columbia announced this year that in future contracts with private hospitals for the care of indigent patients they will demand a clause forbidding discrimination against Negro physicians to match an existing one forbidding discrimination against employees.

Human Relations Commissions

In an effort to calm the tensions that grow out of ~~prejudice over~~ racial and ethnic differences and to help ~~solve problems of~~ MINORITY GROUPS in changing and often overcrowded cities, human relations agencies have become ~~an integral~~ a part of many municipal governments.

The city council of Cleveland, Ohio, established the Community Relations Board ~~as a municipal department~~ in 1945. Cleveland thus claims to have the first human relations agency in the United States to be formed by ordinance, although Chicago, Cincinnati, and Detroit, among others, had taken similar action by mayoral decree earlier.

By 1962 more than 40 large cities in the nation had official ~~intergroup departments~~ agencies staffed by professional workers. Others have non-paid, advisory ~~citizen~~ groups, and there are a myriad of private, unofficial race relations organizations.

Illinois alone has at least 15 official municipal human relations commissions, although only the one in Chicago has a professional staff. Activities have been ~~as~~ varied. ~~as the proportion of minority groups in the various cities~~. The Park Forest Commission, for example, cooperated with the Village President, the Board of Trustees, law enforcement officials, and citizens to facilitate the generally peaceful and quiet arrival of the first Negro family ~~in the community~~ there in December, 1959. A year or so ago the youth committee of the Alton Commission on Human Relations, in cooperation with local business men, sponsored a Youth Employment Day. Negro and white high school students took jobs for a day with various business establishments and as an immediate result, several of the students obtained part-time employment. The Commission felt that, in addition, the community as a whole gained a new view of the potential of both white and Negro youth. The Chicago Commission, with a 1962 budget of $311,484, has been able to work on a

broad range of problems.

Five Missouri cities have municipal councils on human relations--St. Louis, Kansas City, St. Joseph, Springfield and University City.

Among the varied activities of the Mayor's Commission on Group Relations of Newark, N.J., has been the provision of scholarship aid for qualified residents ~~of the city~~ to attend summer workshops in human relations and community leadership. This year's workshop, in the Graduate School of Education at Rutgers University, was for teachers, with special emphasis on ~~problems of~~ pupils with low aspirations ~~levels.~~ The Commission also awards scholarships for the annual Brotherhood Youth Institute sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The Commission has sponsored a Code of Fair Campaign Practices, which pledges political candidates, ~~among other things,~~ to condemn any appeal to prejudice based on race or creed; this year 41 of 52 municipal candidates signed the pledge.

The Board of Community Relations of Buffalo, N.Y., appointed by the mayor, was ~~created~~ established by a 1945 ordinance "to promote amicable relations among racial, religious and cultural groups."

The Village President and Board of Trustees of Deerfield, Ill., passed an ordinance last year setting up a Community Relations and Communications Committee of five members to serve in an advisory and public information capacity. Deerfield has been involved in a series of suits growing out of a builder's attempt to sell houses to Negroes.

update to include recent court decision on this suit?

Toledo, Ohio, has a Board of Community Relations created by the City Council in 1946, primarily as an agency for information and education purposes. The mayor is legally authorized ~~by law~~ to appoint 20 persons nominated by business, labor, and religious groups as ~~and, in addition, to nominate and appoint~~ well as five public members of his own

choosing. The Board has an executive secretary, an assistant and clerical staff. For five years the Board, ~~in cooperation~~ together with the University of Toledo and the local Federation of Teachers, sponsored a two-week ~~intergroup relations~~ workshop for civic leaders and teachers. This was followed by a ~~pilot~~ demonstration project at one of the elementary schools, ~~which involved~~ with intensive study of intergroup relations ~~problems~~ by the ~~entire~~ faculty. Cognizant of "the fact that the home and community at large are the learning areas in which youngsters pick up discriminatory practices", the Board has sponsored, with the presidents of Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant women's groups, a series of annual Women's Institutes on Human Relations, ~~These institutes,~~ with an average attendance of 550, ~~have dealt with such topics as~~ prejudice in speech, the [redacted] high cost of discrimination, fair employment, Spanish speaking neighbors, housing, and how to deal with problems and controversies in intergroup relations. In addition, the Board sponsors a Program Planners Institute every other year to explain the group's work to representatives of civic groups.

Until about two years ago, few of the major public accommodations of Las Vegas, Nev., were open to Negro customers. Then, after a campaign by a Negro organization and attendant publicity, an informal agreement was worked out whereby most of the luxury establishments agreed to serve Negroes in their dining rooms, motels and gaming tables, but there were still ~~some~~ complaints of bias. In 1960 the Clark County Commission and Las Vegas city commissioners created the Southern Nevada Human Rights Commission, composed of representatives of a number of organizations, to hear complaints and investigate charges of discrimination.

Wichita became the first city in Kansas to staff its Human Relations Commission with a paid, full time professional intergroup relations worker, hired ~~this year.~~ in 1960

4-Human Relations Commission

The Commission on Human Relations in Philadelphia was established by provisions of the Home Rule Charter in 1951; the following year it assumed the powers and duties of the Fair Employment Practice Commission established in 1948. With a staff of 21 professional and 12 clerical employees, the Commission has been able to initiate a variety of programs, to improve intergroup relations in the city. It has developed a special training program in human relations for personnel in official agencies and for volunteers in community groups. Last year the Commission held a seminar for executives of press, radio and television and intergroup relations agencies to discuss the handling of news, of intergroup significance. As a result, a set of guidelines in the handling of such news was adopted, for voluntary use by news media and agencies. Also last year the Commission began a Leadership Development and Participation Program to help prepare young minority group citizens for service on various boards and committees.

~~Assignment of the Cleveland Community Relations Board in the Department of Migration to aid the fun major movement groups in the city~~

Sometimes the entry of the first family of a "different" race in a city can send officials and citizens into action as surely as a great influx of newcomers. Such was the case cited in Park Forest, Ill.; and a similar situation arose in Medford, Ore. The latter is in a section of southwestern Oregon where several cities have had an unwritten law which excludes Negroes from residence. The State Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights reported in 1961 how a human rights group, in cooperation with other agencies, aided in reaching a satisfactory solution when the first Negro family came to Medford. The story began when the U.S. Weather Bureau transferred

a Negro family to its Medford station. The employee asked the aid of his superior in finding housing, and they first tried a college town 15 miles away but were rebuffed by real estate agents, Then, the Advisory Committee reported:

"Returning to Medford, they got in touch with a newly formed human rights council in the city which found housing for them, although without employment of real estate agencies. The expected opposition movement developed with derogatory rumors, a circulated petition, and 'semi-violent' reactions from two or three families, and hostile reactions from another three or four families. Those opposed made the most noise. But with the support of the ministerial association, the local newspaper, and the police, the human rights council was able to hold the line. The chief of police, incidentally, is a member of the board of the human rights council.

"Thus, the first Negro family resides peacefully in the city, and the 'policy of exclusion' is breached. The human rights council has grown markedly in membership and prestige as a result of this incident, and its members expressx amazement at the widespread support they received...

"The incident shows that even where a firm tradition of exclusion had prevailed for a century, there was a preponderance of people who were willing to support the right of the Negro. The case was basically community action. The law gave them backing, but was not invoked..."

6- HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSIONS-

The Southern counterparts to the professional human relations departments of the North and West and the permanent advisory councils are the official, but for the most part temporary, mediating committees. ~~At least~~ Some 30 cities in the South now have, or have had in the past few years, such committees. They have been formed most often to mediate controversies growing out of sit-in demonstrations and boycotts. The most common have been the bi-racial committees sppointed by city officials to deal with specific problems. In addition, a number of Southern cities have long-standing, unofficial and private race relations councils.

Louisville

POLICE

"The key toward gaining community respect is to treat all individuals the same--with fairness, impartiality, honesty, courtesy and firmness."

This advice to policemen given in Guide to Community Relations for Peace Officers published by the office of the California Attorney General, is a summary of a point a growing number of police departments have been emphasizing in recent years.

Presumably, it always has been the goal of good police departments but the need to make it a firm practice never has been more urgent. With urban areas becoming ever more crowded, with changes in the racial composition of cities and neighborhoods, with aroused Negro citizens pressing with greater vigor for legal equality, and with the court-ordered desegregation of a lengthening list of facilities, tensions mount. If left unchecked, widespread disorder, mob action and violence may result--and often has, where police departments and city officials have been ill-prepared or unwilling to act. In fact, there now have been so many instances of effective and ineffective police action, that any city can learn by example what to do or not to do to cope with potentially explosive situations stemming from racial problems. Today, any police department in a city with a sizeable minority group is indeed shortsighted if it is without a firm and fair policy aimed at preventing such disorder or controlling it where prevention fails. A detailed examination of all phases of police action in this field is impossible here (a short bibliography on the subject is appended) but a brief consideration of what some cities have done is indicative of the widespread concern with the problem.

To begin with, every good ~~modern~~ police department emphasizes ~~is is~~ the duty of officers to enforce laws impartially, not to punish. As Chief of Police J.E. Curry of Dallas, Texas, has said, "Only so long as we enforce the law equally and equitably will we have the respect and support of the people." And, the support of citizens is vital ~~in~~ to a profession which is hazardous at best--the FBI reported 48 policemen were killed in the line of duty in 1960 and 9,621 assaulted. A reputation for impartial enforcement of the law is particularly effective in deterring troublemakers of either the majority or minority group.

Most law officials ~~concerned with minority problems~~ agree on the importance of recognizing alarm signals ~~indicative~~ of impending racial trouble, such as: the appearance of threatening or derogatory signs in public places and the circulation of "hate" publications; an increasing number of rumors, growing in sensation; greater activity by known agitators; more threats or incidents of violence; an increase in charges of police brutality and a growing distrust of law enforcement; and gang fights by juveniles.

"The record of every riot that has occurred thus far shows that they were signalled by a succession of incidents of antagonism between conflicting groups," the Guide to Community Relations for Peace Officers says.

One of the worst race riots in ~~the country's~~ U.S. history ~~took place~~ convulsed Chicago in 1919; it lasted 13 days and left 38 dead and 520 injured. In this instance, and in Detroit's riot in 1943 and New York City's the same year, inflammatory rumors were widespread.

The consensus of police institutes also suggests the need for: an intelligence system which keeps the police department in touch

with groups for and against segregation, an awareness of potentially troublesome situations; and cooperation with other community agencies and ~~with~~ public information media.

Many ~~of the~~ larger cities, ~~particularly,~~ have ~~police~~ manuals which ~~include~~ suggest~~ed~~ procedures for controlling mobs, should they form despite precautions. These deal with the means ~~technicalities~~ of quelling riots, such as ~~ranging from~~ the need ~~of~~ for a quick show of force (actual use of force may not be necessary), ~~and~~ separating the ringleaders, and ~~to~~ the use of megaphones, police cordons, and weapons.

Berl Bernhard, staff director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, has said, "Where we find mob violence, we almost inevitably find compliant police; the mob can hardly form, much less injure its victims, without the tacit or passive consent of the police."

Institutes

Since ~~the~~ increased migrations ~~which~~ have changed the racial and ethnic compositions of so many cities in the past 20 years, police departments in a majority of ~~the~~ urban areas have conducted or taken part in training programs in ~~human and~~ race relations. In addition, small and medium-sized communities have also seen the need for ~~this~~ such special training, and ~~as a result~~ police-community relations courses and training institutes for law officers have spread across the country, ~~to meet this need~~. The Southern Police Institute was ~~sent up~~ established at the University of Louisville in 1950 and a ~~substantial portion~~ much of its 17-week program is devoted to human relations. Since 1955 a national Institute on Police-Community Relations has been held at the School of Police Administration at Michigan State University, with the cooperation of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the National Sheriffs Association, and

the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Regional institutes supplement these programs.

South

The riots ~~mentioned~~ in the North have served as danger signals THERE, but southern cities have been able to find warnings and examples in their own region in the past few years. Atlanta was one which took advantage of these. The city faced ~~two critical periods, one during a long, student-led effort to desegregate cafe store lunch counters and~~ a critical period in late 1961 after the Atlanta high another when the first Negroes entered white high schools in the fall of 1961. The city itself was better prepared for changes in racial customs than most southern communities due to various active citizens organizations pledged to law and order and acceptance of court rulings. However, there also were active and highly vocal segregationists and an influx of outside racists and agitators, ~~just as determined on the other side.~~ The mayor and police chief tipped the scales in favor of law and order and kept the city relatively free of violence both during the student campaign and the desegregation of schools. William Hartsfield, then mayor of Atlanta, and Police Chief Herbert Jenkins, ~~previously~~ had sent policemen ~~men from the police force~~ "to Little Rock and New Orleans studying what they did wrong," and held police seminars on riot control. Police maintained files on all race agitators. The superintendent of schools began preparing students the previous spring by holding meetings stressing the students' responsibility to maintain order when schools were desegregated. With the opening of school in the fall, police kept a 24-hour watch on the schools affected, and the grounds and immediate vicinities were off-limits to spectators. The press was kept fully informed and an information center was set up in city hall. The long preparation, the show of force by the police, and their emphasis on firm and impartial control paid off.

nothing on act. on control?

5-Police

Employment of Negro officers is another key subject, ~~which inevitably comes up in any discussion of police and race.~~ A report ~~of such employment in the South,~~ made last ~~this~~ year by the Southern Regional Council (The Unequal Badge, by Elliott M. Rudwick) showed:

The employment of Negro police, which increased after World War II, has gained little ~~ground~~ in the South since 1954. At that time, there were 536 uniformed police in 146 cities in the 11 Southern states, plus Oklahoma and Kentucky, and in 1959 the same cities had 646, a small increase considering the growth of the Negro population in urban centers. Ninety-eight of the same cities responded to a questionnaire last year; these communities had employed 538 uniformed policemen in 1959 and 560 in late 1961.

"In the South (as well as other parts of the country), there are not many Negro law enforcement officers who have reached a rank of sergeant or above," the report ~~said~~ pointed out, adding that this is partially due to the short period of time Negroes have been employed in substantial numbers. However, Daytona Beach, Fla.; Louisville, Ky.; Atlanta; and Durham, N.C., all have Negro lieutenants.

In the ~~area~~ cities surveyed, over 83 percent indicated that Negro officers operate exclusively in Negro districts and in over one-half the cities the Negro officer ~~must~~ may not arrest white citizens for any crime, but must "hold" them until a white officer arrives. Pensacola, Fla., has ~~been~~ one of the few Southern police departments that ~~has~~ does not restricted Negro officers in assignments or arrest powers; the Atlanta police chief announced a similar lifting of restrictions ~~this~~ last year.

"As long as the Negro policeman lacks the authority to arrest all violators regardless of race, he symbolizes second-class officership," the survey ~~says.~~ declared.

As to the results of hiring Negro policeman, the report said that an earlier SRC survey, in 1953, found "almost universal satisfaction...

among police officials." The police chief of Louisville, Ky., ~~said~~, "Negro policemen have been of great value in combating any accusation of discrimination or mistreatment of the oolored people by white officers." The police chief of Miami, Fla., commented in 1951, "In the seven years since the first of our Negro officers was sworn in, crimes of violence in our Negro communities have been reduced by about 50 percent."

Coordination

There has been a growing tendency for police departments to work with other city agencies on the special problems growing out of depressed economic and minority group status.

An article in Fortune magazine (The City and the Negro, Charles E. Silberman, March, 1962) cited Oakland ~~said that "As often as not, the Negro--or the white slum dweller, for that matter--sees the bewildering array of police, school, and welfare agencies as enemies to be played off one against another." As an example of the coordination of such agencies, the article added~~:

"Wayne Thompson, the young city manager of Oakland, Calif., has pulled together seven public agencies representing four levels of government into something called the Associated Agencies. Fortnightly meetings of the A.A. workers in each section of the city are held to coordinate their work. In dealing with one school marked by frequent violence, for example, the school superintendent allowed the police to seal off the school area and then clean out the guns and knives in the school lockers. The school, police, recreation, probation, and welfare workers then culled a list of troublemakers, letting each agency take responsibility for the children it already knew, or upon whom it had some particular claim. Out of 2,800 pupils,

only 54 turned out to be real troublemakers; when the whole job had been finished, only two had to be moved out of school into detention. Since the Associated Agencies program started in late 1957, Oakland has been relatively free of trouble."

A veteran Negro police executive in Philadelphia, with the rank of chief inspector, ~~this year~~ was assigned command of the police department's new community relations program, last year ~~established on the recommendation of the mayor.~~ He and his staff, which includes 22 human relations officers, will serve as liaison between the police commissioner and the Commission on Human Relations, the Crime Prevention Association and related agencies.

~~Four years ago~~ In 1958 the mayor of Philadelphia also appointed the first members of the city's Police Advisory Board, a non-partisan body composed of leading citizens, including a Nobel prize winner. The board hears complaints against policemen of such grievances as undue use of force or brutality, discrimination, or violation of constitutional rights. It has settled more than two-thirds of 300 ~~grievances~~ complaints without formal hearings, by explaining the legality of the policeman's act or getting an apology for the complainant. Martin S. Barol, lawyer and executive director of the board, ~~said~~ [redacted] says that the the board has acted as a "safety valve in the community. No longer is it neeessary for a citizen who feels himself wronged by police action to harbor resentment within himself, or to spread his hostile feelings throughout the community." Barol ~~added~~ [redacted] says the board has not "demoralized the police force," contrary to the prediction of the Fraternal Order of Police which has opposed such boards. Civilian boards similar to Philadelphia's have been set up in Los Angeles, Minneapolis and York, ~~Penn.~~ Pa.

The need for a different kind of coordination was pointed up in Negaunee, Mich., which was faced with a situation last year which could confront other smaller cities. At that time there were approximately 5,000 troops, a high percentage of them Negro, at nearby Sawyer Air Force Base, which had been reactivated four years earlier. Negaunee is an Upper Peninsula mining town of about 6,000; recreational facilities in the area are limited and transportation to the nearest large cities inadequate for the troops. One Saturday night in September, 1961, violence broke out between some of the airmen and Negaunee civilians, and while the commander of the base and the city manager felt early reports of the trouble were exaggerated, nevertheless the incident demanded precautions to forestall any future outbreak.

On the night in question, there were a few minor skirmishes and some taunts and name calling, in the town early in the evening. Then at 9:15 p.m. a Negro airman was found beaten in a municipal parking lot; a rumor spread quickly that he had been whipped with a chain. As word of the incident spread, more Air Force personnel--estimates ranged up to 100--began coming into Negaunee and soon a series of fights broke out in the downtown section. The police chief was out of town on vacation and there were only two policemen, plus a desk man, on duty. The senior policeman in town then, a lieutenant, was called and some time later he called City Manager Leonard J. Harris, who then took charge. Harris said he telephoned the base for air police assistance but was told by a sergeant on duty that the provost marshal "could not be bothered." The colonel in charge of the base said later police also had phoned him that night and asked for help and that he referred them to the state police. The city manager deputized 18

local firemen and sent a call for help to the sheriff's office and State Police. Within a short time, four state troopers and four deputies arrived. By 3 a.m. the disorder was under control. Subsequently, two Negro airmen and two white citizens of Negaunee were sentenced to 90 days in jail ~~on~~ for disorderly conduct ~~charges~~ and a high school youth was placed on probation for a year. A report issued by the base commander and the city manager said rumors the airman had been beaten by a chain were unfounded. Of the disorder, City Manager Harris says, "There were a number of contributing factors responsible for this outbreak, some of which were due entirely to lack of foresight on the part of the Air Force and some of the agitation came directly from some undesirable elements in the City of Negaunee...I personally feel that if on the night of this occurrence had the Police Department immediately jailed both the colored and the whites who were involved and cleared the streets as I did when I was called, it would have ended much sooner than it did." In the days following, several changes were made in the police department and the City Council agreed to recommendations by the city manager, including: strict enforcement of the anti-loitering ordinance; harsher ~~convictions for drunkenness~~ penalties for repeated convictions for drunkeness and disorderly conduct; suspension or revocation of licenses of taverns and restaurants not conducted properly. ~~As for~~ The Air Force ~~it~~ agreed to the city manager's request for a courtesy patrol of Air Police and warned troops that further disturbances would result in the maximum punishment allowable under the uniform code of military justice. Since then, only one further incident has been reported--three airmen ~~who were~~ charged with striking a teenage boy without provocation were jailed for 90 days and dismissed from the Air Force.

Other Cities

Some other examples of police action~~(and the source of the information)~~:

Los Angeles: Negroes began moving into a southwest section of the city and by the time they represented nearly 50 percent of the student body in the schools, white and Negro gangs ~~were forming~~ formed and fights were becoming a daily occurrence. A junior high school became the focal point of trouble. Community organizations began working on the adult level. The police department set up patrols around the schools ~~to minimize incidents~~ and juvenile officers concentrated on the problem. They learned the membership of the gangs and secured evidence leading to the arrest of the agitators. One ~~of the most~~ important aspects of the police work was the investigation of rumors, since these were the excuse for most acts of violence of one group against another, ~~then separating~~ Fact was separated from fiction and ~~making~~ the facts made public. The police department, working with the schools and community agencies, brought ~~about~~ such an easing of tension ~~until~~ that today the junior high school ~~which was the major source of trouble~~ has fewer problems of a racial or cultural nature than others in the city. (William H. Parker, Chief of Police, Los Angeles Police Department, in Guide to Community Relations for Peace Officers.)

San Francisco: in 1954, when integration of public housing projects was planned, an inspector of the police department was designated a liason officer with the Housing Authority. He was kept informed whenever a member of a different race was to move into a project and he in turn notified the district police station. Meanwhile, proper procedures ~~to be followed~~ were established at the precinct level, in order to prevent ~~any~~ disturbances. Plain clothesmen were on hand--and uniformed police were a short distance away--to observe whenever a member of another race moved into a project. ("We felt

that the attendant presence of uniformed police would attract unnecessary attention to the situation wherein the desired atmosphere would be one of normalcy.") After the move, radio cars patrolled in a casual manner and contact was maintained between the individual housing projects and the district police stations in order to spot any friction. Not a single disturbance or incident was reported at any of the housing projects and integration was successfully accomplished. (Francis J. Ahern, Chief of Police, City and County of San Francisco, Guide to Community Relations for Peace Officers.)

p.f. Dallas, ~~Texas~~: An area which had been white began a period of transition; schools were segregated at that time and Negro youths had to pass a white school enroute to their own. The Negro and white students began pushing each other as they met on the sidewalk and tension ~~began mounting in the whole~~ mounted throughout the community. Additional police squads were assigned to the area. Whenever children were found pushing, a call was made to the homes of all ~~the children~~ involved, both white and Negro. If the same children were involved in several clashes, they were referred to the county juvenile officers. It became apparent ~~to~~ the Negro community, the law was being enforced not only against Negroes, and the white community learned that violence directed against a minority group would not be tolerated. Thus, a situation which might have resulted in widespread, long-lasting tension was ~~mediated~~ calmed peacefully. (J.C. Curry, Chief of Police and Glen D. King, Captain of Police, Dallas Police Department, Race Tensions and the Police.)

p.f. Chicago: ~~Last year~~ In 1961, when a group of Negroes and whites began a series of "wade-in" demonstrations at a public beach formerly used almost exclusively by white persons, week-end crowds varying from 3,000 to 10,000 gathered, Demonstrators had notified police of their intentions

and when the first demonstrating group of about 75 persons arrived, 175 policemen were on hand to patrol. The police captain in charge, carrying a portable megaphone, walked along the beach and told the crowd either to disperse or be seated on the beach; 12 persons, 11 white and one Negro, were arrested the first week-end and charged with disturbing the peace. The calm that prevailed after several week-ends was attributed to heavy police protection, plus the support given officers by representatives of the major religious faiths, both on the scene and in statements of approval of the demonstrators' aims. (Associated Press; New York Times)

Education-Orientation

Since the 1954-55 school decisions of the Supreme Court, the white light of publicity has been on the resistance, the struggles, and the accommodations of the South and border states to desegregation. With the beginning of each school term since the decisions, there has been a summing up of the progress the area has made toward acceptance of the Court's orders. Even the most casual newspaper reader has been aware of the attendant violence in some cities, which in its most extreme form called for the presence of Federal troops; the almost calm acceptance of change in others, a change which has brought token desegregation to seven Southern states; and the resistance and legal maneuvers which have left three states--Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina--with segregated elementary and secondary schools.

In the past few years, however, the spotlight has focused increasingly on cities in the North with de facto school segregation. As Negroes have flocked into urban centers, they have concentrated in central cities, which generally offer the only housing available to them. Consequently, many city schools have become predominantly Negro. In short, segregated housing leads to segregated schools. There probably is no long-range, completely satisfactory solution to the school problem of most cities until the housing market is broadened for Negroes. However, many Negroes are unwilling to wait for the housing picture to change, claiming that in the meantime predominantly Negro schools in the North often are overcrowded, inadequately staffed, and equipped and housed in [redacted] buildings. Also, they charge that some school district lines are deliberately gerrymandered to keep neighborhood schools white or Negro.

Some judges and municipal authorities are agreeing. New Rochelle, N.Y., for example, was found guilty of deliberate gerrymandering which

kept a school 94 percent Negro; a federal judge ordered that Negroes be allowed free access to white schools.

One ~~point in the argument over the~~ question has (STEMMED FROM) the concept of neighborhood schools, which ~~have~~ has been the norm all over the country. One side contends that upgrading existing Negro schools is preferable to transporting children across the city to achieve some desegregation. Others maintain that, as the Supreme Court said in its school ruling, "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal," some racial balance must be achieved, and if there is no other way, because of the housing pattern, then pupils must be transported. Criss-crossing school buses, taking children from one crowded school to another just as crowded to achieve some desegregation, has not been a very popular solution, involving as it does exhausting bus trips across town in the large cities or the expense of acquiring more buses for smaller communities. However, where Negro schools are overcrowded and there are under-populated schools in white areas, some transporting may be worth the inconvenience. This fall, New York City's "open enrollment" plan allowed 9,000 children in heavily Negro and Puerto Rican schools to attend under-populated schools in other neighborhoods; Chicago and Newark, N.J., have similar programs.

Chicago?

which has been vigorously opposed by many New Yorkers

Princeton, ~~N.J.~~ has abandoned the idea of neighborhood schools and thus eliminated segregation. One school is used for all children in kindergarten through the fifth grade, another for the sixth through eighth grades. The city provides no transportation and most pupils walk or ride their bicycles or, in the case of small children, are driven in private car pools. Willow Grove, ~~Penn.~~ Pa., has a similar system. The Princeton plan has been studied by a number of other smaller cities where distances are not so great as to present a

transportation problem, and by larger cities, where a similar plan within a given area is under consideration.

Meanwhile, with the start of the 1962-63 school term, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had filed school desegregation suits in federal court against 11 non-Southern cities and complaints with New Jersey officials against three others. The 11 suits were against four Long Island cities--Amityville, Hempstead, Manhasset and Westbury, N.Y.; Rochester, N.Y.; Philadelphia; Chicago and Centreville, Ill.; Gary, Ind.; Kansas City, Kans.; and Pasadena, Calif.

The NAACP also said it had started community action programs in other cities, explaining that such programs were begun before filing suit and included investigation of racial practices in school systems, negotiations with school boards, filing of protests, submission of recommendations and demonstrations if required. Such programs have been started in Denver, ~~Colo.,~~ St. Paul, Minn.; Albany, Buffalo, New York City, Nyack, and Troy, N.Y.; Chester, ~~Penn.~~ Pa.; Cleveland, Columbus, and Portsmouth, Ohio; Phoenix and Tucson, Ariz.; Compton, San Francisco, Oakland, Sacramento, and San Diego, Calif; Portland, Ore.; and Seattle and Tacoma, Wash.

The Board of Education in Morristown, N.J., adopted a plan to convert a predominantely Negro elementary school to a junior high next year and scatter the displaced children to other schools.

The School Board of Danville, Ill., after protests and picketing by Negro parents who contended new elementary school boundaries perpetuated segregation, announced that hereafter the largely Negro school and two others would be open to students throughout the city and agreed to assign Negro teachers to the high school and to other elementary schools.

(none in the South did)

Other non-Southern cities which announced plans of voluntary school desegregation this year were Jersey City and Montclair, N.J.; Stamford, Conn.; Coatesville and Washington, ~~Penn.~~ Pa.; Mount Vernon, Ill.; and Eloy, Ariz.

Judging by the experience of cities faced with protests over school segregation, a few guidelines emerge to help smooth the path toward racial harmony. In many cases, a well-planned program of public information can help explain the drawing of school boundaries, where these have been set up in a logical fashion, with no effort to gerrymander in order to maintain predominantly white or Negro schools. or can explain the re-drawing of boundaries in order to comply with changed needs.

A willingness to discuss mutual problems with leaders of the minority groups and enlist their aid in arriving at solutions is helpful to the community as a whole, as is an insistence that all schools in the system be housed, equipped, and staffed equitably. Hiring and assignment of teachers and administrators on a merit basis, regardless of race, and minority group representation on school boards also are helpful.

<u>Orientation</u> Cultural Improvement

As school systems across the country face new problems and challenges because of a growing and changing population, more has been heard of the "culturally deprived" child. Studies have shown that many children from rural areas or ~~underprivileged~~ poor urban families suffer in linguistic development and general ability to follow a curriculum designed for children with middle-class backgrounds. Even though they may be normal or above in native intelligence, these children often have been so removed from the world of the settled, "average" middle-class family, that they cannot communicate, relate textbook examples to their own lives, or even understand them. Their health may be poor, they may be hungry, and their motivation for school non-existent. To help these

children from migrant and/or deprived families realize their potentialities and become a self-supporting asset to the community, several cities have instituted special supplementary or enrichment programs.

New York City probably has the most far-reaching program, including ~~ranging from~~ non-English classes for Puerto Ricans and others who have come ~~to the New York schools~~ from outside the continental United States, ~~to~~ counselling work with the children and family, ~~to~~ auxiliary teachers, field trips and excursions, screening and testing of new entrants, and guidance and counseling. Already results have shown up in improved reading ability, attendance, and morale.

Pittsburgh is ~~meeting the challenge in another way, by~~ developing new techniques of teaching. A pilot project has been set up in five elementary schools there, with teaching teams organized to meet a multi-purpose goal, including increased student achievement, a better appreciation of education among parents, and a gradual lightening of the welfare burden. The team consists of a master teacher, regular teachers, a team mother, and unpaid assistants who are student teachers from local colleges, all of whom work with children in need of extra help in the selected schools.

Milwaukee has ~~a program of~~ special ~~orientation~~ classes for in-migrant pupils. The classes, in several schools in the area with the largest number of newcomers, are kept small and children are taught there until they are ready to move into regular classes. A welfare counsellor works with the parents, and a psychologist and other personnel from the Health Department cooperate.

St. Louis has the Banneker program in 23 elementary schools, with a 95 percent Negro enrollment, in the poorer part of the city. Special

teaching programs have been developed, parent cooperation in home work assignments enlisted, and children ~~are~~ stimulated by field trips, honor awards, and discussions. In three years the number of Banneker pupils in the top of three "tracks" was tripled and the bottom "track" halved. Negro children have been aided by special programs in Kansas City to overcome ~~their~~ enviornmental handicaps and gradually are raising their medium achievement levels to those of ~~white~~ pupils.

Detroit, Chicago, and Washington, D.C., also have programs designed to aid children with special problems in a new, competitive enviornment.

Detroit this year also began an experiment with new pre-primers for half the first graders in the city shhools. Since most primers are based on ~~what has been described as~~ the all-white, antiseptic world of "Dick and Jane," ~~these~~ they have little meaning to a ~~deprived~~ child whose front lawn is a crowded city sidewalk and who may be Negro. After taping conversations with hundreds of elementary school children in Detroit and finding the 100 words used most frequently, the pre-primer textbooks were rewritten, using these words and presenting situations about white and Negro children in crowded big cities. Later, the groups using the new and those using the standard texts will be tested to see if children learn faster from books which reflect their own background.

Washington, ~~D.C.,~~ is developing a study guide ~~which is~~ to show the place of the Negro in ~~the mainstream of~~ American culture and history, ~~in an effort~~ to instill ~~a~~ pride in the contributions of Negroes. Also under development is a second study guide tracing the development ~~of Nazi Partism in~~ Nazi Germany, as an object lesson in the value of

democracy and tolerance.

New York City's Commission on Human Rights has distributed a booklet to white parents to help their children fit into newly integrated schools.

The school administration in San Angelo, Texas, has established a free tutoring program at nights open to all high school students, and both white and Negro children have enrolled for the extra classes. The school system of Tucson, Ariz., operates and orientation program for pupils and teachers with respect to problems of integration.

Tucson also is one of a number of cities which have ~~education-orientation~~ programs on the adult level. The University's Home Economics Department and a low-income housing project in Tucson ~~joined~~ jointly to sponsor ~~a program to~~ help for project residents, including some ex-migrant farm workers in adjust to their new community. Graduate and senior students have met with mothers to discuss budget, diet, and problems of child care. In Belle Glade, Fla., a paid employee of the local health department works particularly with seasonal farm workers, discussing child care and personal health problems and helping the worker families learn to use community health services.

In yet another program, aimed not primarily at newcomers but ~~for adults in~~ the community as a whole, the Mayor's Commission on Group Relations in Newark, N.J., in cooperation with the Fuld Neighborhood House, has been offering an Adult Education Course on "The Negro in American History." The course was instituted to acquaint both white and Negro citizens with the worthwhile contributions the Negro has made to American development.

In Cleveland, Ohio, the Community Relations Board has set up a

Department of Migration to aid the four major newcomer groups to the city--Southern Negroes, Southern Appalachians, American Indians and Puerto Ricans. It distributes English and Spanish versions of a Director of Community Services and a kit of materials compiled to aid these newcomers. ~~in adjustment~~. The Department holds ~~orientation~~ meetings every six weeks with Indian newcomers to answer questions about the city and urban behavior; ~~it~~ conducts information programs for Puerto Ricans (there were 6,500 from this Commonwealth in Cleveland last year); ~~It~~ has sponsored programs and a fair to acquaint other Cleveland residents with the cultural congributions of ~~former~~ residents ~~of~~ the Appalachian Mountain region. The staff has visited industrial plants in the area to gather information on the employment problems of the newcomers and has spent a great deal of its educational effort on the matter of wage garnishments since ~~newcomers~~ often are the victims of unscrupulous salesmen. The Department also has cooperated with churches and sponsored a seminar of clergymen on the problems of migrant minorities; last year, with ~~the cooperation of~~ Western Reserve University, the Board ~~initiated~~ a spring conference ~~for~~ 200 persons on the plight of new residents.

In cooperation with the Chicgo Junior Colleges the Mayor's Committee on New Residents in Chicago offers a course in "Spanish Vocabulary for Professional Workers." It is designed particularly to aid police, building inspectors, probation officers and other municipal workers deal with the new Spanish-speaking residents of the city. Newark, ~~N.J.,~~ also offers a course in conversational Spanish for city employees.

Employment

in this so? what about "affirmative action"?

The economic loss to the United States through employment discrimination was outlined in a report to the Congress this year. The Council of Economic Advisers estimated that if the present capabilities of the non-white population were utilized fully the Gross National Product of the country could be increased 2.5 percent, or about 13 billion dollars.

Furthermore, the report said, if non-whites had the same educational levels as whites and if the economy utilized their education the GNP might be 3.2 percent, or 17 billion dollars, higher. In addition, elimination of racial discrimination "would permit, by reducing the level of social costs, a reallocation of output to more fruitful uses."

What is being done to cut this economic loss which affects both the non-white labor force of 11 percent and the communities in which they live?

Government employment--Federal, state and municipal--without racial or religious discrimination is the policy of the United States, ~~based on the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments.~~ The Federal drive to eliminate prejudice in hiring ~~public~~ Federal employees has been stepped up in recent years, but the eventual goal, and legal requirement, has long been clear: government employment ~~will be decided~~ based on qualification, without regard to color or religion. From the passage of the Civil Service Act of 1883, with its principle of merit employment and a subsequent regulation under it outlawing religious discrimination, to the 1940 Civil Service statute rule prohibiting racial discrimination ~~as well and up~~ to today's President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, the Federal government has sought, with variable emphasis, to make fair employment a reality as well

how can you say the Federal & municipal states have policies against discrimination

as a theory. principle

Private employment, however, is another matter. During World War II the President established, by executive order, a Fair Employment Practices Committee with jurisdiction over all employment by government contractors, recruitment and training for war production, and employment by the Federal government. The Committee, which lacked power to enforce its decisions except by negotiation and pressure of public opinion, went out of existence in 1946. Currently, a Presidential Executive Order issued in March, 1961, stipulates that every private contractor or sub-contractor doing business with the Federal government must sign a contract with an anti-discrimination clause.

Except in this area of Federal contracts, action on job discrimination by private employers has been left to states and municipalities. The former can act under their police powers and the latter where power has been delegated to them by their respective states.

should any reference be made to Truman's Executive order?

had enforcing powers

should any reference be made to WSES policies & to plans for progress reports by unions

1-Employment

Twenty-five states and the Virgin Islands have passed Fair Employment (FEP) laws. Twenty of these provide for enforcement by administrative agencies and, while concerned mainly with private employment, strengthen also the Constitutional ban on discrimination in public employment. These 20 are Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington and Wisconsin. Nebraska bans defense work employment bias; Arizona bars discrimination in public employment and by employers doing state contract work; Indiana and Nevada declare job discrimination to be against public policy and authorize a commission to investigate complaints; Idaho and the Virgin Islands rely on court action for enforcement of employment discrimination.

In addition, approximately 40 municipalities have enacted local ordinances outlawing discrimination in employment. Most cities with FEP laws are in states which also have FEP statutes. ALTHOUGH SOME CITIES [illegible] ACTING. ~~some~~ other cities, however--Des Moines and Sioux City, Iowa, and Baltimore, Md., for example--have adopted local laws but their states as yet have no FEP legislation.

Cities ~~with sizeable minority groups which have faced the problem of job discrimination~~ have varied in their approach, some appointing study groups, others setting forth a policy of non-discrimination in city employment, and still others ~~by~~ providing for administrative bodies armed with real authority to enforce anti-bias laws applying to both government and private employment. As a minimum, all these approaches demonstrate a concern with the importance of the problem

to the families affected and to their communities. However, the appointment of a study group or a committee does not have any lasting effect if there is no vigorous follow-up, nor does even legislation with legal sanctions and a professional staff necessarily mean a city is meeting all its commitments. Jack Greenberg, in Race Relations and American Law, pointed out, "Activity and effectiveness are not determined merely by budget, but to a great extent reflect the attitude of the guiding personnel."

A ~~random~~ sampling of cities which have taken action on fair employment shows the variety of approaches used.

The Lansing, Mich., city council has adopted a municipal code of fair practices requiring city agencies to hire and operate on a racially non-discriminatory basis. ~~The city of~~ Beloit, Wisc., has PASSED AN FEP ORDINANCE COVERING PRIVATE AND CITY ~~issued a declaration of city policy against discrimination in~~ employment by ~~any city agency or contractor~~ with provision of $10 fine or a jail term of not more than five days for violations. CANTON, OHIO, ALSO HAS AN FEP LAW COVERING ALL EMPLOYMENT.

Sioux City, Iowa, passed an ordinance in 1951 which applies to municipal employees and to contractors, licensees, and franchise holders of the city. The ordinance making employment discrimination by such agencies unlawful is administered by a five member commission appointed by the mayor and approved by the city council. Maximum punishment for violations is 30 days in jail or a fine of $100.

Richmond, Calif., has had an ordinance outlawing discrimination in city employment, or by contractors doing business with the city, since 1946.

In the Southern city of Richmond, Va., the city council this year unanimously passed a FEP resolution covering municipal workers. To overcome a legal objection, the resolution was in the form of a recommendation to the city's Personnel Board. The board was asked to

did Personnel Bd adopt?

adopt a rule providing for employment and promotion solely on a merit basis, without regard to race, creed or arbitrary maximum age limits.

Cleveland, Ohio, passed a fair employment ordinance in 1950, giving the Community Relations Board the responsibility of receiving complaints and making investigations and recommendations. The Board cannot initiate investigations but must wait for individual complaints. A portion of its work results in referrals to union officials, the Ohio Civil Rights Commission, the Bureau of Unemployment Compensation, the Civil Service Commission and the National Labor Relations Board. Last year, the Board processed 18 complaints of alleged racial discrimination, finding 10 without probable cause and adjusting eight to the complainants' satisfaction.

see over

In 1957, Bakersfield, Calif., adopted an ordinance outlawing discrimination in employment because of race, religion, or place of birth and creating a Commission On Equal Employment Opportunity. The ordinance, which applied to "employers, employment, labor organizations and others," provided that if the Commission was unable to eliminate any discrimination charged, a majority vote of all members could certify the matter to the city attorney for appropriate legal action. It also provided for procedures whereby any employer, employment agency, or labor union found by a court to have violated the amendment twice within a period of one year would not be eligible to enter into any contract with the city for a year.

The Bakersfield ordinance stated it was the desire of the City Council "to promote the welfare of all citizens....by encouraging equal employment...thereby encouraging all citizens to reach the full potentialities and to provide adequately toward the economic security of their families and the education of their children and to make

Should we use
more but heads, e.g. here
something like "Relation
Principal & State Power" covering
down through paragraphs
next page

their contribution to the industrial, business and civic life of this City.

"And it is the conclusion of this Council that discrimination in employment by reason of race, color, religion, ancestry, national origin or place of birth tends to impose substantial financial burdens upon the public revenues which must be used for the relief and amelioration of the condition of those affected by such discrimination wherever it exists, and that by encouraging widespread employment among all persons willing to work, such will tend to lessen disease, delinquency and crime when due to poverty or lack of employment."

The Bakersfield FEP ordinance and a similar one applying to private as well as public agencies passed by the City and County of San Francisco were forerunners of the state law which became effective Sept. 18, 1959. The California FEP law explicitly provided that local FEP agencies would cease to exist one year from the effective date of the state legislation.

On the other hand, some states--Minnesota and Pennsylvania, for example--allow their municipal FEP groups to operate autonomously in cooperation with the state commission and have set up a procedure for feferrals. ? what?

The St. Louis, Mo., FEP ordinance is restricted to public works supported in whole or in part by public funds. Another border city, Baltimore, Md., in 1960 strengthened its 1956 law barring discrimination in private employment by giving the administering agency, the Baltimore Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, subpoena power, and, where respondents refuse cease and desist orders, power to certify the matter to the city law department, which is required to seek court aid to secure compliance.

In 1947 Minneapolis, Minn., became the first city in the country to establish a municipal FEP commission to administer an enforceable employment law aimed at discrimination. Prior to enactment of the law, the Mayor's Council on Human Relations studied employment patterns in Minneapolis, as part of a community self-survey, and found that minority groups faced serious barriers in all employment above the level of common labor and service jobs. An anyalysis by the Minneapolis FEP commission of the census reports of 1940 and 1950 showed considerable progress has been made in non-white employment in semiskilled, skilled, clerical, supervisory, and professional categories.

Kansas City, Mo., has opened municipal employment to all, based on the ability to pass civil service tests. The executive director of the Urban League there reported that police, fire, and clerical staffs of the various departments have a representative number of Negro employees.

A Skokie, Ill., ordinance establishing a personnel system for the village includes a prohibition against discrimination in municipal employment

~~offices of government and 22,518 jobs, of which 874 were held by Negroes.~~ The Commission said that "the government units are a showcase for merit employment practices, for the most part."

~~Canton, Ohio, passed an FEP law in 1958, covering all employment.~~

The City Council of Des Moines, ~~Iowa,~~ adopted an ordinance in 1956 creating a Commission on Job Discrimination consisting of five members appointed by the city council. The ordinance outlaws discrimination by employers, labor unions, and employment agencies and authorizes the Commission to investigate and hold public hearings on charges of employment bias. If respondents fail to comply with any recommendations, the Commission must certify the case of the city solicitor for action. Conviction for violations of the anti-discrimination laws carries a maximum penalty of 30 days imprisonment or a fine of $100. The law also states that ~~[illegible]~~ the Commission may, on its own initiative, investigate and hold hearings on possible discrimination in any department of the city government; any violations then must be reported to the city manager for appropriate action.

About five years ago, Burlington, Iowa, conducted a community self-survey and subsequently established the Mayor's Committee on Civic Unity. The committee, which has no enforcement powers, has conducted an educational drive for equal job opportunities in the city.

In a 1955 ordinance, Pittsburgh, ~~Penn.~~, strengthened an earlier FEP ordinance and provided for a 15-member Commission on Human Relations appointed by the mayor, who also was authorized to appoint an executive director. The ordinance states that "experience in other large cities

has proved that legislation prohibiting job discrimination removes some of the sources of strife, poverty, crime and disease, and directly promotes public welfare and good government." It authorizes the commission to initiate or receive and investigate complaints charging unlawful employment practices by city or private employers and certify any violations to the city solicitor for action.

A number of cities demonstrate ways in which FEP legislation can be administered, interpreted, or supplemented.

The Erie, ~~Penn.~~ Pa., Community Relations Commission, for example, has endorsed a resolution interpreting the city's FEP ordinance as barring advertisements for "situations wanted" from including references to race or religion.

In August, 1961, the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors unanimously voted to conduct a survey of the more than 40,000 county workers to determine the employment pattern of "persons of Oriental, Negro and Mexican American antecedents." The study, completed this year, was ~~carried out under direction of~~ made by a committee of county officials, including the executive secretary of the Human Relations Committee of Los Angeles. The state FEP commission ~~called~~ considered it "probably the most intensive and exhaustive study of its kind ever made by a public agency of its own personnel anywhere in the United States" and said it "may serve as a model for similar self-surveys in other cities and counties, and perhaps in large private enterprises as well..."

The Los Angeles committee made two reports to the Board of Supervisors. The first covered 16 departments in which the committee ~~felt~~ believed statistics indicated the possibility of discrimination. As a result, the Supervisors instructed department heads to review their

selection, utilization and promotion of minority group employees and eliminate any elements of discrimination. The second report covered departments which seemed to have a scarcity of minority group employees at professional levels. Subsequently, the Civil Service Commission and the Board of Supervisors instructed the departments to review their examining procedures and the use of the "appraisal of promotability" form. A follow-up survey to determine if corrective action has been taken is scheduled for April, 1963.

In Last December, the Fire Commission of Los Angeles adopted unanimously a policy statement strengthening non-discrimination in the Fire Department. The action requires that all hiring, assignments and promotions be on a merit basis. It also provides for an education program to be conducted in cooperation with the University of California in Los Angeles to improve "harmonious relations among personnel in the department." Since 1955 the City Civil Service Commission of Los Angeles has required all applicants for municipal employment to pledge ~~ok~~ they will "willingly work with or for any associates regardless of race, color or creed."

The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations conducted an investigation into charges of discriminatory employment policies in the hotel and restaurant business and found that such discrimination did exist. ~~As a result,~~ Subsequently, in 1960 the Greater Philadelphia Restaurant Operators Association agreed to hiring practices conforming to the city's FEP law, ~~which dates back to 1948~~ (passed in 1948). A similar agreement was reached with the Waiter and Waitresses union local. Philadelphia now ~~couples~~ combines its industry-wide investigating ~~technique~~ with ~~a~~ plant inspections ~~program, which it conducted~~ made last year at the rate of several per week.

~~The mayor of New York City, said this year, "The effort to assure full employment opportunity for all our citizens does not and cannot end~~

1-Employment

The Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce ~~now has~~ recently appointed a five-man advisory committee to work with the Commission ~~on programs~~ to promote ~~support for~~ merit hiring ~~practices.~~

In response to a query about employment policy in the city of Windsor, Ontario, City Manager E. Rowden Colter replied, "In regard to employment practice, Negroes are given equal consideration for all positions in the municipal administration. The City Solicitor, one of the senior officials, is a Negro and he has been outstanding in his profession. Colored persons are presently employed in Police, Fire, Engineers, Parks, Public Works, Clerk's, Public Market and Legal Departments as well as on the staffs of the Public Library, the ~~xxxx~~ General Hospital, School Boards and the Utilities Commission."

The ~~mayor of~~ Mayor Robert F. Wagner New York City touched on another ~~phase of employment~~ issue when he said ~~this~~ year, "The effort to assure full employment opportunity for all our citizens does not and cannot end with laws prohibiting discrimination and creating governmental agencies to enforce these prohibitions. Steps must be taken affirmatively to recruit and promote members of minority groups into positions of executive, professional, administrative and skilled responsibility." The statement came with ~~the mayor's~~ Wagner's announcement that a Mayor's Committee on Job Advancement had been formed to seek ~~to open to~~ for Negroes and Puerto Ricans thousands of higher level private and city jobs, by ~~seeking to~~ persuading labor unions to end discrimination in membership and apprentice training, analyzing annual reports from participating employers, and ~~conducting programs to~~ encouraging school children ~~from~~ minority groups to develop ~~the~~ skills ~~necessary~~ for higher paying jobs.

analyzing + what else?

HOUSING – Assume this will be updated to cover Pres Exec Order last week.

Housing for minority groups ~~has become~~ is one of the most urgent problems facing many cities today. ~~Officials have watched with concern as~~ waves of newcomers, many from rural areas and often Negro, have crowded into central cities, creating or expanding slums because too often these are all available to them, and at the same time ~~they have watched~~ old, established families move to the suburbs, taking their tax dollars with them. Some ~~of these~~ cities ~~faced~~ experienced an earlier, migrant influx from foreign countries, but it was easier for those migrants who were white to fade in time into the city background and more difficult before the days of quick transportation for the older families to move farther out. As minorities, attracted by the promise of better jobs and a freer life, have moved into the cities, they have been crowded into ghetto-like areas ~~across the land~~, either because this is all they can find at the price they can afford initially or because discrimination bars them from better housing. Many cities know only too well how the over-crowding, the sub-standard housing, and prejudice have added to the problems of welfare, school, health, and police departments and have begun working on the matter of decent housing for both humane and economic reasons. Probably no community in the United States with a large Negro population has solved its housing problems, but some are trying. ~~Lack of~~ a comprehensive national policy has hampered cities, since the federal government plays such a major role in ~~the~~ housing, with its financing, ~~federal~~ mortgage ~~guarantee~~ insurance and public housing assistance programs.

Until the past few years almost all legislation prohibiting discrimination in housing applied only to public housing. However,

and ~~to~~ municipal ordinances?

cities in over 20 percent of the country now are governed by state laws which prohibit racial and religious discrimination in some part of the private housing market. In something of a speed record in the civil rights field, 11 states, three cities and the Virgin Islands passed such housing statutes in the past five years.

The nation's first fair housing statute applying to private residences became law in New York City on the last day of 1957. Pittsburgh adopted a private housing ordinance ~~in 1958~~ the next year and Toledo, Ohio, followed in 1961 but was stalled by a court injunction shortly after the effective date of its housing law.

why single out Colorado?

In 1959, Colorado enacted a law banning discrimination in transactions involving all dwellings except owner-occupied units. The Act, applying to public and private housing and both rentals and sales, also bars inquiries and advertisements relating to the race, sex, [redacted] creed, or ancestry of prospective tenants or buyers. In April, 1962, Alaska adopted legislation banning discrimination in the entire housing field, and Minnesota fair housing legislation ~~goes~~ went into effect Dec. 31, 1962. The eight other states with fair housing legislation are Pennsylvania, New York, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Oregon and California. All ~~the~~ these laws are enforced by administrative agencies except those of California, Alaska and New Hampshire.

The Virgin Islands has ~~added legislation~~ a new law barring discrimination in the sale and rental of housing ~~to~~ as well as earlier anti-bias laws covering employment and public accommodations. The new law has a unique feature ~~aimed at~~ preventing evasion by the private club device. It clearly states that the Virgin Islands prohibits "clubs from establishing a private clientele of either members or guests, which they have selected, and with which persons alone transact their business and commerce." Violators are subject to civil suits for actual damages, plus punitive

should we cite unless we cite also some documentation?

damages for up to $5,000, and are liable to criminal punishment and license suspension or revocation.

The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (NCDH) found recently that even though the various laws have been in effect only a short time, slow but steady progress already has been made in opening formerly restricted residential areas to minority groups.

In 1960, Canada barred discrimination in all publicly-assisted housing, including that built with government insured loans and ~~last~~ a year later Ontario became the first Canadian province to enact a fair housing law prohibiting discrimination in private housing.

Some municipal governments have faced the problem of residential discrimination and have acted in a variety of ways, most often taking initial steps in the field of public housing, publicly-assisted and/or urban redevelopment housing. Nevertheless, an estimated 80 percent of public housing in the United States remains segregated. This is partly due ~~due in part~~ to the fact that ~~generally~~ more Negroes than whites qualify for admission to subsidized low rent public housing because of lower incomes. This, plus a concentration of Negroes in central cities, often adds up to such a large demand for available public housing that an all-Negro project results. Some local housing authorities with desegregation programs have ~~simply~~ have ~~not~~ been able to achieve a racial balance. However, in perhaps more cases ~~this is not the entire picture and~~ segregation does and can exist in ~~some~~ local housing projects by design. There also are cities which have Negro citizens, yet the public housing projects remain all white.

Still, a measure of the widespread realization of the existence of discrimination in housing is the fact that by 1961 a total of 401 towns and cities with public housing programs had adopted policies of

non-discrimination. This represented about 36.6 percent of the cities with such programs. Of ~~this percentage,~~ there 40! however, only 52.8 percent ~~of the "open occupancy" localities~~ actually were integrated, according to the NCDH. And, some of the "integrated" projects had in fact very few Negro tenants.

City housing authorities or commissions which have passed resolutions against discrimination in public housing include Phoenix, Ariz.; Fresno and Richmond, Calif.; Omaha, Neb.; Superior, Wisc.; Hazel Park and Mount Clemens, Mich.; Toledo, Ohio; and Washington, D.C. Housing action often has followed a period of community preparation and discussion, as in Peoria, Ill., where the Council on Human Relations worked with city officials for several years. As a result, Peoria now has an explicit policy of non-segregation in all public housing in the community. Saginaw, Mich., has a similar policy.

"In some instances, the action by city authorities has preceded, if it has not precipitated, State legislation," the Commission on Civil Rights said in its 1959 report. "For instance, the resolution of the Hartford Court of Common Council in January 1949 prohibiting discrimination or segregation in any public housing or municipally assisted private housing development within the city, apparently the first such action, included a resolution that similar action be taken on a statewide basis by the general assembly. Six months later the Connecticut Legislature prohibited discrimination in public housing projects and four years later the legislature extended the prohibition to all publicly assisted housing."

Hartford also has experimented in the field of semi-private housing by enlisting the cooperation of the FHA, the city of

Hartford, private lending companies, and construction and management firms. The city leased a two-acre tract for 50 years without fee to a non-profit private corporation, Hartford Homes, Inc., sponsored by the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce. Private lending institutions for the 40-unit "Twin Acres" pilot project provided the financing and FHA backed the mortgage while the city assumed no financial burden, but receives taxes; on full payment of the mortgage, land and buildings will revert to the city. Twin Acres, operated as a relocation project, is non-discriminatory. Since 1959, 22 white families have lived with 18 Negro families without incident. The director of the Hartford Department of Housing has said, "The acumen of private business and management have been harnessed for a social purpose, with the city represented via its departments, to assure the accommodation of those persons for whom the housing is intended and, when necessary, to assist families in their adjustment to a new enviornment."

~~The city council or redevelopment agency of such cities as Sacramento and Oakland, Calif., and Inkster, Mich., have passed resolutions of anti-discrimination in urban redevelopment projects. Other cities have enacted ordinances against discrimination in redevelopment projects, including Los Angeles, Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton, Ohio.~~

Des Moines, Iowa, bars discrimination in the sale or use of land for urban renewal. The entire matter of "urban renewal" has claimed increasing attention since the program, with its emphasis on slum clearance and rebuilding, was initiated in the 1949 Housing Act of the Federal government. The Housing Act of 1954 broadened

In recent years, the city of Windsor, Ontario, has constructed several rental housing projects of single family dwellings, duplexes, row houses and a high rise apartment. There is no segregation and the city manager has commented that persons of all races and creeds live in harmony.

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the concept into a huge Federal-local cooperative venture which involves a master city plan, rehousing of displaced families, housing codes and financing. The Federal government has ruled that private housing developers in federally aided urban renewal projects must comply with state and local anti-discrimination laws. In 1960 the Housing and Home Finance ~~Agency~~ administrator announced that a community-wide representative citizens' advisory committee was a prerequisite for approval of a city's renewal program. This has been both a challenge and opportunity for communities with such programs to enlist the aid and support of minority groups. A glance at just one state, Michigan, which is not necessarily typical, shows at least seven of the 16 urban renewal communities in existence last year had citizens advisory committees with substantial minority representation: Detroit, Jackson, Kalamazoo, Mount Clemens, Pontiac, Saginaw and Inkster.

However,"to have minority groups represented on zoning boards, as well as on planning commissions, is an important step in assuring the protection of minority group rights in urban growth and development," the Michigan State Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights said in its 1961 report. "In only one of the 12 urban renewal communities under consideration [in Michigan] is there a minority group member on the zoning board of appeals; the village of Inkster, where the principal minority is Negro, has two minority representatives on a board of seven."

Various voluntary groups representing churches, business and civic organizations have been formed in a number of localities to broaden--often in cooperation with city officials--the number of neighbbrhoods open to minority groups. In 1958 the Greater Seattle

Housing Council, representing builders, architects, real estate firms and lenders, joined church, labor, and civic agencies to combat housing discrimination. In 1961 the Council set up an experimental clearing service to ~~assist~~ help minority groups ~~families~~ find housing outside the central city, away from areas of racial concentration.

The Housing Authority of Seattle operates four low-rent public housing projects, two in the central part of the city and two in outlying sections. The projects, with a total of 4,000 units, operate on an open occupancy basis.

The Brookline, Mass., Fair Housing Committee's "Good Neighbor" pledge drive ~~brought praise from~~ was cited by President Kennedy ~~who called it~~ as "the kind of constructive response to a great problem that this nation needs." Clergymen of the three major faiths gave strong leadership to the drive, which was also endorsed by the Brookline Board of Selectmen and members of the state legislature and which received extensive coverage by newspapers, radio, and television. The drive is being followed up by ~~contacting~~ asking signers of the pledge ~~to persuade them~~ to establish neighborhood organizations for fair housing. Similar campaigns have followed in several other cities in the Boston area. The pledge itself reads:

"To keep Brookline ahead in a progressing nation, we the undersigned join the Good Neighborhood for Fair Housing pledge:

"1. We believe that all people regardless of race, religion or national origin should have equal opportunity for housing.

"2. When renting or selling the property we own or manage we agree to make it available to anyone without regard to his national origin.

"3. We want our neighborhood to welcome all regardless of race, religion or national origin and will encourage our neighbors to join us in achieving an integrated neighborhood."

Still other communities have offered different solutions to certain aspects of the housing question. Shaker Heights, Ohio, for example, passed an ordinance in 1961 ~~which prohibits~~ prohibiting real estate agents from attempting to stimulate panic selling in changing neighborhoods. Two years earlier, over 200 families in Shaker Heights, a suburb of Cleveland, had organized to protect their integrated neighborhood and "create a workable plan for democratic living among Negro and white families in the suburbs."

Gainesville, Ga., sought an answer ~~to its Negro housing problem~~ within the segregation framework of the Deep South. The Negro community has been hemmed in by industrial and white residential areas in Gainesville. The city commissioners appointed a committee to study how the space available for Negro housing might be expanded. As a result, a new high school for Negroes was planned for an open area and private enterprise encouraged to develop a subdivision in the area. The Committee developed into a community-wide improvement group considering the broader question of urban renewal.

The City Commission of Kalamazoo, Mich., ~~in 1955 declared its opposition to segregation in Housing. In 1960,~~ went on record against segregated housing in 1955. Five years later the Kalamazoo city manager, commenting on the inter-relationship of minority housing and development of the community as a whole, said "the problems of all persons and all groups in the city are mutual...unsolved problems of a social and economic nature retard the growth and advancement of the entire city." Later, at the instigation of the Council on Community Relations, more than 1,000 Kalamazoo citizens signed a newspaper

advertisement which endorsed the right of all Americans to buy or rent a home in the neighborhood of their choice. "These positive actions by official agencies and citizens in Kalamazoo have resulted in greater freedom for non-whites to move out of segregated areas," the Michigan Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights ~~said last year~~ reported in 1960.

↓

The City Council of Oakland, Calif., unanimously adopted an "open house policy" asking all citizens and the real estate industry to build, finance, sell and rent housing without discrimination.

The California Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights found that the "presence of Negro realty board members...has led to fruitful discussion concerning the role of realtors in dealing with problems connected with minority housing" in San Francisco and Sacramento. [The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, said in its 1961 report on Housing,]

"The real estate broker is a key man in the majority of housing transactions. He finds buyers for housing and housing for buyers and he has detailed knowledge (or access to it) of the location of homes of various styles and prices. His policies and practices are among the foremost influences that determine where the various racial or religious groups will live...

"Certain states and municipalities have enacted legislation prohibiting discriminatory practices in varying degrees on the part of this unique group. Others have reached the same result through attorney general opinions and administrative regulations. State authority to license and regulate real estate brokers is also a formidable weapon and has been utilized in at least three states for purposes of insuring equal housing opportunity.

"Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Washington, New York and Oregon expressly cover real estate brokers and salesmen in their antidiscrimination housing laws. Similarly, Pittsburgh's and New York City's ordinances expressly apply to real estate salesmen. Baltimore has adopted an ordinance specifically directed against 'block busting' tactics." → so has Detroit

New York program also? → Bateport

reference to Fort Covington Bateport? article on Chicago block busting?

Whatever method is used to achieve open occupancy, the NCDH said in a 1961 report that experience had provided three guideposts for success: 1. A firm, clearly stated policy; 2. An early start on open occupancy, preferably at the planning stage; and 3. An open housing policy covering the major portion of the housing market, thus placing all buyers and sellers on the same competitive basis.

The report cited examples of the feasibility of integration "even when initiated under the most adverse circumstances" and mentioned that border cities such as Baltimore, Md.; Wilmington, Del.; St. Louis, Mo.; and Louisville, Ky., had desegregated long-established and segregated projects. It said that open occupancy had proved successful and profitable in high-rent urban renewal housing in such cities as Chicago, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and others and in numerous suburban developments, including 60 in New York state alone. And, it added:

"Housing value seems to override even latent prejudice--no instance is known where the interracial character of a development has caused it to be a business failure."

INTERRACIAL TEACHING STAFFS

This is a report on an attempt to locate a number of cities which have had a successful experience of interracial teaching staffs. Letters were written to a number of city school superintendents inquiring whether their systems (1) employ interracial staffs in schools with interracial student bodies, (2) employ interracial staffs in schools with students of only one race, (3) have found their policy in this regard to be a successful one. This report is a summary based on 55 replies5 which indicate that interracial staffs are used.*

I. Summary of Statements

1. Thirty-one cities state a policy of non-discrimination, or employment on merit, and indicate no restriction on this principle. Typical is the reply: "the policy of the Board of Education has consistently been one of selecting and assigning employes on the basis of qualification and fitness for the position." Another says, "We have no discrimination whatsoever and both faculty and students are assigned without regard to geographical area, race, or origin."

Some of these 31 replies are from cities which in fact employ many Negro teachers, others have a much smaller number of Negro teachers. In several, it is apparent that this is a relatively new policy.

All of the 31 say that their policy is successful. "We have had no difficulty with interracial staffs in our city" or "We have had no incidents arising because of interracial staffing" are typical of the comments. One superintendent said there were some objections raised when a Negro teacher was placed in a predominantly white school, but the objections subsided when the policy was explained. Another writes:

> "When we started staffing our schools interracially ..... there were some slight objections, but the pupils and their parents have learned to accept the teachers upon evidence of ability and not because of racial background."

Of these 31 cities, 17 are in the northeast, 8 in the middle west, 5 on the west coast, and 1 in the southwest.

2. Sixteen cities report that they have some interracial teaching staffs but also state some reservation, restriction, or caution concerning the use of Negro teachers. Nine of the 16 restrict interracial staffs to schools with interracial student bodies or schools with all Negro or predominantly population; five indicated that they had taken initial and partial steps in a gradual plan; two siad a Negro teacher could be placed where it is acceptable to the faculty or to the neighborhood. Some stressed care in selecting the teacher and need for orientation of the school. Some stomments in this group are:

> "That works slowly for the Negro people but it seemed to insure success where tried."

*In addition to the 55 replies discussed here, 6 letters were received which did not indicate an affirmative reply to the question of whether or not interracial staffs are used. Two state that they have no policy in this regard, 2 have no Negro teachers, one does not use both races on the same staff, and one gives too little information for classification.

"It would be a mistake to invite controversy over the question by placing a teacher in a school in whose community the people were not ready to accept a teacher of her race. To do that would not only subject the teacher to personal embarrassment and hardship but would do the cause of better race relations damage. We always judge a teacher as an individual and not as a member of any particular group."

A Negro teacher can be employed "where we believe strong resentment in the community would not be raised."

"Our policy of employing Negro teachers is conservative, but it has been very effective."

Of these 16 cities, 3 are eastern, 10 are mid-western, and 3 are western.

3. There are eight replies which do not make a statement of current policy but report the successful interracial placement of a relatively small number of Negro teachers. Four of these letters are from eastern cities, three from the middle-west, one from the west coast.

One reports that they have at times employed one Negro teacher out of several hundred on the staff and adds "There was never any question about their employment and never any question about white children being in their rooms." Another writes, "We have a few Negro teachers...they are assigned wherever needed." Of the other six, four report one interracial staff, one reports two interracial staffs, one reports successful experience of, "one or two in the past" in predominantly white neighborhoods.

II. The Record of Experience

The letters reflect considerable awareness, on the part of Superintendents, of the policy of employment on merit, as opposed to placing emphasis on the number of Negro teachers employed. We quote several who spell out the procedure with notable clarity:

"The selection of public school teachers and supervisors...is based entirely upon competitive examination. Therefore, the element of race, color, or creed of applicants is entirely disregarded."

"The...Board of Education selects employees on the basis of their ability to execute a particular job and not on the basis of race, creed, religion, or nationality. This policy has now been in operation for six or seven years and we believe it is working very satisfactorily."

"All teachers are appointed from a regular certificate list without discrimination to race, color or creed."

"The employment of teachers in the...public schools is solely on the basis of educational background and professional competence. We raise no questions in our application or in our interview as to race, color, or creed."

"Personnel Division application forms, identification cards, and assignment forms do not ask any question in relation to race, color, or religious affiliations of any applicant for a position...Photographs are not required. Current Personnel Division records do not identify the race, color, or religion of any

employee. This practice is considered consistent with the letter and spirit of the Board's policy that no racial discrimination be shown."

The Superintendents also make clear that non-discrimination applies in placement:

> "All teachers serve in schools when there are vacancies. Our plan works with great satisfaction."
>
> "Assignment of teachers is based upon the needs of our schools. There is no segregation of either pupils or teachers."
>
> "It can be briefly stated that teachers are assigned to individual classroom situations without any consideration as to the racial makeup of the pupil population or the teaching staff. Assignments are made on the basis of the teacher's ability to meet the particular needs of a class in a given school. We do try to maintain a balanced age in our school staffs so that the younger teachers may have the benefit of the teaching experiences of the older members, but the matter of race does not enter into the assignments of teachers in our public schools. We have found this practice to be very successful."
>
> "The only policy which we adhere to in all cases is the desire to employ the very best teachers available in the judgment of those responsible for making the decision. All teachers are assigned to the school staffs solely on the basis of the multiple factors which must be considered in assigning teachers where they will be able to render the greatest service and the best service to the school system...The above procedure we believe to be the only reasonable and proper procedure. We doubt very much that the multiplicity of factors involved and the prime purpose of rendering service to children and to the community would permit the operation of a plan which in any respect would be somewhat mechanical."

Many examples make it clear that this policy needs no modification where a given neighborhood may have few or no Negro children. A New Jersey city reports that 22 out of 37 schools have interracial faculties, including 2 Negro teachers in an all-white junior high school and 12 Negro teachers in 6 elementary schools which have only white pupils. Other Superintendents report the following:

> "Interracial staffs are used in schools where there is a high percentage (50 to 75%) of Negro students and also in schools where only a few Negro students are enrolled. It is our present policy to assign Negro teachers in terms of the needs of our schools rather than in terms of the character of the school enrollment."
>
> "We have had one colored teacher, who teaches practically all white children, for eight years. She has worked in two schools during that time."
>
> "In the interracial staffs that we have there are white teachers teaching white and Negro students, and there are Negro teachers teaching white and Negro students. In one of these schools, the principal is a Negro. It is our opinion that to date this policy has been very effective."

Many comments point to the fact that the outcome of initial experience with integrated staffs is a view of the Negro teacher as a person and a teacher rather than as a Negro.

> "I do have one senior high school predominantly white in which there is one Negro teacher. Nobody thinks in terms of her race and she is regarded by all

of us as one of the outstanding secondary teachers in the school system."

"We have in our employ one Negro principal. She has served for three years in a school where the large majority of both children and teachers are white. For many years prior to her selection as principal, she taught in the same school. Parents, teachers, and pupils consider her a very successful elementary school principal."

"Frankly, I cannot tell you how many Negro teachers we employ, neither can I report as to the number of teachers who are members of other races. I am personally acquainted with some of the Negroes now employed by the school district and am proud to say that one of the strongest kindergarten teachers in the system is a young Negro girl who is doing an outstanding piece of work. Indidentally, she is assigned to a kindergarten in a residential area where there are no Negro families. Her race has nothing to do with the assignment. As a matter of fact, the area which she serves has the largest percentage of parents who are college graduates of any area in the...system. They understand education and demand the best."

"We find that the policy followed is generally successful and that parents appreciate the efforts of teachers regardless of race."

Only a few of the reporting Superintendents indicate that there were some complaints, and these tell an eloquent story of the administrator's role as integration begins.

"At the beginning there were a few complaints from white people who had come from the south about having their children with Negro teachers. However, when they understood that the teachers were of excellent quality, their objections were soon overcome."

"Once or twice, one or two parents did question Negro teachers in classes that were predominantly white. I pointed out in very friendly fashion to these parents that we do not operate segregated schools and that in selecting teachers ...we select them purely upon the basis of ability and not upon any basis of race, religion, or anything else. From our personal point of view we feel this policy has been generally very successful."

"There are many superior individuals regardless of race and, given comparable educational advantages, these individuals will naturally come to the top. So long as such individuals are recognized because of merit the position of a school administrator is entirely defensible. Any other position will lead to endless controversy in our opinion."

The record shows an absence of storm and stress surrounding the interracial policy. In the overwhelming majority of cases, a calm community acceptance prevails.

"We employ a number of Negro teachers, and they are assigned on the same basis as any other teacher. In the little over three years that I have been here I have never had a single complaint or criticism of this policy, and it seems to be completely successful."

"We have had no difficulty with interracial staffs in our city."

"We have had no incidents arising because of interracial staffing."

"Into

"Interracial staffs are used irrespective of the make-up of the student body... This policy has proven quite successful and, to the best of my knowledge, we have not had any critical situation arise in any district because of it. As a matter of fact, during the four and one-half years I have been on the Superintendent's staff, there have been only two letters of complaint about this policy and they were of no consequence."

III. Conclusions

The 55 letters summarized here report on the policy of using white and Negro teachers on the same staffs in city school systems. From analysis of these replies, the following conclusions may be drawn.:

1. Interracial staffs are employed in a number of cities, which represent many geographic areas, and show great variation in community racial pattern and reputation for discrimination or non-discrimination.

2. Interracial staffs are used with interracial student bodies, with all-Negro student bodies, and with all-white student bodies. Almost every conceivable variation is reported.

3. Success of co-employment of teachers is consistently reported. Successful experience is generally reported with pride of accomplishment, while explanation and apology are offered in many cases for slowness of progress.

4. Many report a recent change in policy or recent progress in non-discriminatory placement. This indicates that change is occurring in the direction of employment on merit.

Department of Justice

Cecil Yarbrough
Yoldy > Hair turns down on nose
Wrinkle brow
+ tight wide mouth

ADDRESS BY ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL
BURKE MARSHALL BEFORE THE 53rd ANNUAL
CONVENTION OF THE NAACP
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
JULY 2, 1962

I am very happy to have the opportunity to speak to the Lawyers' Conference of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund. I feel like a student in law school addressing the members of the faculty. But I am trying to make progress and learn.

My work during the past 16 months has made me deeply aware of the debt our legal structure owes to the Fund and the members of this Conference. Almost everything we do in the Department of Justice to enforce and preserve the civil rights of our citizens has been shaped and made possible by rules of law developed in cases which were in their turn fashioned by the staff of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, and by the members of its Lawyers' Committee. Judge Thurgood Marshall, who is now as fine an ornament of the bench as he was of the bar, argued 32 cases to the Supreme Court before he received his judicial appointment in October 1961. Six other cases have now been argued by the present Director-Counsel and

Associate Counsel for the Fund. The decisions in these cases have made a great contribution not only to the law but also to the social and political progress of the United States. I know of no contribution to the law equal to that which has been made in this way through the seeking of the realization of the rights of Negroes in America through the law.

The Solicitor General of the United States, Archibald Cox, is fond of quoting an ancient saying of Bracton -- "not under man but under God and law." This surely expresses one of the essential elements of our society and of western civilization. The decisions of the Supreme Court and the orders of the lower federal courts in the civil rights field have caused great emotion and great bitterness. But this is a necessary result of the achievement of revolutionary social and economic change through legal growth. Law exists to serve the needs of men, and when the needs of men are revolutionary in nature -- as has been true of the needs of Negroes in the United States in the past -- the courts and the processes of the law are blamed for doing what must be done. Yet the alternative is either chaos or rigid control through dictatorship without regard to the law. So it is best that the contemporary conflicts in

society are reflected in tensions in the law, and are resolved through decisions under the law.

The conflict in society which cuts the deepest today in this country is between the ideals of liberty and equality of the Declaration of Independence -- that all men are created free and are equal before the law -- and the deep-rooted attitudes and social customs, North as well as South, which antedate the Declaration. The Legal Defense Fund and all of you have been deeply involved in the work of resolving this conflict through the law. The conflict itself is so clear and so personal in the daily lives of so many people -- both those struggling for the achievement of full civil rights and those resisting change -- that the legal issues to the public must seem equally clear and subject to easy resolution. Yet the fact is that there is an increasing danger of oversimplifying the task of the lawyers and the courts, and of failing to take into account conflicting principles which are ~~at stake.~~ beginning to emerge.

It is natural for the public at large and for the country to ignore the complexities of constitutional law where basic principles are involved. Since John Marshall was Chief Justice

of the Supreme Court, it has been misunderstood, criticized and freely attacked for its constitutional decisions. In a different area, where other fundamental individual liberties were at stake, we have witnessed within the last week an example of this process.

Last Monday the Court decided that the State of New York could not -- consistently with the First and Fourteenth Amendments -- require a simple and non-denominational prayer, prepared by State officials, to be said aloud by the classes in the public schools of New York at the beginning of each school day. No sooner had the decision been handed down than the Court was violently attacked throughout the country -- by church groups, political leaders, and private citizens -- as hostile to religion and the destroyer of our basis heritage.

Yet when the Court's opinion is understood and put into perspective, nothing could be further from the truth.

As anyone who was in the Court last Monday could bear witness the opinion of the Court did not attack religion. Rather, it reflected deep religious convictions. The Court said that the history of man is inseparable from the history of religion, that

it was not too much to say that since the beginning of that history many people have devotedly believed that "more things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of." And Mr. Justice Black knew full well, and said, that men with that kind of faith in the power of prayer led the fight for the adoption of the Constitution and for the Bill of Rights.

It was not hostility to religion that brought the Court to its decision. It was the conviction, embodied in the First Amendment, that the governments in this country should stay out of the business of writing or sanctioning official prayers, and should leave what the Court called "that purely religious function" to the people and those to whom the people look for religious guidance.

This was surely not a startling innovation or a radial conclusion. As in almost all areas of constitutional law, it is a matter of degree. No one would argue, for example, that the state could compel the creed of a particular religion to be read aloud in a classroom each morning. There are too many members of other creeds, with equally deep religious convictions, who would be offended. And that is precisely what the First Amendment was intended to prevent.

It is true that the people who are protected by the Court's decision last Monday are probably very few -- without influence, without political power, without organization, and without many defenders. They are on the fringes of religious society -- either people with such strict religious convictions that they object to any prayer not of their own denomination, or ~~dedicated~~ atheists.

But it is precisely because these people are few that it is most important for their rights to be guarded and preserved, and that it is necessary that this be done through a rule of law not easily discarded at a moment of passion. The only basis on which this could be achieved, and the action of New York yet defended, would be on the ground that the prayer was in fact so devoid of content or of religious significance that its official sanction and compulsory use by the state did not constitute a religious act.

We do have a spiritual and religious heritage. But its heart is not in the adoption by any state of an official prayer or other religious observation. It is in the preservation of the United States as a place in which our citizens -- in the language of the Court -- can pray when they please to the God of their faith in the language they choose. In my judgment, this

heritage has not been advanced by the attacks on the Court during the past week.

The attacks on the Court are the product of a failure to understand what the Court was deciding, what issues were at stake, and what reasons compelled its action. This is familiar to all of you. Such misunderstanding is common in civil rights cases, as it is in all cases involving the preservation of individual liberties. So it is part of the duty of the bar to try to explain the workings of our constitutional system as well as we can, and to make known and as clear as possible the conflicting issues and currents of law that are involved in the great constitutional decisions of the Court.

The Court is approaching now, and has been for some time, a constitutional issue as deep and complex and difficult as any it has ever faced. The issue arises from the display of idealism and courage that has been made in sit-in demonstrations at lunch counters and restaurants throughout the South and the border states. These matters are before the courts in many cases now. Nevertheless I think it appropriate and right for everyone to recognize the dimensions of the problems in these cases -- that

the considerations are not all one way; that the processes and substance of the law that is involved are not as simple or clear as they must appear to be either to the Negro student who is refused service solely because of the color of his skin or to the restaurant owner who feels he has a right to conduct his business in accordance with the long-standing custom of his community.

The realization of the civil rights of the Negro in the United States through the law has thus far been by test case. The sit-in movement is different. It is a mass demonstration movement rather than one by carefully chosen test. This has achieved results in many communities without the pressure of the law, and that has been one of the great accomplishments and great sources of encouragement in very recent years. But the same arithmetic inflames passions and creates great unrest. This has legal as well as other results. It may in some instances justify action under the law which could not be defended if one person, and one test, were involved. I am sure that you are all aware of the legal history of the sit-down strikes -- an effective method of economic advance for the labor movement which was nevertheless finally struck down by the courts.

The sit-ins are not comparable to the sit-down strikes as a legal matter or in other ways. But they do demonstrate that the social utility of a method of demonstration does not always match its legal consequences.

The mass involvement in the sit-in movement also makes it necessary to look carefully at each case and each record. There may finally be different results in different cases. The diversity of considerations raised is illustrated -- and probably intentionally so - by cases which have now been accepted for decision by the Supreme Court -- a trespass charge from a sit-in in Kress' in Greenville, South Carolina, where there is a municipal ordinance requiring separate racial facilities; a similar case arising from Birmingham department and dime stores, coupled with the convictions of two Negro leaders there on charges of inciting the demonstrators to trespass; some unlawful assembly charges from Savannah against Negro boys for playing with a basketball on the so-called white city playground; criminal mischief charges arising from a sit-in in McCrory's Department Store in New Orleans; trespass charges based upon the presence of Negro youths in the Glen Echo Amusement Park outside Washington; and finally a trespass charge arising simply for a sit-in at another Kress' store in Durham, North Carolina.

There is of course a single, central and common public fact in this variety of cases. That is the fact that in each case a wrong has been done. Someone has been treated differently -- refused service -- for racial reasons alone, and that is contrary to our entire national policy and to all of the main currents of western thought and democratic principles.

But all lawyers know that it is not that easy for the Court, that the Court does not simply decide when a moral or economic or social wrong has been done, and that each of these cases may look greatly different to the Court under the Constitution. It would be improper for me to say outside a brief to the Court what positions, if any, the United States will express in these cases. But it is proper and useful, as the Solicitor General said in a speech on this subject at Princeton last April, for everyone to recognize and face up to the problems in the cases that the Court itself cannot escape.

Obviously the argument for the prosecution in the sit-in cases is that the decision not to serve Negroes at the lunch counters -- the decision to discriminate -- was the private decision of the owner of the premises, and that the State, when it pros-

ecuted, was simply giving effect upon a wholly non-discriminatory basis to the right of a private property-holder to determine whom he will invite upon his premises and for what purposes. The States will argue that they would prosecute for criminal trespass anyone who persisted in remaining upon or using any private property against the will of the owner, however, sensible or selfish, moral or immoral, discriminatory or non-discriminatory the owner's motivation might be. They are treating all owners and all trespassers exactly alike, and not denying anyone equal protection of the laws.

In the legal world of shadows this argument might be compelling were it not for the Supreme Court's decision in Shelley v. Kraemer. Much the same argument was made in Shelley v. Kraemer, for there the discrimination originated in the private decision by the original owner of the land. But the Court rejected that contention. And as a result it is now frequently asserted that for a State government to back up private racial discrimination with the force of its laws and court decrees is sufficient State action to violate the Fourteenth Amendment.

But again, it is not really that simple.

In Shelley the decision to discriminate was not really that of a person privately interested in the situation. The covenant was inserted by a former owner somewhere back in the claim of title. Indeed the State court was really interfering with the free private decisions of the seller and the Negro purchaser to buy and sell the land. For a State to enforce restrictive racial covenants covering large blocks of land and written ten, twenty or fifty years earlier by persons who have scattered to other neighborhoods is in substance to write a public zoning ordnance requiring racial discrimination; and such an ordnance would be manifestly unconstitutional.

Further, the argument that Shelley forbids a State to back up any private discrimination with the force of law proves too much, and is weakened by that fact. The argument is unrelated to the character of the facilities involved. As stated so simply, it applies to the use of the State police power to enforce discrimination by a private club, or even in a private dwelling.

Everyone knows that something else must be involved because racial discrimination at a lunch counter in a department store open to the public is very different in its consequences and

causes from discrimination which is not commercial or economic. But the police are there in both cases, and the Court will have to decide whether it can draw a line. So the problem must be faced.

I have referred in connection with the Engel case decided last week to the Court's protection of the right of the individual to pray when and how he chooses. We must recognize also in the sit-in cases the presence of a similar problem. The Court will inescapably be made aware of the values which in fact exist in allowing free individual decisions upon what is essentially a moral or ethical question, so long as the State does not put its finger on the scale when the decision is being made. The Engel case of course enforced the policy of religious freedom that is explicitly written into the Constitution. But even where no religious question is present, freedom to decide means freedom to be foolish as well as wise, to be wrong as well as right; indeed the chief justification for freedom is that it calls upon man to exercise his noblest quality -- the power of choice between good and evil. The States undoubtedly have power to forbid racial discrimination on the part of the owners of department stores,

bus lines and other public places, but one way -- although an incomplete one -- of putting the question here is whether the Constitution forbids them to adopt the philosophy that this is a question upon which each property owner should be free to make his own decision.

And finally, the Court will be unable to escape the problem that everyone knows exists in these cases -- of self-help and force. To base the conclusion that the conviction of the "sit-in" demonstrators for criminal trespass is State action violating the Fourteenth Amendment solely upon the State's participation in arresting and prosecuting the demonstrators, while at the same time recognizing that the decision not to serve Negroes was private action not subject to the Fourteenth Amendment, would seem unduly to curtail the power of a State to preserve public order and might constitute an invitation to violence. Normally, when a property owner has the right to decide to whom he will open his premises, and for what purposes, he also has the right to use reasonable force to remove an unwanted intruder; and if the intruder resists, the owner is privileged to use the force necessary to protect himself against the resistance. It seems

hardly a constructive solution to say that a property owner may make the private decision to enforce segregation and may resort to force to make it effective, but that the Fourteenth Amendment is violated if the State offers a peaceful way of effectuating his decision.

It would seem to me, therefore, that any decision invalidating the prosecution and conviction of "sit-in" demonstrators for criminal trespass must take in some of the consideration of Marsh v. Alabama as well as Shelley v. Kraemer. It must move in the direction of espousing the broader proposition that there is unconstitutional State action in maintaining a legal system which allows those who open their doors to the general public systematically and en masse to refuse certain services to Negro customers as a badge of inferiority. The real vice in the racial covenants when enforced by the State was that they tended to become the equivalent of State laws or municipal zoning ordnances. Similarly, the refusal of department store owners to allow white and Negro customers to eat together is the product of a social system. Obviously a somewhat different situation is presented where -- as is true now in one of the major cities of the South - nine of the ten leading department stores in a community serve

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NATIONAL PRISONER STATISTICS

NUMBER 37 APRIL, 1964

EXECUTIONS 1930 - 1964

RECEIVED
MAY 26 1965
WARDENS OFFICE
UNITED STATES PENITENTIARY
TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Attorney General

BUREAU OF PRISONS
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EXECUTIONS--1930-1964

INTRODUCTION

Fifteen executions were carried out by civil authorities in the United States during calendar year 1964. This is the lowest number of executions in any of the 35 years covered by this report—and six fewer than the 21 recorded in 1963.

A total of 3,849 prisoners have been executed under civil authority in the United States from 1930 through 1964. As Chart 1 indicates, there has been a general decline during this period in the use of the death penalty, from a high of 199 in 1935 to the low of 15 last year.

During the period covered, executions carried out under State authorities numbered 3,816, or more than 99 percent of the total, while the 33 Federal executions accounted for less than 1 percent.[1]

COVERAGE

The information for these reports is submitted annually to the National Prisoner Statistics program of the Federal Bureau of Prisons by cooperating prison officials in the 44 jurisdictions which had legal provisions for the death penalty during 1964. These included 42 States, the District of Columbia, and the Federal government.

At the close of 1964, capital punishment was illegal in nine States of the Union. Oregon in 1964 became the latest State to abolish the death penalty, when a public referendum carried with 60 percent of the vote in the November election. Michigan abolished capital punishment in 1846 for all crimes except treason, and in 1963 also eliminated the death penalty for this offense. North Dakota abolished capital punishment in 1915, Minnesota in 1911, Maine in 1887, Wisconsin in 1853, and Rhode Island in 1852. Alaska and Hawaii eliminated the death penalty in 1957, shortly before achieving statehood.

However, two of these States retain the death penalty for certain exceptional crimes. North Dakota provides the death penalty for treason, as well as for first degree murder committed by a prisoner serving a life sentence for first degree murder. Rhode Island has a mandatory death sentence for prisoners convicted of committing murder while serving a life sentence for any offense.

In addition to the nine States in which the death penalty is not now in effect, three other States have, during the past 35 years, experimented with abolition for varying periods of time—South Dakota from 1915 to 1938, Kansas from 1907 to 1934, and Delaware from 1958 to 1961.

Information is presented in this report on all prisoners executed under civil authority from 1930 through 1964. In addition, for the years 1960-64, data are presented on prisoners received from court under sentence of death, prisoners under sentence of death whose cases were disposed of by means other than execution, and prisoners who were under the death sentence at the end of the year. Prisoners under sentence of death who are being held in local or county jails ordinarily are not included in National Prisoner Statistics figures. Two exceptions are (1) prisoners held in the Cook County, Illinois Jail and the District of Columbia Jail (the only local institutions in which executions are carried out), and (2) a few cases in States where prisoners awaiting execution in State prisons are subsequently returned to a local jail pending outcome of an appeal or other legal action.

The "under sentence of death" interval begins when the court first pronounces the sentence of death and terminates either at the time

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[1] *The 33 Federal executions were carried out in the following years and States—1963: Iowa (1); 1957: Georgia (2); 1956: Missouri (1); 1954: New York (1); 1953: Missouri (2), New York (2); 1950: Alaska (1); 1948: Alaska (1), Florida (1), California (3); 1945: Wyoming (1); 1943: Tennessee (1); 1942: District of Columbia (6); 1939: Alaska (1); 1938: Indiana (1), Illinois (1), Michigan (1), Kansas (2); 1936: Indiana (1), Oklahoma (1), Arizona (1); 1930: Kansas (1).*

of execution or at the time of some other disposition which releases the individual from the sentence of death, such as commutation, transfer to a mental hospital, grant of a new trial, reversal of judgment, vacated sentence, suicide, or death from natural causes. Many prisoners "under sentence of death" at the close of 1964 had received short stays or reprieves granted by State governors. In addition, a large number had appeals before State or Federal courts. The remainder had their dates of execution set for sometime in 1965—although these prisoners, too, could still appeal or receive executive or judicial stays.

EXECUTIONS CARRIED OUT IN EIGHT JURISDICTIONS

The declining number of executions since 1930 has been accompanied by a decrease in the number of jurisdictions implementing the death penalty.

In 1930, executions were carried out in 32 jurisdictions in the United States. This number held fairly constant until 1945, but generally declined from that time until 1964, when only eight jurisdictions implemented the death penalty. Table 2 indicates that since 1930 the 17 jurisdictions in the Southern region of the United States have accounted for 2,304, or 59.9 percent, of the 3,849 executions carried out during this period.

Figure A. - PRISONERS EXECUTED UNDER CIVIL AUTHORITY IN THE UNITED STATES, BY STATE, OFFENSE, RACE AND AGE: 1964

State	Offense	Race	Age
Alabama	Murder	White	30
Arkansas ...	Rape	White	32
Colorado ...	Murder	White	30
Florida	Murder	White	32
Florida	Murder	Negro	44
Georgia	Murder	White	34
Georgia	Murder	White	35
Mississippi	Murder	Negro	21
Missouri ...	Rape	White	32
Missouri ...	Rape	White	33
Texas	Rape	Negro	19
Texas	Rape	Negro	23
Texas	Rape	Negro	26
Texas	Murder	Negro	30
Texas	Murder	Negro	32

The eight jurisdictions holding executions in 1964 were Texas with five; Florida, Georgia, and Missouri with two each; and Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, and Mississippi with one each. Five of these eight jurisdictions—Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Missouri and Texas—also had executions in 1963.

METHOD OF EXECUTION

Eleven of the 15 executions in 1964 were by electrocution, and the remaining four were carried out in the gas chamber. Among the jurisdictions which retain the death penalty, 24 prescribe electrocution, eleven lethal gas, seven hanging, and one shooting or hanging. Executions ordered by the Federal courts are carried out in accordance with the method used by the State in which the sentence is imposed. If the laws of the State prohibit capital punishment, the court designates another State in which the sentence is to be carried out. Methods of execution in 1964 in the respective jurisdictions are shown in Table 2.

OFFENSE, RACE, SEX, AND AGE

Of the 15 men executed in 1964, nine were sentenced for murder and six for rape. Eight of those executed were white and seven were Negro; five whites and four Negroes were sentenced for murder, and three whites and three Negroes for rape. The median age was 31.9 years, and ranged from a 19-year old Negro executed in Texas for rape to a 44-year old Negro executed in Florida for murder. The median age was 32.9 years for the eight whites and 27.5 years for the seven Negroes.

Table 1 indicates that 2,064, or 53.6 percent, of the 3,849 prisoners executed in the United States from 1930 through 1964 were Negro, 1,743 or 45.3 percent were white, and 42 or 1.1 percent were of other races. Figure B shows that 19 of the 42 were American Indians, 13 were Filipinos, eight were Chinese, and two were Japanese.

Executions for murder account for 3,325, or 86.4 percent, of the executions carried out under civil authority in the United States since 1930. These were divided almost evenly between whites and non-whites. There were 455

Figure B. - AMERICAN INDIANS AND ORIENTALS EXECUTED IN THE UNITED STATES, BY STATE: 1930-1964(a)

State	Total	American Indian	Filipino	Chinese	Japanese
United States	42	19	13	8	2
FEDERAL	2	2	-	-	-
STATE	40	17	13	8	2
Arkansas	1	1	-	-	-
California ...	18	3	11	3	1
Colorado	1	-	-	-	1
Nebraska	1	1	-	-	-
New Jersey ...	2	1	1	-	-
New York	5	1	1	3	-
North Carolina	5	5	-	-	-
Ohio	1	-	-	1	-
Oklahoma	3	3	-	-	-
Texas	1	1	-	-	-
Washington ...	2	1	-	1	-

(a) All executed for murder, except for 2 American Indians executed for rape in North Carolina.

FIGURE C. - WOMEN EXECUTED UNDER CIVIL AUTHORITY IN THE UNITED STATES, BY STATE AND RACE: 1930-1964(a)

Region and State	Total	White	Negro
United States	32	20	12
Percent	100.0	62.5	37.5
FEDERAL	2	2	-
TOTAL STATE	30	18	12
Alabama	3	2	1
Arizona	1	1	-
California	4	4	-
Delaware	1	1	-
Georgia	1	-	1
Illinois	1	1	-
Louisiana	2	1	1
Mississippi	3	-	3
New York	5	4	1
North Carolina .	2	-	2
Ohio	3	2	1
Pennsylvania ...	2	1	1
South Carolina .	2	1	1

(a) All were executed for murder except for two Federal executions, one for espionage and one for kidnaping.

FIGURE D. - WOMEN EXECUTED UNDER CIVIL AUTHORITY IN THE UNITED STATES, BY YEAR AND RACE: 1930-1964(a)

Year	Total	White	Negro
All years	32	20	12
1962	1	1	-
1957	1	1	-
1955	1	1	-
1954	2	1	1
1953	3	3	-
1951	1	1	-
1947	2	1	1
1946	1	-	1
1945	1	-	1
1944	3	-	3
1943	3	1	2
1942	1	1	-
1941	1	1	-
1938	2	2	-
1937	1	-	1
1936	1	1	-
1935	3	2	1
1934	1	1	-
1931	1	1	-
1930	2	1	1

(a) All were executed for murder except for two Federal executions, one for espionage and one for kidnaping.

executions for rape during the 35 year period, and 407, or 89.5 percent of these were nonwhite. (Table 3)

Figures C and D present information on the 32 women executed in the United States since 1930. Twenty of these were white and 12 were Negro. Except for the two Federal executions —one for espionage and one for kidnaping— all of the 32 were executed for murder.

ELAPSED TIME FROM SENTENCE OF DEATH TO EXECUTION

"Elapsed time from sentence of death to execution" refers to the period between the first imposition of the death penalty and the date of execution. The median elapsed time for those executed in 1964 was 20.5 months, and ranged from two months and three days for a rapist executed in Texas, to four years, two months and 17 days for a murderer executed in Alabama.

Figure E. - CHARACTERISTICS OF PRISONERS EXECUTED IN 1964, PRISONERS WHOSE SENTENCE WAS DISPOSED OF BY OTHER MEANS IN 1964, AND PRISONERS UNDER SENTENCE OF DEATH ON DECEMBER 31, 1964

Item	Executed 1964	Other disposition 1964	Under sentence of death 12-31-64
Total	15	68	315
Age (in years)			
Median age	31.9	31.3	30.4
16 to 19	1	3	6
20 to 24	2	17	55
25 to 29	1	13	91
30 to 34	9	8	63
35 to 44	2	18	65
45 to 54	-	7	21
55 and over	-	2	12
Unknown	-	-	2
Elapsed time (in months)(a)			
Median elapsed time	20.5	23.5	26.8
3 and under	4	1	17
4 to 6	3	-	16
7 to 12	-	9	57
13 to 18	-	12	35
19 to 24	2	16	25
25 to 36	1	12	49
37 to 48	3	10	45
49 to 60	2	3	37
61 to 72	-	3	15
73 to 84	-	2	5
85 to 96	-	-	7
97 and over	-	-	7
Year first received sentence of death:			
1953	-	-	2
1954	-	-	-
1955	-	1	1
1956	-	1	3
1957	-	-	8
1958	-	2	2
1959	-	2	16
1960	4	3	35
1961	2	11	47
1962	2	22	51
1963	4	21	60
1964	3	5	90

(a) "Elapsed time" for those executed is the period between the first imposition of the death penalty and the date of execution. In the case of those whose cases were disposed of by other means, it is the period between the date of the first imposition of the death sentence and the time of other disposition. For prisoners awaiting execution at year's end, elapsed time is computed from the date of the first imposition of the death sentence to Dec. 31, 1964.

Three of the 15 prisoners executed in 1964 had been sentenced that year, four in 1963, two each in 1962 and 1961, and four in 1960.

The elapsed time from sentencing to date of execution is determined by several factors. In addition to State laws governing the date of execution there are appeals, which may be made at all levels of the State courts as well as to the United States Supreme Court. These, together with judicial and executive orders granting stays or reprieves, account for the variation in elapsed time.

PRISONERS SENTENCED TO DEATH IN 1964

During 1964, 98 prisoners were sentenced to death—seven more than the 91 reported in 1963. Of the total, eighty-nine were convicted for murder, and 9 for rape. All of the 98 were males; 52 were white and 46 were Negro.

At the close of 1964, 90 of the 98 were still under sentence of death, three had been executed, and five had their cases disposed of by means other than execution (two were granted new trials, two were transferred to mental hospitals, and one died of natural causes).

OTHER DISPOSITIONS NOT RESULTING IN EXECUTION

During calendar year 1964, the sentences of 68 prisoners (65 males and 3 females) were disposed of by means other than execution. As noted, these "other dispositions" include commutations, transfers to mental hospitals, grants of new trials, reversals of judgment, vacated sentences, suicides, and deaths by natural causes. Figure G indicates that there were more "other dispositions" in 1964 than in any year since 1960, when this information first became available.

Fifty-five of these 68 "other dispositions" had their death sentences reversed, vacated, or were granted new trials (twelve of these were re-convicted and sentenced to prison terms), nine had their sentences commuted (eight to life and one to life plus 20 years), three were transferred to mental hospitals, and one died of natural causes.

Figure F. - MOVEMENT OF PRISONERS UNDER SENTENCE OF DEATH BY OFFENSE: 1964

Offense	Reported under sentence of death on 1-1-64	Received from court during 1964	Executed in 1964			Other dispositions not resulting in execution				Reported under sentence of death 12-31-64(c)		
			Total	Present 1-1-64	Received in 1964	Total	Commutations (a)	Transfer to mental hospital	Other (b)	Total	Year received	
											1964	Prior years
Total ...	300	98	15	12	3	68	9	3	56	315	90	225
Murder	249	89	9	7	2	62	7	3	52	267	82	185
Rape	47	9	6	5	1	6	2	-	4	44	8	36
Kidnaping	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Assault by life prisoner	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Burglary	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1

(a) All commuted to life except 1 prisoner in Louisiana commuted to life plus 20 years.
(b) Includes reversals of judgments, vacated sentences and grants for new trials.
(c) Includes prisoners reported with appeals or other judicial or executive action pending. Excludes prisoners granted new trials.

Sixty-two of the 68 prisoners receiving a disposition other than execution had been sentenced for murder, and six for rape. The median elapsed time (the period from first imposition of the death sentence to the date of "other disposition") for the 68 was 23.5 months, and ranged from five days for a prisoner granted a new trial in Virginia, to eight years, nine months and 20 days for a prisoner granted a new trial in Illinois.

PRISONERS UNDER SENTENCE OF DEATH AT THE CLOSE OF 1964

At the beginning of 1964, 300 prisoners were under sentence of death. Including the 98 prisoners received from court during the year, the total number of prisoners under sentence of daeth during the year was 398. Of these, 15 were executed, 68 had their cases disposed of by means other than execution, and 315 were awaiting execution at the end of the year. This marks the highest year-end population awaiting execution since 1953 when statistics on this subject first became available.

Of the 315 prisoners awaiting execution at year's end, 267 had been sentenced for murder, 44 for rape, two for kidnaping (New Hampshire), one for assault by a life prisoner (California), and one for burglary (Alabama).

More than half (52 percent) of the prisoners awaiting execution at the close of 1964 were distributed among six States: California had 49, Florida 32, Louisiana 24, New York 21, Maryland 19, and Alabama 18.

The median age of the 315 awaiting execution at year's end was 30.4 years, and ranged from a 17-year old convicted of murder in Alabama, to a 63-year old murderer in New Jersey. One 18-year old and four 19-year olds were among the prisoners awaiting execution at year's end—all five of whom were convicted of murder.

Elapsed time for this group is computed from the first imposition of the death sentence to December 31, 1964. The median elapsed time for the total group was 26.8 months. The longest elapsed time was 11 years, nine months and eight days—for two Negro prisoners convicted of aggravated rape in Louisiana.

MOVEMENT OF PRISONERS UNDER SENTENCE OF DEATH: 1960-1964

In 1960 the Federal Bureau of Prisons revised the data collection form submitted to the officials participating in the "Executions" aspect of the National Prisoner Statistics program. The new form provided data on the number of prisoners under sentence of death at the beginning and end of the year, the number of prisoners received from court under sentence of death during the year, and the disposition of prisoners under sentence of death. The information derived from the expanded program is summarized in Figure G. As shown, the five year period from 1960 through 1964 was characterized by:

(1) a general *decrease* in the annual number of prisoners received from court under sentence of death; (2) a general *decrease* in the number of prisoners executed under civil authority in the United States each year; (3) an *increase* in the number of prisoners whose cases were disposed of by means other than execution; (4) an *increase* in the number of prisoners awaiting execution at year's end (a low of 210 in 1960 to a high of 315 in 1964); and (5) an *increase* in elapsed time for those awaiting execution at year's end (a low of 13.4 months in 1960 to a high of 26.8 months in 1964).

MILITARY EXECUTIONS

Executions carried out by the armed forces are excluded from this report. For the 35 year period since 1930, the Army (including Air Force) carried out 160 executions—148 of these during the period 1942-1950, three each in 1954, 1955, and 1957 and one each in 1958, 1959, and 1961. Of the 160 executions, 106 were for murder (including 21 involving rape), 53 were for rape and one was for desertion. The Navy has executed no one since 1849.

Figure G. - MOVEMENT OF PRISONERS UNDER SENTENCE OF DEATH: 1960-1964

Number of prisoners	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960
Under sentence of death, Jan. 1[a]	300	275	273	212	189
Received from court during year	98	91	99	136	113
Executed during year	15	21	47	42	56
Median elapsed time (in months)	20.5	16.0	20.5	16.2	17.0
Other dispositions	68	48	58	49	36
Median elapsed time (in months)[b] ..	23.5	22.4	16.6	18.7	-
Commutations	9	15	27	17	22
Transfer to mental hospitals ...	3	1	4	3	3
Other[c]	56	32	27	29	11
Under sentence of death, Dec. 31	315	297	267	257	210
Median elapsed time (in months)	26.8	24.0	16.7	14.4	13.4

(a) The number of prisoners under sentence of death on January 1 is higher than recorded at the close of the preceding year for two reasons: (1) a few prisoners sentenced to death are not always brought to the attention of reporting authorities until the following year; and (2) a few prisoners previously reported as having been "disposed of by other means" by reason of having been granted a new trial, are subsequently re-sentenced to death but are included in the current "awaiting execution at beginning of year" figure rather than being counted as a new court commitment.

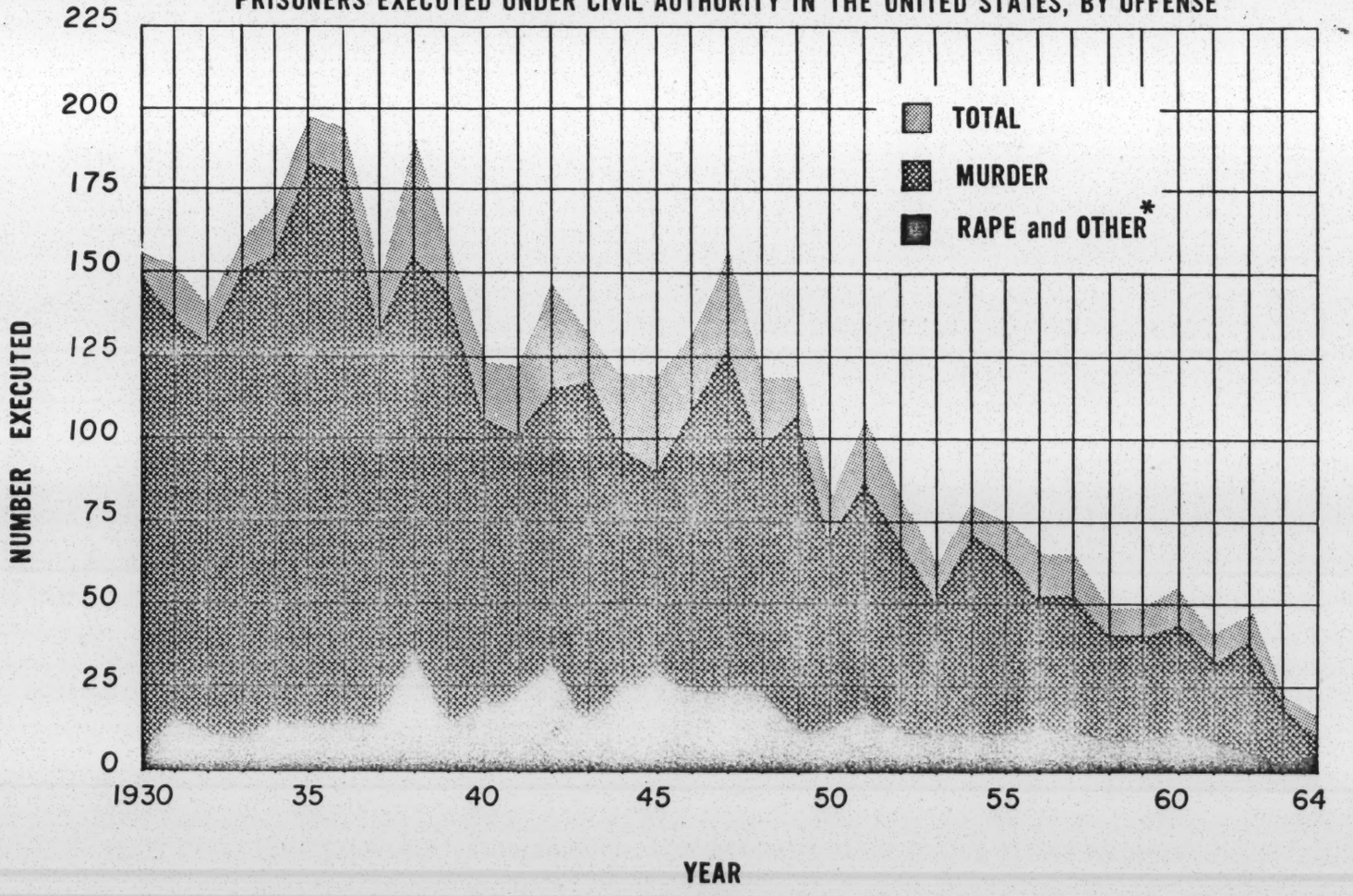
(b) Information not available for 1960.

(c) Includes reversals of judgment, vacated sentences, grants for new trial, suicide, or death from natural causes.

Chart 1

EXECUTIONS 1930 - 1964

PRISONERS EXECUTED UNDER CIVIL AUTHORITY IN THE UNITED STATES, BY OFFENSE



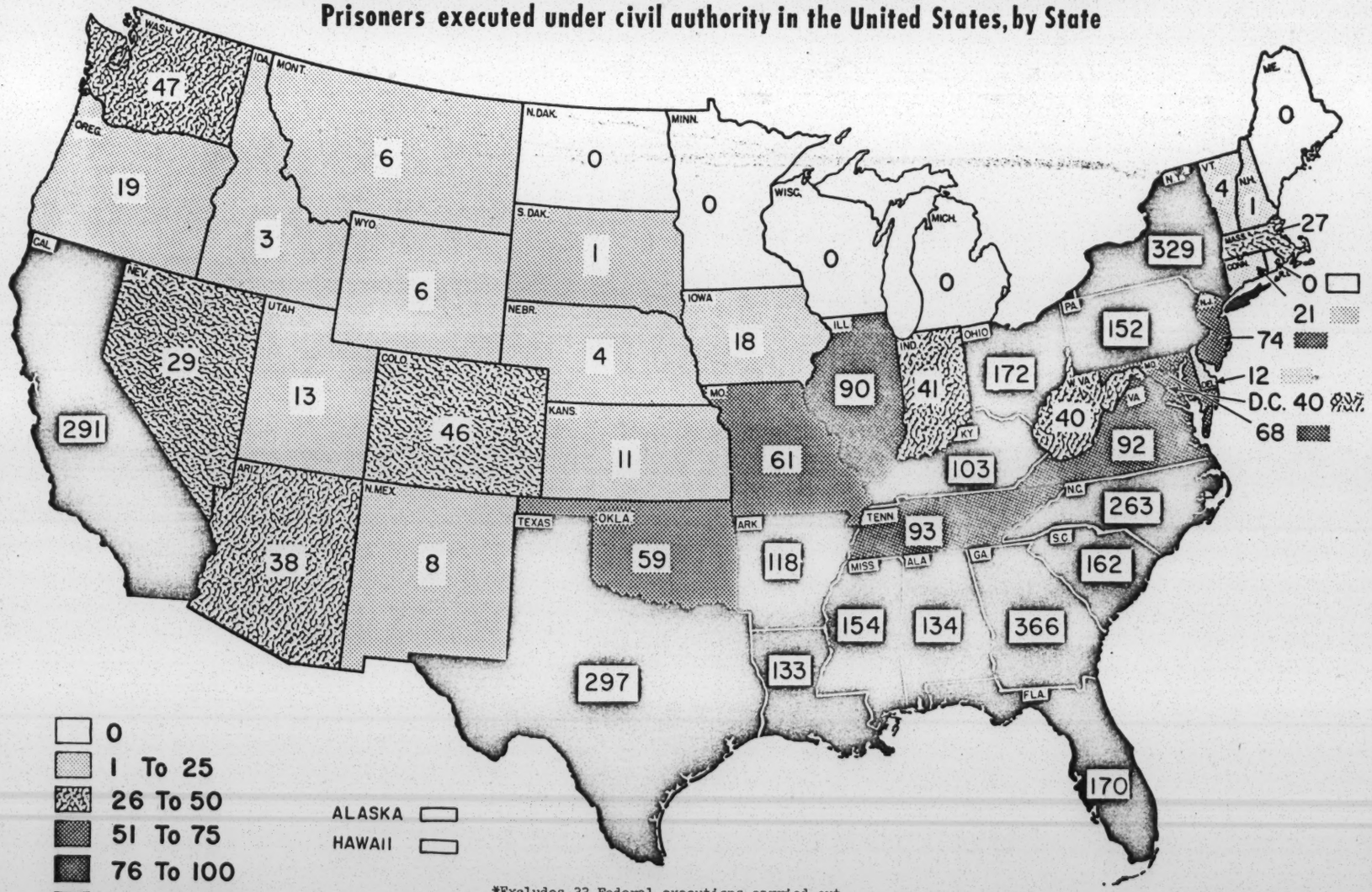
*The offense of rape comprised 87 percent of the "Rape and Other" category.

Source: Table 1

Chart 2

Executions: 1930 - 1964*

Prisoners executed under civil authority in the United States, by State



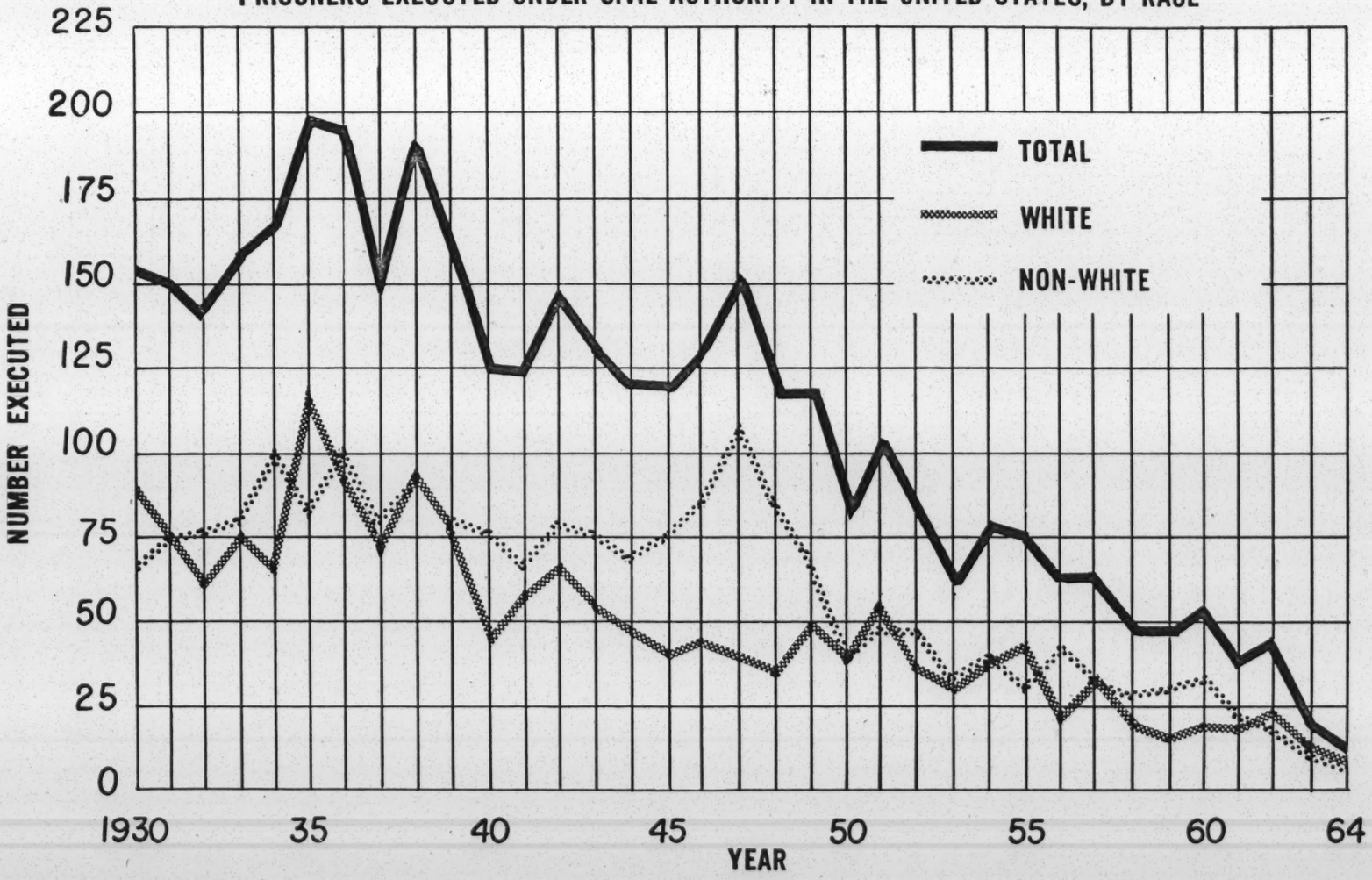
*Excludes 33 Federal executions carried out in the United States during the above years.

Source: Table 3

Chart 3

EXECUTIONS 1930 - 1964

PRISONERS EXECUTED UNDER CIVIL AUTHORITY IN THE UNITED STATES, BY RACE



Source: Table 1

Table 1. - PRISONERS EXECUTED UNDER CIVIL AUTHORITY IN THE UNITED STATES, BY RACE, OFFENSE AND YEAR: 1930 TO 1964

(For years 1930-1959 excludes Alaska and Hawaii except for three Federal executions in Alaska, 1939, 1948, and 1950.)

Year	All offenses				Murder				Rape				Other offenses[a]		
	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro
All years .	3,849	1,743	2,064	42	3,325	1,657	1,628	40	455	48	405	2	69	38	31
Percent .	100.0	45.3	53.6	1.1	100.0	49.8	49.0	1.2	100.0	10.5	89.0	0.4	100.0	55.1	44.9
1964	15	8	7	-	9	5	4	-	6	3	3	-	-	-	-
1963	21	13	8	-	18	12	6	-	2	-	2	-	1	1	-
1962	47	28	19	-	41	26	15	-	4	2	2	-	2	-	2
1961	42	20	22	-	33	18	15	-	8	1	7	-	1	1	-
1960	56	21	35	-	44	18	26	-	8	-	8	-	4	3	1
1959	49	16	33	-	41	15	26	-	8	1	7	-	-	-	-
1958	49	20	28	1	41	20	20	1	7	-	7	-	1	-	1
1957	65	34	31	-	54	32	22	-	10	2	8	-	1	-	1
1956	65	21	43	1	52	20	31	1	12	-	12	-	1	1	-
1955	76	44	32	-	65	41	24	-	7	1	6	-	4	2	2
1954	81	38	42	1	71	37	33	1	9	1	8	-	1	-	1
1953	62	30	31	1	51	25	25	1	7	1	6	-	4	4	-
1952	83	36	47	-	71	35	36	-	12	1	11	-	-	-	-
1951	105	57	47	1	87	55	31	1	17	2	15	-	1	-	1
1950	82	40	42	-	68	36	32	-	13	4	9	-	1	-	1
1949	119	50	67	2	107	49	56	2	10	-	10	-	2	1	1
1948	119	35	82	2	95	32	61	2	22	1	21	-	2	2	-
1947	153	42	111	-	129	40	89	-	23	2	21	-	1	-	1
1946	131	46	84	1	107	45	61	1	22	-	22	-	2	1	1
1945	117	41	75	1	90	37	52	1	26	4	22	-	1	-	1
1944	120	47	70	3	96	45	48	3	24	2	22	-	-	-	-
1943	131	54	74	3	118	54	63	1	13	-	11	2	-	-	-
1942	147	67	80	-	115	57	58	-	25	4	21	-	7	6	1
1941	123	59	63	1	102	55	46	1	20	4	16	-	1	-	1
1940	124	49	75	-	105	44	61	-	15	2	13	-	4	3	1
1939[b]	160	80	77	3	145	79	63	3	12	-	12	-	3	1	2
1938	190	96	92	2	155	90	63	2	25	1	24	-	10	5	5
1937	147	69	74	4	133	67	62	4	13	2	11	-	1	-	1
1936	195	92	101	2	181	86	93	2	10	2	8	-	4	4	-
1935	199	119	77	3	184	115	66	3	13	2	11	-	2	2	-
1934	168	65	102	1	154	64	89	1	14	1	13	-	-	-	-
1933	160	77	81	2	151	75	74	2	7	1	6	-	2	1	1
1932	140	62	75	3	128	62	63	3	10	-	10	-	2	-	2
1931	153	77	72	4	137	76	57	4	15	1	14	-	1	-	1
1930	155	90	65	-	147	90	57	-	6	-	6	-	2	-	2

(a) 24 armed robbery, 20 kidnaping, 11 burglary, 8 espionage (6 in 1942 and 2 in 1953), 6 aggravated assault.
(b) Revised to reflect the Federal execution of a male American Indian in Alaska for murder.

Table 2. - PRISONERS EXECUTED UNDER CIVIL AUTHORITY IN THE UNITED STATES, BY STATE AND YEAR: 1930-1964

(Method of Execution in 1964: E-Electrocution, G-Lethal Gas, H-Hanging, S-Shooting or hanging.)

Region and State	Total	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957	1956	1955	1950-54	1945-49	1940-44	1935-39	1930-34
United States ...	3,849	15	21	47	42	56	49	49	65	65	76	413	639	645	891	776
FEDERAL(a)	33	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	6	6	7	9	1
TOTAL STATE	3,816	15	20	47	42	56	49	49	63	64	76	407	633	638	882	775
NORTHEAST	608	-	3	4	3	7	9	4	4	9	25	56	74	110	145	155
Maine(b)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
New Hampshire ...H	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Vermont .....E	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	1
Massachusetts ...E	27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	6	11	7
Rhode Island(b) ..	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Connecticut .....E	21	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	3	-	5	5	3	2
New York .....E	329	-	2	-	2	6	4	4	4	6	7	27	36	78	73	80
New Jersey .....E	74	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	8	8	8	6	16	24
Pennsylvania ....E	152	-	-	2	1	-	3	-	-	2	7	19	21	15	41	41
NORTH CENTRAL	398	2	3	7	2	2	2	7	2	4	1	42	64	42	113	105
Ohio .....E	172	-	2	2	1	2	1	6	1	4	-	20	36	15	39	43
Indiana .....E	41	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	5	2	20	11
Illinois .....E	90	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	8	5	13	27	34
Michigan(b)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Wisconsin(b)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Minnesota(b)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Iowa .....H	18	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	3	7	1
Missouri .....G	61	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	5	9	6	20	16
North Dakota(b) ..	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
South Dakota(b) .E	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	XX	XX
Nebraska .....E	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-
Kansas(b) .....H	11	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2	3	-	XX
SOUTH	2,304	12	10	22	26	32	31	29	44	41	38	244	419	413	524	419
Delaware(b) .....H	12	-	-	-	-	XX	XX	XX	-	-	-	-	2	2	6	2
Maryland .....G	68	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	1	2	19	26	10	6
Dist. of Col. ...E	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	13	3	5	15
Virginia .....E	92	-	-	1	4	1	2	3	2	-	1	15	22	13	20	8
West Virginia ...E	40	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	1	-	5	9	2	10	10
North Carolina ..G	263	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	1	1	1	14	62	50	80	51
South Carolina ..E	162	-	-	2	5	1	-	-	2	4	4	16	29	32	30	37
Georgia .....E	366	2	2	1	3	6	4	6	14	6	4	51	72	58	73	64
Florida .....E	170	2	1	5	2	2	10	3	3	7	4	22	27	38	29	15
Kentucky .....E	103	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	5	8	15	19	34	18
Tennessee .....E	93	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	-	4	1	18	19	31	16
Alabama .....E	134	1	-	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	-	14	21	29	41	19
Mississippi .....G	154	1	2	1	5	1	-	3	2	8	8	15	26	34	22	26
Arkansas .....E	118	1	-	-	-	8	6	-	-	1	-	11	18	20	33	20
Louisiana .....E	133	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	7	1	2	14	23	24	19	39
Oklahoma .....E	59	-	1	1	-	3	-	-	2	1	-	4	7	6	9	25
Texas .....E	297	5	4	9	3	8	3	6	5	7	4	49	36	38	72	48
WEST	506	1	4	14	11	15	7	9	13	10	12	65	76	73	100	96
Montana .....H	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	1
Idaho .....H	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
Wyoming .....G	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3
Colorado .....G	46	1	-	2	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	7	6	9	16
New Mexico .....G	8	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	2	-	-	2
Arizona .....G	38	-	2	-	1	1	1	2	1	-	2	2	3	6	10	7
Utah .....S	13	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	1	2	1	3	2	-
Nevada .....G	29	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	9	5	5	3	5
Washington .....H	47	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	4	7	9	13	10
Oregon(b) .....G	19	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	6	6	1	1
California .....G	291	-	1	11	8	9	6	6	9	5	9	39	45	35	57	51
Alaska	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)
Hawaii	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)

(a) See the text for the States and years in which the 33 Federal executions occurred.
(b) Death penalty is illegal as indicated (XX), except for the provisions indicated in the text.
(c) Alaska and Hawaii when territories abolished capital punishment in 1957. As States, Alaska and Hawaii are included in series beginning January 1, 1960.

Table 3. - PRISONERS EXECUTED UNDER CIVIL AUTHORITY IN THE UNITED STATES, BY OFFENSE, RACE, AND STATE: 1930-1964

(For years 1930-1959, excludes Alaska and Hawaii except for three Federal executions in Alaska, one each in 1939, 1948 and 1950.)

Region and State	All offenses				Murder				Rape				Other offenses							
													Total			Armed robbery		Kid-naping	Other offenses (a)	
	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	White	Negro
United States	3,849	1,743	2,064	42	3,325	1,657	1,628	40	455	48	405	2	69	38	31	5	19	20	13	12
Percent	100.0	-	-	-	86.4	-	-	-	11.8	-	-	-	1.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
FEDERAL	33	28	3	2	16	11	3	2	2	2	-	-	15	15	-	1	-	6	8	-
TOTAL STATE	3,816	1,715	2,061	40	3,309	1,646	1,625	38	453	46	405	2	54	23	31	4	19	14	5	12
NORTHEAST	608	424	177	7	606	422	177	7	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	2	-	-
Maine (b)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
New Hampshire	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vermont	4	4	-	-	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Massachusetts	27	25	2	-	27	25	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rhode Island (b)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Connecticut	21	18	3	-	21	18	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
New York	329	234	90	5	327	232	90	5	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	2	-	-
New Jersey	74	47	25	2	74	47	25	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pennsylvania	152	95	57	-	152	95	57	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NORTH CENTRAL	398	253	143	2	388	250	136	2	10	3	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ohio	172	104	67	1	172	104	67	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indiana	41	31	10	-	41	31	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Illinois	90	59	31	-	90	59	31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Michigan (b)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Wisconsin (b)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Minnesota (b)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Iowa	18	18	-	-	18	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Missouri	61	29	32	-	51	26	25	-	10	3	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Dakota (b)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
South Dakota (c)	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nebraska	4	3	-	1	4	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kansas (c)	11	8	3	-	11	8	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Region and State	All offenses				Murder				Rape				Other offenses							
													Total			Armed robbery		Kid-naping	Other offenses (a)	
	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	White	Negro
SOUTH	2,304	635	1,659	10	1,822	583	1,231	8	443	43	398	2	39	9	30	4	19	5	-	11
Delaware (c) ...	12	5	7	-	8	4	4	-	4	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maryland	68	13	55	-	44	7	37	-	24	6	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dist. of Col. .	40	3	37	-	37	3	34	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Virginia	92	17	75	-	71	17	54	-	21	-	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
West Virginia ..	40	31	9	-	36	28	8	-	1	-	1	-	3	3	-	-	-	3	-	-
North Carolina	263	59	199	5	207	55	149	3	47	4	41	2	9	-	9	-	-	-	-	9
South Carolina	162	35	127	-	120	30	90	-	42	5	37	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Georgia	366	68	298	-	299	65	234	-	61	3	58	-	6	-	6	-	6	-	-	-
Florida	170	57	113	-	133	55	78	-	36	1	35	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
Kentucky	103	51	52	-	88	47	41	-	10	1	9	-	5	3	2	3	2	-	-	-
Tennessee	93	27	66	-	66	22	44	-	27	5	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Alabama	134	27	107	-	105	25	80	-	22	2	20	-	7	-	7	-	5	-	-	2
Mississippi ...	154	30	124	-	130	30	100	-	21	-	21	-	3	-	3	-	3	-	-	-
Arkansas	118	27	90	1	99	25	73	1	19	2	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Louisiana	133	30	103	-	116	30	86	-	17	-	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oklahoma	59	41	15	3	53	39	11	3	4	-	4	-	2	2	-	1	-	1	-	-
Texas	297	114	182	1	210	101	108	1	84	13	71	-	3	-	3	-	3	-	-	-
WEST	506	403	82	21	493	391	81	21	-	-	-	-	13	12	1	-	-	7	5	1
Montana	6	4	2	-	6	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Idaho	3	3	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wyoming	6	5	1	-	6	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Colorado	46	40	5	1	46	40	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
New Mexico ...	8	6	2	-	8	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arizona	38	28	10	-	38	28	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Utah	13	13	-	-	13	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nevada	29	27	2	-	29	27	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Washington ...	47	40	5	2	46	39	5	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
Oregon (c)	19	16	3	-	19	16	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
California ...	291	221	52	18	279	210	51	18	-	-	-	-	12	11	1	-	-	6	5	1
Alaska (d)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Hawaii (d)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX

(a) In this category the 8 Federal executions were for espionage. The 9 executions in North Carolina and the 2 in Alabama were for burglary. In California, the 6 executions were for aggravated assault committed by prisoners under a life sentence.
(b) Death penalty illegal during entire period, except for provisions indicated in the text.
(c) See text for period during which death penalty was in force.
(d) Alaska and Hawaii when territories abolished capital punishment in 1957. As States, Alaska and Hawaii are included in this series beginning Jan. 1, 1960.

Table 4. - MOVEMENT OF PRISONERS UNDER SENTENCE OF DEATH BY STATE AND OFFENSE: 1964

Region and State	Prisoners reported under sentence of death: 1-1-64				Received from court during 1964			Executed in 1964			Other dispositions not resulting in execution				Prisoners reported under sentence of death: 12-31-64(c)			
	Total	Offense			Total	Offense		Total	Offense		Total	Commuted (a)	Trans. to mental hosp.	Other (b)	Total	Offense		
		Murder	Rape	Other		Murder	Rape		Murder	Rape						Murder	Rape	Other
United States	300	249	47	4	98	89	9	15	9	6	68	9	3	56	315	267	44	4
FEDERAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL STATE	300	249	47	4	98	89	9	15	9	6	68	9	3	56	315	267	44	4
NORTHEAST	48	46	-	2	14	14	-	-	-	-	8	1	-	7	54	52	-	2
Maine(d)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
New Hampshire	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Vermont	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Massachusetts	2	2	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5	-	-
Rhode Island(d)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Connecticut	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
New York	20	20	-	-	5	5	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	4	21	21	-	-
New Jersey	12	12	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	13	13	-	-
Pennsylvania	12	12	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	13	13	-	-
NORTH CENTRAL	27	25	2	-	14	14	-	2	-	2	7	1	-	6	32	32	-	-
Ohio	5	5	-	-	6	6	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	9	9	-	-
Indiana	6	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	5	5	-	-
Illinois	5	5	-	-	6	6	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	9	9	-	-
Michigan(d)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Wisconsin(d)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Minnesota(d)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Iowa	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
Missouri	5	3	2	-	1	1	-	2	-	2	1	-	-	1	3	3	-	-
North Dakota(d)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
South Dakota	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nebraska	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Kansas	4	4	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5	-	-
SOUTH	146	100	45	1	46	37	9	12	8	4	29	4	3	22	151	106	44	1
Delaware	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maryland	17	11	6	-	3	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	19	13	6	-
Dist. of Col.	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	3	3	-	-
Virginia	4	2	2	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	4	3	1	-
West Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Carolina	4	4	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3	2	2	-	-
South Carolina	5	3	2	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	4	3	-
Georgia	7	6	1	-	5	4	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	10	8	2	-
Florida	35	28	7	-	7	2	5	2	2	-	8	1	-	7	32	20	12	-
Kentucky	8	8	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	8	8	-	-
Tennessee	7	5	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	2	5	4	1	-
Alabama	12	7	4	1	10	10	-	1	1	-	3	-	-	3	18	15	2	1
Mississippi	3	1	2	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	2	-
Arkansas	8	2	6	-	5	5	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	12	7	5	-
Louisiana	27	16	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	1	24	14	10	-
Oklahoma	2	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	1	1	1	-	-
Texas	3	1	2	-	7	6	1	5	2	3	1	-	1	-	4	4	-	-
WEST	79	78	-	1	24	24	-	1	1	-	24	3	-	21	78	77	-	1
Montana	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Idaho	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wyoming	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
Colorado	8	8	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	7	7	-	-
New Mexico	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
Arizona	13	13	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	14	14	-	-
Utah	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
Nevada	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	-	-
Washington	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
Oregon(e)	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	3	-	1	-	-	-	-
California	48	47	-	1	19	19	-	-	-	-	18	-	-	18	49	48	-	1
Alaska(d)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Hawaii(d)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX

(a) All were commuted to life except for 1 prisoner in Louisiana commuted to life plus 20 years.
(b) Includes reversals of judgment, vacated sentences and grants for new trials.
(c) Includes prisoners with appeals or other judicial or executive action pending.
(d) Death penalty illegal except for the provisions indicated in the text.
(e) Death sentence abolished November, 1964.

agency file

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
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MEMO: No. 1-67
January 6, 1967

TO: Cooperating Organizations
FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

JANUARY 10th: OUR CHANCE TO CHANGE THE FILIBUSTER RULE

Within this week, the fight to change the filibuster rule will be joined on the Senate floor. When the 90th Congress convenes on January 10th, the first order of business will be the adoption of its rules. And that is when our chance to modify Rule XXII occurs.

The Leadership Conference, as our last few MEMOs and messages attest, has been working to mobilize support for a change that will make it easier to end filibusters. At this moment the prospects for a change look good. They will look even better if we can have your help in these last few days.

A Majority Should Prevail

Our canvasses of the members of the new Senate indicate a majority is ready to modify Rule XXII and ease the strangle-hold of unlimited debate. What needs to be established is that at the opening of a new Congress a majority can adopt and change the rules and not two-thirds of those present and voting.

A bipartisan group of six Senators has already argued this view in a round robin letter to all Senate members. They affirm the position advanced by Vice President Nixon in a 1957 advisory opinion that "when the membership of the Senate changes...the majority of the new existing membership...under the Constitution, has the power to determine the rules under which the Senate will proceed." Those signing the letter were Senators Joseph S. Clark (D., Pa.) and Clifford P. Case (R., N.J.), joined by Philip A. Hart (D., Mich.), Jacob K. Javits (R., N.Y.), William Proxmire (D., Wisc.) and Thomas H. Kuchel (R., Calif.).

Both the New York Times and the Washington Post, in editorials we include with this MEMO, urge the Senate to act so that it can be more responsive to the will of the majority. The Times says, rightly, "time-wasting talkathons do not enhance the deliberative process of the Senate; they stultify it. A majority of the Senate can reassert proper control over its own work by abolishing the filibuster in the new Congress."

The Post declares "the time has come to sweep away this irrational handicap." And we agree with that.

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
A. M. E. ZION CHURCH
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AFL-CIO
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH FOUNDATION
B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
CHRISTIAN FAMILY MOVEMENT
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION
CITIZENS LOBBY FOR FREEDOM & FAIR PLAY
COLLEGE YCS NATIONAL STAFF
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL, RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES & BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
IMPROVED BENEVOLENT & PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT — AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
IOTA PHI LAMBDA, INC.
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS
LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA BOARD OF SOCIAL MINISTRY
MEDICAL COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE WOMEN
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION REAL ESTATE BROKERS, INC.
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, USA
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL BEAUTY CULTURISTS LEAGUE, INC.
NATIONAL CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES — COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PUERTO RICAN VOLUNTEERS
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS, INC.
NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
NATIONAL DENTAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL FARMERS UNION
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGE STUDENTS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL NEWMAN STUDENT FEDERATION
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MEXICAN-AMERICAN SERVICES
NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
NATIONAL STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
NORTH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS
NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT
OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY
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PIONEER WOMEN
PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH — DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP
RETAIL, WHOLESALE & DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
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SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION — COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST WOMEN'S FEDERATION
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, COMMITTEE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION
UNITED CHURCH WOMEN
UNITED HEBREW TRADES
UNITED PACKINGHOUSE, FOOD & ALLIED WORKERS
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, OFFICE OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
UNITED TRANSPORT SERVICE EMPLOYEES OF AMERICA
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S.A.
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

Your Support Is Needed Now

Heads of the national organizations that participate in the Leadership Conference and their Washington representatives will be convening here in Washington on January 11th and change of Rule XXII is one of the matters to which they will direct their attention. What is needed now is evidence of public support for a change in Rule XXII. If your organization has not already done so, now is the time to adopt a resolution urging the Senate to modify Rule XXII. Send it to 100 Senators. Much of what we hope to see accomplished in this Congress may depend upon the establishment of majority rule in the Senate.

-30-

Attachments - 2

ATTACHMENT NO. 2

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER THURSDAY, JANUARY 5, 1967

First Job for the Senate

The first major decision the Senate will have to make in 1967 is whether to continue its deference to minority rule. A group of Senators will try once more to upset the notorious Rule 22, which requires a vote of two thirds of the Senators present and voting to cut off debate. If they succeed, a new era of majority control will begin in the Senate. If they fail, the country will continue to be plagued by the filibuster with its frustration of the national will in many vital areas of policymaking.

Numerous efforts to upset Rule 22 have failed in the past in some measure because they have been linked with the argument that the Senate is not a continuing body and is therefore entitled to adopt new rules at the beginning of each new session. Since the Senate has traditionally functioned as a continuing body, this line of reasoning has met with stiff resistance. But a shift of emphasis this year could lead to better results. It is entirely reasonable to argue that, even though the Senate is a continuing body, its members have a right at the beginning of a new Congress to modify their rules by majority action if they so desire.

This right stems from the Constitution, which provides that "a majority of each [house] shall constitute a quorum to do business" and that "each house may determine the rules of its proceedings." In effect Rule 22, as it now stands, denies this right of majority control, for it permits a minority to defeat any change in the rules by an endless filibuster.

The first responsibility for initiating a change will fall upon Vice President Humphrey. He will be asked to rule that the Senate has authority to adopt new rules at the beginning of its session under ordinary parliamentary procedure, Rule 22 notwithstanding. If he does so, an appeal to the Senate will be taken, but any Senator could then move to force the issue, thus cutting off debate. And if a majority should sustain the Vice President, majority cloture could then be adopted by a majority vote of those present.

In 1963 Vice President Johnson, who is the author of the present two-thirds cloture rule, declined to make the ruling that will be sought from Mr. Humphrey. He took the view that the Vice President does not have power "to determine when he thinks Senators have talked enough." But this seems to us an evasion of the real issue. What the Vice President is asked to do is not to determine the issue for the Senate but to give the Senate an opportunity to decide for itself—without being frustrated by endless debate.

Vice President Nixon gave an advisory opinion in 1957 that the Senate could adopt new rules "under whatever procedures the majority of the Senate approves." Rule 22, he concluded, could not deny the membership of the Senate "the power to exercise its constitutional right to make its own rules." Here is the nub of the issue. As it now operates the undemocratic Rule 22 is depriving the Senate of its constitutional right to make rules by majority action.

Of course the fact that the Senate attempted to insulate its rules against change unless a two-thirds vote to end debate could be obtained, does not alter the constitutional provision for majority action. We think the Senate ought to put the Constitution above Rule 22, and this will create an opportunity to change the rule by majority vote.

Aside from the constitutional question, the reform is long overdue. Filibusters waste an inordinate amount of time in the Senate and often result in minority decisions on the most vital issues. The time has come to sweep away this irrational handicap on the Senate without prejudice to its standing as a continuing body.

ATTACHMENT NO.1

January 4, 1966

The New York Times.

Published every day by The New York Times Company

ADOLPH S. OCHS, *Publisher 1896-1935*
ORVIL E. DRYFOOS, *Publisher 1961-1963*

Majority Rule in the Senate

The filibuster has for too long besmirched the reputation of the United States Senate. It is a parliamentary device that enables a minority to outvote a majority. It is an opportunity for die-hards to substitute stubbornness and lung power for compromise and reason in the conduct of public business, and to do so successfully. Once regarded as the shield for the racial preferences of a particular region, it has become the handy weapon for all sorts of special interests.

When the Senate meets next week to organize for the coming two years, it has its biennial opportunity to revise the rule that permits the filibuster. As matters now stand, a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting is required to end debate on any issue, including the question of revising the rules themselves. But when the Senate of a new Congress organizes, it does not have to continue the old rules in force. It can simply decide by majority vote to close debate and adopt new rules.

The only requirement is that the Vice President, the presiding officer of the Senate, affirm that the majority does have this power at the outset of a new Congress. If there are the votes to back up his judgment, there can be no reversion to filibuster. Richard M. Nixon, while serving as Vice President, twice expressed this opinion, but the votes were not present to sustain him. Vice President Humphrey will have a comparable opportunity next week. Since he publicly agreed with Mr. Nixon's rulings in the past, there is no reason to suppose that he will reverse himself now that the responsibility has passed to him.

It used to be argued that the rules automatically continued in force since the Senate is a "continuing body." But, clearly, it continues only in the severely limited sense that its members have overlapping terms.

Otherwise, all proposed bills, treaties and resolutions die every two years at adjournment. The committees and employes of the Senate also have to be redesignated biennially.

Time-wasting talkathons do not enhance the deliberative process of the Senate; they stultify it. A majority of the Senate can reassert proper control over its own work by abolishing the filibuster in the new Congress.

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MEMO: No.2-67
Jan.30, 1967

TO: PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

A FILIBUSTER STOPS THE DRIVE AGAINST FILIBUSTERS

If only there were some way to drape this MEMO black! The fight to change the filibuster rule at the opening of the 90th Congress had good prospects for success. It is painful to have to record now how that effort was defeated.

Every Congress Since 1953

To those who are sick of seeing the Senate strangle good legislation in talk and who have waged the campaign to change Rule 22 every two years since 1953, the new Congress appeared to offer a splendid opportunity. Vice President Humphrey, who as a Senator was one of the half dozen men who initiated the first effort to change the Rule, was going to preside. It seemed fairly certain he would make the crucial ruling: that a majority of the Senate has the power at the opening of a new Congress to change its rules. It also appeared that the mood of the incoming Senators was favorable for change.

The Campaign Begins

On January 12, the principal bipartisan resolutions to change Rule 22 were introduced by Senators George McGovern (D., S.D.) and Thomas Kuchel (R., Calif.) As always happens, the proposals were met with a filibuster by Southern Democrats and Republican reactionaries, ready to defend the Senate's sacred right to talk itself to death.

On Wednesday, January 18, a carefully planned move to stop the filibuster got underway and here the action moved into the rarified, chess-like atmosphere of higher parliamentary procedure. Mr. McGovern, whose resolution to take up a rules change was on the floor, moved under the Constitution that the debate be ended, a motion that he said could be adopted by a majority. Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen raised a point of order, insisting a majority could not close debate. Mr. McGovern

then indicated he was ready to move to table the point of order. This was the situation when Vice President Humphrey was asked to rule. Without facing the issue directly, he set in motion the procedure that would have made it possible for a simple majority to end debate and get on with the business of modifying Rule 22. The best hope for modification seemed to lie with the McGovern resolution, which would have reduced the number of Senators needed to end a filibuster from two-thirds of those present and voting to three-fifths, from at most 67 Senators to 60.

The Fear of Majority Rule

That resolution was never reached. McGovern and his colleagues contended that a majority could end debate in the Senate only at the opening of the session and then only on the issue of a change in the rules. But the opposition, headed by Senator Dirksen, proceeded to intimidate a good many Senators by arguing that the vote on the rules would establish a precedent whereby a majority could vote to end debate at any time on virtually any issue. Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.), a professed advocate of the three-fifths change, added to the pressures against voting with McGovern by taking up Dirksen's argument and warning that the procedure advocated by McGovern and the other champions of change would "destroy the character of the Senate as a parliamentary body." He and Dirksen and others of the opponents foresaw dire if fanciful possibilities: times when a mere handful of Senators, 6 or 7, could close debate and push the country into war or violate the rules and add legislation to an appropriations bill. In the end they prevailed. When the critical vote needed to close debate came up, the vote on the McGovern motion to table the Dirksen point of order, the needed majority wasn't there. It had dwindled down to 37 Senators who were ready to go against the combined leadership of the Senate. We enclose the vote on the McGovern motion with this MEMO.

On To Cloture

When the McGovern motion went down, the only thing left to do was to try to end debate by means of the old Rule 22. In short, two-thirds of the Senate had to be marshalled in support of changing the rule that two-thirds are needed to break a filibuster. And so the old vicious circle was set in motion again, with predictable results. The cloture petition was filed on the 19th, taken up on Tuesday, January 24, and beaten by a vote of 53 to 46. We enclose that vote with this MEMO, too. So ended the effort for 1967. Mansfield, who sometimes gives up too quickly, saw no reason to continue, even though a majority could have kept up the fight, particularly in the early days of the session when there is very little other business to consider.

A Dirksen Doublecross

It is impossible to finish this account without mentioning something more about Senator Dirksen's role in the Rule 22 maneuvers. On January 18, when he was arguing against the right of a majority to close debate, he raised a hope that he might be willing to work out some sort of compromise. "Iam in the mood now," he said, in the Senate's most cajoling voice, "if they file a cloture motion....to put my name on it and see where we go. I would then give assurance to the Senator from South Dakota (McGovern) that I will sit down with him and see if we cannot negotiate a reasonable time to discuss this matter and let it come to a vote. I do not mind. I am prepared to do it, and surely in the wisdom and genius of this body we can find the right answer without forfeiting the safeguards that have meant so much to this country."

If this meant anything, it appeared to many of his listeners to mean he would join the cloture move and support a three-fifths reform. But with Dirksen things are seldom how they seem. He signed the cloture petition but he told the press he would vote against it.

Without his help the effort was doomed. Roy Wilkins, chairman of the Leadership Conference, who had been watching the cloture fight from the gallery, emerged to tell reporters, "Senator Dirksen is inexplicable." He was struck, he said, by Dirksen's argument that the Senate is a continuing body and has not changed since its first session in 1789. "The fact that there haven't been any changes is what's wrong with the Senate," he declared. He had a warning of his own. The Senate's inability to change a rule that has been used historically to block civil rights legislation and was used precisely for that purpose in 1966, would be noted and cited by extremists as an illustration of the futility of trying to win equal rights through established channels.

What's Left?

The Senate's inability to change Rule 22 because of a fear of what a majority might do, leaves intact a rule that permits a minority to continue to dictate to the body. Senators representing less than 12 percent of the population, can continue to block the will of the majority whenever they are disposed to do so.

But the effort so many put into this year's campaign is not wasted. Something has been established. As the Washington Post pointed out editorially, "the Vice President's ruling will stand as a precedent. It means the anti-filibuster forces are free to press a motion for majority cloture at the beginning of any Senate session, that when a point of order is made against such a motion it can be voted down by a simple majority and that motion for cloture reform would then become the pending question. It is an open door to victory as soon as a majority in the Senate can find the courage to stand for the constitutional principle of government by the majority."

Until that time what can we do? It would be in order, first, for all of our organizations to express their appreciation to the 37 Senators who voted for the McGovern tabling motion. They deserve our thanks.

Looking beyond that, we must acknowledge that getting civil rights legislation through Congress without a change in Rule 22 is admittedly difficult. But we were able to surmount that obstacle in 1964 and 1965 by showing there was a national consensus for laws needed to give all citizens equal rights. In 1967, we must demonstrate again that the public sentiment for levelling the last barriers is still there. If we do that, even the Senate must respond.

* * * * * * * * * * *

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ATTACHMENT

KEY VOTES IN RULE 22 FIGHT

1.

Jan. 18, 1967

Roll Call On Rule 22

Associated Press

Here is the 61-37 roll call vote by which the Senate refused to table, and thus sustained, a point of order against the motion of Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) that would have opened the way for revision, by a majority vote, of its antifilibuster rule.

FOR TABLING—37

Democrats

Anderson (N.M.)	Mondale (Minn.)
Bayh (Ind.)	Montoya (N.M.)
Brewster (Md.)	Morse (Ore.)
Burdick (N.D.)	Moss (Utah)
Church (Idaho)	Muskie (Maine)
Clark (Pa.)	Nelson (Wis.)
Dodd (Conn.)	Pastore (R.I.)
Hart (Mich.)	Pell (R.I.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Randolph (W.Va.)
Kennedy (N.Y)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Magnuson (Wash)	Symington (Mo.)
McGovern (S.D.)	Williams (N.J.)
McIntyre (N.H.)	Young (Ohio)
Metcalf (Mont.)	

Republicans For

Brooke (Mass.)	Javits (N.Y.)
Case (N.J.)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Fong (Hawaii)	Morton (Ky.)
Hatfield (Ore.)	Scott (Pa.)

Against Tabling—61

Democrats Against

Bartlett (Alaska)	Jordan (N.C.)
Bible (Nev.)	Lausche (Ohio)
Byrd (Va.)	Long (Mo.)
Byrd (W.Va.)	Long (La.)
Cannon (Nev.)	Mansfield (Mont.)
Eastland (Miss.)	McClellan (Ark.)
Ellender (La.)	McGee (Wyoming)
Ervin (N.C.)	Monroney (Okla.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Russell (Ga.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Gruening (Alaska)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Harris (Okla.)	Spong (Va.)
Hayden (Ariz.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Hill (Ala.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Holland (Fla.)	Tydings (Md.)
Hollings (S.C.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
Inouye (Hawaii)	

Republicans Against

Aiken (Vt.)	Hickenlooper (Iowa)
Allott (Colo.)	Hruska (Neb.)
Baker (Tenn.)	Jordan (Idaho)
Bennett (Utah)	Miller (Iowa)
Boggs (Del.)	Mundt (S.D.)
Carlson (Kan.)	Murphy (Calif.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Cotton (N.H.)	Percy (Ill.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Smith (Maine)
Dominick (Colo.)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Fannin (Ariz.)	Tower (Tex.)
Griffin (Mich.)	Williams (Del.)
Hansen (Wyo.)	Young (N.D.)

(A vote for tabling was right, a vote against, was wrong.)

2.

Jan. 24, 1967

Senate Roll-Call Vote On the Closure Motion

WASHINGTON, Jan. 24 (AP) —Following is the roll-call vote by which the Senate today refused, 53 to 46, to shut off debate on a motion to bring up a change in the Senate's anti-filibuster rule (two-thirds, or 66 votes, were required to shut off debate, so the attempt failed by 13 votes:

FOR THE CLOSURE MOTION—53

Democrats—36

Anderson (N. M.)	McIntyre (N.H.)
Bayh (Ind.)	Metcalf (Mont.)
Brewster (Md.)	Mondale (Minn.)
Burdick (N.D.)	Montoya (N.M.)
Church (Idaho)	Morse (Ore.)
Clark (Pa.)	Moss (Utah)
Dodd (Conn.)	Muskie (Me.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Nelson (Wis.)
Hart (Mich.	Pastore (R.I.)
Hartke (Ind.)	Pell (R.I.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Randolph (W. Va.)
Kennedy (N.Y.)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Long (Mo.)	Symington (Mo.)
Magnuson (Wash.)	Tydings (Md.)
Mansfield (Mont.)	Williams (N.J.)
McCarthy (Minn.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
McGovern (S.D.)	Young (Ohio)

Republicans—17

Aiken (Vt.)	Hatfield (Ore.)
Allott (Colo.)	Javits (N.Y.)
Boggs (Del.)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Brooke (Mass.)	Morton (Ky.)
Case (N.J.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Percy (Ill.)
Dominick (Colo.)	Scott (Pa.)
Fong (Hawaii)	Mrs. Smith (Me.)
Griffin (Mich.)	

AGAINST THE MOTION—46

Democrats—27

Bartlett (Alaska)	Inouye (Hawaii)
Bible (Nev.)	Jordan (N.C.)
Byrd (Va.)	Lausche (Ohio)
Byrd (W. Va.)	Long (La.)
Cannon (Nev.)	McClellan (Ark.)
Eastland (Miss.)	McGee (Wyo.)
Ellender (La.)	Monroney (Okla.)
Ervin (N.C.)	Russell (Ga.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Gruening (Alaska)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Hayden (Ariz.)	Spong (Va.)
Hill (Ala.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Holland (Fla.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Hollings (S.C.)	

Republicans—19

Baker (Tenn.)	Jordan (Idaho)
Bennett (Utah)	Miller (Iowa)
Carlson (Kan.)	Mundt (S.D.)
Cotton (N.H.)	Murphy (Calif.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Fannin (Ariz.)	Tower (Tex.)
Hansen (Wyo.)	Williams (Del.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)	Young (N.D.)
Hruska (Neb.)	

Not voting but announced as for the cloture motion: Harris, Democrat of Oklahoma.

(A vote for the cloture motion was right, a vote against it, wrong.)

file

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office
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MEMO: No.3-67
February 17, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

A NEW CIVIL RIGHTS BILL REACHES CONGRESS

The President's civil rights message to Congress is a summons to us all. We will be meeting with greater frequency in Washington from now on and you may expect more MEMOs. The campaign for Civil Rights Act of 1967 is underway.

We Applaud The President

The Conference's Legislative Committee, composed of the Washington representatives of our participating groups, met last Wednesday, February 15, the very day the President sent his message to the Hill. Our initial reaction was to applaud Mr. Johnson's legislative proposals for the determination they displayed. The President was clearly unimpressed by those who warned him to go slow. The proposals would carry the country far toward ending discrimination in housing and jury selection. They would provide greater protection against violence for Negroes and civil rights workers. They would empower the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to issue cease and desist orders, extend the life of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission five years and nearly double the budget of the Community Relations Service.

The statement we adopted at last week's meeting is enclosed with this MEMO. So is the text of the President's message. We will be analyzing the proposals in the weeks to come and reporting our conclusions.

The Bill Needs Sponsors

Just as last year, the principal sponsors of the bill will be Rep. Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.) in the House and Sen. Philip A. Hart (D., Mich.) in the Senate. What needs to be done immediately is to gather additional sponsors for the Senate bill. We call upon all our

organizations and all our readers to help here. We urge you to write your Senators at once urging them to become cosponsors of the Administration's civil rights bill.

Vice President Hubert Humphrey, in a new American Jewish Committee pamphlet, wrote: "Every American citizen can actively participate in congressional debates over civil rights legislation.....Congress is reluctant to move into new areas--like housing, for example--unless it has a clear go-ahead from the American people. When the American people speak out, loudly and clearly, the members of Congress hear them and act accordingly. Most citizens can afford a letter and a postage stamp or even a phone call to their Senator or Representative. Let them exercise this right frequently and persuasively."

Now's a good time to start exercising that right. Help flood the Senate with letters to prospective sponsors.

* * * * * * * *

BECOME A MEMO "SUBSCRIBER"

Introduction of a new civil rights bill means a new period of intense activity for the Conference and many more mailings. Because of our mounting costs we ask each of our readers to "subscribe" to the MEMO. Postage for each person on our mailing list amounts to at least $5 a year. Let that guide you.

Name _____ Organization _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable to THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS, 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.20036

February 15, 1967

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE STATEMENT ON THE PRESIDENT'S CIVIL RIGHTS MESSAGE

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights applauds the President's appeal for new civil rights legislation. We are gratified that Mr. Johnson has refused to be dissuaded from a call for new laws by those who have urged him to slow down, as if justice or equality could ever come too soon. We agree with the President that the way to deal with racial tensions that wrack our country is to go forward and eliminate the inequities that cause them.

The President's proposals would bring us well along toward full equality. The Leadership Conference in the past few years has urged and worked for them already. We hope to mobilize again the coalition of civil rights, labor, religious and civic groups that have proved so effective in obtaining enactment of all the civil rights legislative milestones of the past decade. When the bill is before Congress we will bring representatives of our groups to Washington to urge members to vote for a strong law.

Mr. Johnson is right, we believe, in seeing the inseparability of the next advances. While discrimination in housing is the most pervasive and destructive of the discriminations still prevalent in this country, the President is correct in calling for its elimination as only one among a number of badly needed reforms. Equally as urgent are his proposals to reform federal, state and local jury systems; to provide Negroes and all who work or speak for racial justice with protection against interference with their rights; to strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission by giving it the power to issue cease and desist orders; and to extend the life of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

The Leadership Conference in supporting these proposals before, has urged additional measures to strengthen them. We anticipate that in due course we will want to advocate amendments to the proposed legislation.

But today we wish to hail the President for his determination and to pledge the support of the more than 100 national organizations that participate in our work.

We are fully aware of how hard the fight for the new law is going to be. We remember well the fate of the Civil Rights Act of 1966. And mindful of that fate we call upon all members of the Senate to respond to the President's appeal to conscience and resist the filibuster that is sure to be mounted against this bill. Senators should know that the sincerity of their devotion to full equality for all citizens will be demonstrated by the extent to which they meet a filibuster with the resolve to fight until it is ended, even if it takes months to do so. If they do that, we will have a new civil rights law and this country will take another long step toward freedom.

Text of President's Civil Rights Message

February 15, 1967

CIVIL RIGHTS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate a message from the President of the United States. Without objection, it will be printed in the RECORD without being read and appropriately referred.

The message was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

Almost two centuries ago the American people declared these truths to be self-evident: "That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Seventy-five years later, a savage war tested the foundations of their democratic faith. The issue of the struggle was, as Lincoln said, whether "we shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last, best hope on earth."

Democracy triumphed in the field in 1865. But for the Negro American, emancipation from slavery was but the first engagement in a long campaign. He had still to endure the assaults of discrimination that denied him a decent home, refused his children a good education, closed the doors of economic progress against him, turned him away at the voting booth, the jury box, at places of public accommodation, seated him apart on buses and trains, and sometimes even threatened him with violence if he did not assent to these humiliations.

In 1948 President Truman ordered the Defense Establishment to accord equal treatment to servicemen of every race. That same year the Supreme Court declared that State courts could not enforce racial covenants in the sale of houses. The Court later struck down racial discrimination in public transportation.

In 1954 segregated education was found to be inherently unequal and in violation of the 14th amendment.

In 1957 the first Civil Rights Act in 82 years passed the Congress.

Three later acts were adopted within the next decade—in 1960, 1964, and 1965. Congress prohibited interference with the right to vote—to use any hotel, restaurant, or theater—to secure a job on the basis of merits. It barred the use of Federal funds to any agency that practiced racial discrimination.

Within these 20 years, the institutions of democratic government have begun to make the ancient, self-evident truths a reality for all Americans.

Though much of our task still lies before us, it is important to measure the progress we have made in the past few years.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

VOTING

Since the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the number of Negroes registered in the five States where voter discrimination was most severe has increased by 65 percent—from 715,099 to 1,174,569. The vast majority of the new voters—about 334,000—were registered by local officials, in voluntary compliance with the act.

The remainder—some 125,000—were registered by Federal examiners in 47 counties of the five States. Federal observers were present in many counties during the 1966 primary and general elections to insure that the newly registered voters were permitted to vote without interference.

In 1960, a Negro citizen complained that for 10 years he had tried without success to register to vote. Not a single Negro had been registered in his county for 60 years. In 1966, he ran for a seat on the local school board—and won.

Today, 20 Negroes serve in southern legislatures. Several important local offices, such as school boards and county commissions, now have Negro membership.

The electorate in these States has begun to change. The right to vote—the fundamental democratic right—is now exercised by men and women whose color served in years past to bar them from the polls. After centuries of silence, their voice is being heard. It will never again be stilled.

SCHOOLS

In the 1963–64 school year, 10 years after the landmark Brown decision, 1 percent of the Negro students in the 11 Southern States were in schools also attended by white students.

Then came the 1964 Civil Rights Act and its prohibition against the use of Federal funds to support racial bias.

In September 1966, 12.5 percent of the Negro students in those same States were enrolled in desegregated schools. We expect this figure to increase significantly next fall. We will proceed with the task of securing the rights of all our children.

HOSPITALS

This year, Negroes are being admitted to hospitals which barred them in the past. By January, 7,130 hospitals—more than 95 percent of the hospitals in the Nation—had agreed to provide services without discrimination. More than 1,500 of those hospitals have had to change past policies to make that commitment.

Getting rid of discriminatory practices has benefited hospital systems, as well as the people they serve.

Last year, for example, half the beds in an all-white hospital were unoccupied. Yet Negroes in the community were sent to a completely segregated and overcrowded hospital. The half-empty hospital changed its policies to admit Negroes, and it now operates at full capacity. The formerly Negro hospital will be converted into a nursing home serving both races. The effect of the change was to provide better medical care for the entire community.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

When the 1964 Civil Rights Act was passed, prohibiting racial discrimination in places of public accommodations, fears were expressed that this sharp change in established customs would bring about serious economic loss and perhaps even violence.

Yet from the start there has been widespread voluntary compliance with the law. Thousands of restaurants, motels, and hotels have been opened to Americans of all races and colors. What was thought to be laden with danger proved generally acceptable to both races.

Because all businesses of a similar type are covered, each businessman is free, for the first time, to operate on a nondiscriminatory basis without fear of suffering a competitive disadvantage.

Now Negro families traveling through most parts of their country do not need to suffer the inconvenience of searching for a place to rest or eat where they will be accepted or the humiliating indignity of being turned away.

PROGRAMS FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

The struggle against today's discrimination is only part of the Nation's commitment to equal justice for all Americans. The bigotry of the past has its effects in broken families, men without skills, children without learning, poor housing, and neighborhoods dominated by the fear of crime.

Because these effects are encrusted by generations of inferior opportunities and shattered hopes, they will not yield to laws against discrimination alone. Indeed there is no swift medicine, no matter how potent or massively applied, that can heal them at once. But we know some of the things we must do if the healing process is to begin—and we are doing them.

EDUCATION

Headstart has given deprived children a chance to learn in later years—instead of being merely exposed to school. Through this and other preschool programs, 2 million children have been offered better education and health care.

More than 7 million children in 70 percent of all school districts in the United States have participated in programs under title I of the 1965 Education Act. These programs have a single aim: to improve the education of disadvantaged children. The better libraries, larger professional staffs, advanced instructional equipment, and other services they provide are investments in the future of children who need them most.

In my message on America's children and youth I asked the Congress to provide an additional $135 million to strengthen Headstart. With these funds, we will launch a Headstart follow-through program in the early grades of elementary school to maintain the momentum the child has gained and we will extend the Headstart program downward to cover more 3-year-olds.

Extraordinary help at the start of life is necessary for all disadvantaged children. It is particularly necessary for the Negro child reared in poverty and encumbered by generations of deprivation.

JOBS AND TRAINING

Thousands of job opportunities for the young have been created by the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the Job Corps. The first, active in both urban and rural areas, has enabled many young people to earn enough to remain in school, and provided employment and remedial education for dropouts.

The Job Corps—also meant to help those between 16 and 21—has offered other thousands both a change of environment and the opportunity to acquire education and job training.

The Manpower Development and Training Act gives men without jobs or skills the chance to acquire both, by combining government planning and resources with private industry. The work experience program offers welfare recipients a means of obtaining the experience they need for gainful employment.

Today's strong economy, which last year put almost 3 million more Americans on the payrolls, is also of tremendous benefit to needy persons in search of dependable employment. But for the long term, and as demand for better qualified workers grows, training and remedial education will be of even greater importance to the disadvantaged. This is particularly true for those who leave the farm and move to urban areas in search of employment, without the skills an urban society requires.

During the last 3 years, our training programs have provided the means of self-sufficiency to almost a million men and women. The value of these programs to the Negro American is especially great.

The unemployment rate for Negroes is more than double that for whites. About 650,000 Americans, more than 20 percent of all unemployed, are nonwhite. About 213,000 of these are between 14 and 19 years of age. Job training is essential to enable them to get off the welfare rolls and to go on the tax rolls.

Our economy is also strengthened by these programs. If Negroes today had the same skills as other Americans, and if they were free from discrimination in employment, our gross national product could become $30 billion higher.

I will shortly submit recommendations to strengthen and expand these training programs. I am asking the Congress for an additional $135 million in appropriations for the Office of Economic Opportunity for a special program to open the doors of opportunity and meaningful employment to our most disadvantaged citizens.

I will call for the active assistance of private industry and organized labor to provide skills and jobs to those now confined to the welfare rolls and the slums.

THE NEED FOR PERSEVERANCE

There are those who believe this series of accomplishments is long enough. There are those who grow weary of supporting great social programs, impatient with the failures that attend them and cynical about those they are intended to help. There are those who think "equal justice" is a rhetorical phrase, intended only as an admonition to judges, not as a guiding principle for national policy.

To them I can only say: consider the consequences if the—Nation—and I as the President—were to take what appears to be the easy way out, abandon the long, hard struggle for social and economic

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justice and say that enough has been done.

There would be little hope of strengthening the economy of the country through the improved earning power and productive capacity of Negro Americans.

There would be little hope of avoiding massive welfare expenditures for people denied the training and jobs they need to become self-supporting.

There would be little hope of ending the chain of personal tragedies that began with ancient bigotry and continues to this hour.

There would—above all—be little hope of achieving the self-respect that comes to a nation from doing what is right.

Our task is far from over. The statistics demonstrate the magnitude of the effort required.

The life expectancy of the Negro is 5 years shorter than that of his white contemporary and the infant mortality rate for Negroes is 40 percent higher.

The adult white has had at least 3 more years of education—and has been educated in better schools—than the average adult Negro.

The unemployment rate for nonwhites aged 21—even in this time of near full employment—is double that of whites.

Negroes are characteristically more densely housed in units only 56 percent of which meet health and safety standards.

The income of the average Negro family is about 40 percent lower than that of the average white family.

The programs we have adopted in the past few years are only a beginning. We have made a good start.

But we must remember that it is only a start. We must realize that civil rights are also civil opportunities. Unless these rights are recognized as opportunities by Negro and white alike, they can achieve nothing. We must realize that training and education programs provide skills and opportunities. But only where there is both the will to seek the job and the willingness to hire the job applicant, can these programs achieve their ultimate objectives.

The next steps are harder, but they are even more important. We shall need years of trial and error—years in which children can be strengthened to grow into responsible young adults, years of better training, better jobs, better health, and better housing—before the results of what we have done so far can be seen.

Perseverance, the willingness to abandon what does not work, and the courage to keep searching for better solutions—these are the virtues the times require.

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

Last year I proposed the enactment of important civil rights legislation. I proposed that legislation because it was right and just.

The civil rights legislation of 1966 was passed by the House of Representatives, and brought to the floor of the Senate. Most of its features commanded a strong majority in both Houses. None of its features was defeated on the merits.

Yet it did not become law. It could not be brought to a final vote in the Senate.

Some observers felt that the riots which occurred in several cities last summer prevented the passage of the bill.

Public concern over the riots was great, as it should have been. Lawlessness cannot be tolerated in a nation whose very existence depends upon respect for law. It cannot be permitted because it injures every American and tears at the very fabric of our democracy.

We want public order in America, and we shall have it. But a decent public order cannot be achieved solely at the end of a stick, nor by confining one race to self-perpetuating poverty.

Let us create the conditions for a public order based upon equal justice.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1967

The act I am proposing this year is substantially the same as last year's bill. Some revisions have been incorporated to take account of useful suggestions and perfecting amendments made by the 89th Congress. I believe these revisions offer a basis for common action.

I recommend the adoption of a national policy against discrimination in housing on account of race, color, religion, or national origin. I propose the adoption of progressive steps to carry out this policy.

I recommend the clarification and strengthening of existing Federal criminal laws against interference with Federal rights.

I recommend requirements for the selection of juries in Federal courts to guard against discrimination and insure that juries are properly representative of the community.

I recommend legislation to eliminate all forms of discrimination in the selection of State court juries.

I recommend that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 be amended to authorize the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to issue, judicially enforcible cease-and-desist orders.

I recommend the extension, for an additional 5 years, of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

I recommend a 90-percent increase in appropriations for the Community Relations Service.

These measures are not new. I have recommended and supported them in the past. I urge the Congress to act favorably upon them because justice and human dignity demand these protections for each American citizen.

EQUAL JUSTICE IN HOUSING

For most Americans, the availability of housing depends upon one factor—their ability to pay.

For too many, however, there are other crucial factors—the color of their skin, their religion, or their national origin.

When a Negro seeks a decent home for himself and his family, he frequently finds that the door is closed. It remains closed—though the Negro may be a serviceman who has fought for freedom.

The result of countless individual acts of discrimination is the spawning of urban ghettoes, where housing is inferior, overcrowded, and too often overpriced.

Statistics tell a part of the story. Throughout the Nation almost twice as many nonwhites as whites occupy deteriorating or dilapidated housing. In Watts, 32.5 percent of all housing is overcrowded, compared with 11.5 percent for the Nation as a whole.

In Harlem, more than 237,000 people live in an area consisting of 3½ square miles. This is a density of 105 people per acre. Ninety percent of the buildings in Harlem are more than 30 years old, and almost half were built before the end of the 19th century.

The environment of most urban ghettoes is the same: inferior public facilities and services—street, lighting, parks; sanitation and police protection; inferior schools; and isolation from job opportunities. In every sphere of urban life the ghetto-dweller is shortchanged.

A child growing up in such an environment must overcome tremendous man-made obstacles to become a useful citizen. The misery we tolerate today multiplies the misery of tomorrow.

Many of our existing and proposed programs—though not directed simply at relieving the problems of any particular minority group—will relieve conditions found in their most acute form in the urban ghetto. These programs are necessary and they must be fully supported.

But money and assistance are not enough. Since the ratification of the 14th amendment to the Constitution, this Nation has been committed to accord every citizen the equal protection of its laws. We must strengthen that commitment as it relates to discrimination in housing—a problem that is national in scope.

The legislation I recommend would ultimately apply to all housing in the United States. It would go into effect by progressive stages.

The proposed legislation would direct the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to carry out education and conciliation measures to seek an end to discrimination in housing. He would call conferences of leaders in the housing industry, consult with State and local officials, and work with private organizations.

The prohibition against discrimination in the sale or rental of housing would become effective progressively over a 2-year period:

Immediately, to housing already covered by the Presidential order on equal opportunities in housing.

During 1968, to dwellings sold or rented by someone other than their occupant, and to dwellings for five or more families. Essentially, this stage would cover large apartment houses and real estate developments.

In 1969, the act would apply to all housing.

This act would be aimed at commercial transactions, not at the privacy of the home. It would outlaw discriminatory practices in financing housing and in providing real estate brokers' services. It would prohibit "blockbusting," by which unscrupulous dealers seek to frighten homeowners into selling quickly, out of fear that the value of their homes will decline.

In every instance the legislation would require the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to try to achieve a voluntary solution. Only if such a settlement could not be reached would the Secretary be authorized to hold an ad-

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administrative hearing. If, after an administrative hearing, a violation of the law were found, the Secretary would be authorized to issue a judicially enforcible cease-and-desist order.

The Secretary would work with State and municipal fair housing agencies that already exist. In appropriate cases he would be authorized to rely on their enforcement of the State and city laws.

The Attorney General would be empowered to support these enforcement efforts, when he had reason to believe that a general pattern or practice of discrimination exists.

Last year the legislation I proposed to ban discrimination in housing stirred great controversy. Although a majority of both Houses in the Congress favored that legislation, it was not enacted. Some of the problems raised by its adversaries were real; most involved myths and misinformation. The summer riots in our cities did as much damage to the chances of passing that legislation as the unfounded fears of many Americans and the opposition of special interest groups.

There should be no need for laws to require men to deal fairly and decently with their fellow man. There should be no need to enact a law prohibiting discrimination in housing—just as there should have been no need to send registrars to enforce voting rights, to issue guidelines to require desegregation of our schools, to bring suits in Federal courts to insure equal access to public accommodations, and to outlaw discrimination in employment.

But the Civil Rights Act of 1957, 1960, and 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were necessary and they have moved this country toward our goal of providing a decent life for each of our citizens.

I am proposing fair housing legislation again this year because it is decent and right. Injustice must be opposed, however difficult or unpopular the issue.

I believe that fair housing legislation must and will be enacted by the Congress of the United States. I was proud to be a Member of the Congresses that enacted the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 and as President to sign into law the 1964 and 1965 acts. I believe that generations to come would look upon the enactment of this legislation by the 90th Congress as one of its proudest achievements. I cannot urge too strongly that the Congress act promptly on this legislation.

Today the subject of fair housing is engulfed in a cloud of misinformation and unarticulated fear. Some believe the value of their homes must decline if their neighborhoods are integrated. They fear the conversion of their communities into unsightly slums, if a family of a different color moves into a house across the street. Neither of these events need occur. In an atmosphere of reason and justice, they would not occur. In the scores of cities and States that have such laws these events have not occurred.

The task of informing the minds and enlightening the consciences of those who are subject to these fears should begin at once. Churches can help perform this task with a unique competence—and they should. So should civic organizations, public officials, human relations commissions, labor unions, and private industries. It must be done. The sooner it is done, the nearer we will come to that just America it is our purpose to achieve.

INTERFERENCE WITH RIGHTS

Another basic test of equal justice is whether all men are free to exercise rights established by the Congress and the Constitution. A right has little meaning unless it can be freely exercised. This applies in particular to Negro Americans who seek to vote, attend school, and utilize public accommodations on an equal basis.

Negro children have been abused for attending previously segregated schools. Shots have been fired into the homes of their parents. Employers who practiced nondiscrimination have been harassed. Most shocking of all are the crimes which result in loss of life. Some of the victims have been Negroes; others were whites devoted to the cause of justice.

State and local officials are primarily responsible for preventing and punishing acts of violence. In many cases, however, these officials have not been able to detect or prosecute the perpetrators of the crimes. In some, unfortunately, they have not been willing to meet their obligations. For these reasons and because violence has too often been used to deny Federal rights, there is need for Federal legislation.

Present Federal statutes are inadequate in several respects. Maximum penalties are too low for crimes which cause death or serious injury. Only in some instances do the statutes reach misconduct by private persons not acting in concert with public officials. Existing laws do not spell out clearly the Federal rights which they protect.

To remedy these deficiencies, I recommend legislation to—

Specify the activities which are protected, including voting, purchasing a home, holding a job, attending a school, obtaining service in a restaurant or other place of public accommodation.

Prohibit acts or threats of violence, by private individuals acting alone or public officials, directed against Negroes or members of other minority groups because they are or have been participating in those activities.

Authorize victims of violence to bring civil actions for damages or injunctive relief.

The penalties prescribed are graduated, depending on the gravity of the offense. When physical injury results, the maximum penalty is $10,000 and 10 years. When death occurs, the sentence may be imprisonment for any term of years or for life.

FEDERAL AND STATE JURIES

A fair jury is fundamental to our historic traditions of justice.

Fairness is most likely to result when the jury is selected from a broad cross section of the community. The exclusion of particular groups or classes from jury duty not only denies defendants their right to an impartial jury. It also denies members of the excluded group the opportunity to fulfill an important obligation of citizenship and to participate in the processes of their government.

On many occasions, I have emphasized the importance of respect for the law. Yet, creating respect for legal institutions becomes virtually impossible when parts of our judicial system operate unlawfully or give the appearance of unfairness.

Current methods of Federal court jury selection have sometimes resulted in the exclusion of Negroes and other minority groups. Often the cause lay in the method of selection.

I recommend legislation to—

Eliminate discrimination in the selection of juries in Federal courts.

Insure that juries in Federal courts are uniformly drawn from a broad cross section of the community.

To reduce to a minimum the possibility of arbitrary exclusion of certain groups, the act will spell out in detail the selection procedures to be followed in all Federal district courts. Names of prospective jurors would be obtained by random selection from voter lists—a broadly representative source in almost all parts of the country, now that the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is being implemented. Under the bill only objective standards, including basic literacy requirements found in existing law, could be used to determine the qualifications of a prospective juror.

Legislation to deal with selection of State court juries is also needed. There has been persistent, intentional discrimination in juror selection in some localities. A recent case involved jury discrimination in a county whose population in 1960 was more than 70 percent Negro. Of the persons listed on the jury rolls between 1953 and 1965, less than 2 percent were Negro. No Negro had ever served as a member of a jury in that county.

Numerous criminal convictions obtained in State courts have been set aside on the ground that Negroes were excluded from the juries. Such court decisions may assure justice in a particular case. They cannot reform the jury selection systems.

The 14th amendment establishes equality before the law and charges the Congress with enforcing that requirement. Such flagrant, persistent abuses as are revealed in many recent jury selection cases cannot be tolerated by a society which prides itself on the rule of law.

I recommend legislation to—

Prohibit discrimination on account of race, color, religion, national origin, sex, or economic status in the selection of State or local juries.

Authorize the Attorney General to sue State or local jury officials who exclude Negroes or members of other minority groups from juries.

Prescribe new remedies to make it easier to prove jury discrimination.

Authorize the courts to issue a variety of orders specially tailored to eliminate the most common methods by which jury discrimination is practiced.

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EQUAL JUSTICE IN EMPLOYMENT

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination in hiring, promotion, and working conditions, as well as discrimination in the membership practices of labor organizations. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was created to carry out the congressional mandate.

The Commission was directed to eliminate discriminatory employment practices by informal methods of conciliation and persuasion. By the end of this fiscal year, the Commission will have have completed over 2,000 investigations and more than 500 conciliation efforts. This is hard work, but when it succeeds, case by case it opens up new opportunities to:

The minority group employees of an aircraft company, who no longer are confined to deadend jobs but now have training opportunities in 40 job classifications.

The employees of a large ship construction firm which has improved the job rights of over 5,000 Negroes.

Unlike most other Federal regulatory agencies, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was not given enforcement powers. If efforts to conciliate or persuade are unsuccessful, the Commission itself is powerless. For the individual discriminated against, there remains only a time-consuming and expensive lawsuit.

In considering the proper role of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, it is important to bear in mind that nonwhite unemployment remains disproportionately high:

In 1966, the unemployment rate was 3.3 percent for white persons. It was 7.3 percent for nonwhites.

Nonwhite unemployment in 1965 was twice the rate for whites. In 1966, the ratio rose to 2.2 to 1.

Among youth not attending school, the unemployment rate in 1966 was 8.5 percent for whites and 20.3 percent for nonwhites.

No single factor explains the differences in the unemployment rates of nonwhites and whites. But part of the disparity is clearly attributable to discrimination. For that reason, effective remedies against discrimination are essential.

I recommend legislation to give the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission authority to issue orders, after a fair hearing, to require the termination of discriminatory employment practices.

The cease-and-desist orders of the Commission would be enforceable in the Federal courts of appeal and subject to judicial review there. These powers are similar to those of other Federal regulatory agencies.

Enforcement power would harmonize the procedures of the Commission with the prevailing practice among States and cities that have had fair employment practices agencies for many years. It would reduce the burden on individual complainants and on the Federal courts. It would enhance the orderly implementation of this important national policy.

THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has, since its creation in 1957, proved to be an exceptionally valuable agency. This bipartisan factfinding agency has contributed substantially to our determined effort to assure the civil rights of all Americans. Its investigations and studies have contributed to important changes in the laws and policies of the Federal Government. Publications of the Commission—in the fields of voting, housing, employment, school segregation, and equality of opportunity in Government programs—have been helpful to other Government agencies and to private groups interested in equality of opportunity.

The Commission has also served as a clearinghouse for information on civil rights matters. It has provided information on Federal laws, programs, and services to assist communities and private organizations in dealing with civil rights issues and with economic and social problems affecting race relations.

Under existing law, the term of the Commission expires on January 31, 1968. But much more remains to be done.

I recommend that the life of the Commission be extended for an additional 5 years.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 recognized the importance of providing bridges of understanding for communities across the land struggling with problems of equal justice and discrimination. Last year, I recommended, and you in the Congress approved, the transfer of the Community Relations Service to the Department of Justice to make it a more effective instrument of national policy.

This year, I recommend that the funds for the work of the Community Relations Service be increased by 90 percent—from $1.4 million to $2.7 million.

In city after city and county after county, the men of the Community Relations Service have worked, quietly and effectively, behind the scenes, to conciliate disputes before they flared up in the courtrooms or on the streets.

I deeply believe that, under our democratic system, the work of conciliation can be brought to bear increasingly to remove many of the injustices, intentional and unintentional, which derive from prejudice. It is in this spirit and with this conviction that I request a substantial increase in the funds appropriated to the Community Relations Service.

EQUAL JUSTICE

We adopted a Constitution "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure the domestic tranquility," and "provide for the common defense."

In our wars, Americans, Negro and white, have fought side by side to defend freedom. Negro soldiers—like white soldiers—have won every medal for bravery our country bestows. The bullets of our enemies do not discriminate between Negro marines and white marines. They kill and maim whomever they strike.

The American Negro has waited long for first-class citizenship—for his right for equal justice. But he has long accepted the full responsibilities of citizenship.

If there were any doubt, one need only look to the servicemen who man our defenses. In Vietnam, 10.2 percent of our soldiers are American Negroes bearing equal responsibilities in the fight for freedom—but at home, 11 percent of our people are American Negroes struggling for equal opportunities.

The bullets at the battlefront do not discriminate—but the landlords at home do. The pack of the Negro soldier is as heavy as the white soldier's—but the burden his family at home bears is far heavier. In war, the Negro American has given this Nation his best—but this Nation has not given him equal justice.

It is time that the Negro be given equal justice. In America, the rights of citizenship are conferred by birth—not by death in battle.

It is our duty—as well as our privilege—to stand before the world as a nation dedicated to equal justice. There may be doubts about some policies or programs, but there can be no doubt about the rights of each man to stand on equal ground before his government and with his fellow man.

On June 4, 1965, at Howard University, I spoke about the challenge confronting this Nation—"to fulfill these rights." What I said then has even greater importance and meaning for every American today:

Freedom is the right to share fully and equally in American society—to vote, to hold a job, to enter a public place, to go to school. It is the right to be treated in every part of our national life as a person equal in dignity and promise to all others.

But freedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: Now you are free to go where you want, do as you desire, and choose the leaders you please.

You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, "You are free to compete with all the others," and still justly believe that you have been completely fair.

Thus it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All of our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates.

This is the next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights. We seek not just freedom but opportunity—not just legal equity but human ability—not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result.

For the task is to give 20 million Negroes the same chance as every other American to learn and grow, to work and share in society, to develop their abilities—physical, mental and spiritual, and to pursue their individual happiness.

* * * * *

There is no single easy answer to all of these problems.

Jobs are part of the answer. They bring the income which permits a man to provide for his family.

Decent homes in decent surroundings, and a chance to learn—an equal chance to learn—are part of the answer.

Welfare and social programs better designed to hold families together are part of the answer.

Care of the sick is part of the answer.

An understanding heart by all Americans is also a large part of the answer.

To all these fronts—and a dozen more—I will dedicate the expanding efforts of the Johnson administration.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

THE WHITE HOUSE, *February 15, 1967.*

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MEMO: No.4-67
Feb.28, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL BEGINS TO DRAW SUPPORT

In the short time since the President sent his civil rights message to Congress, we have begun to receive encouraging reports of a growing support for his proposals.

As this is written, seven national organizations in the Conference have sent us copies of statements they have issued publicly endorsing the message and the Civil Rights Act of 1967 which would translate it into law. Four other organizations have asked us for additional copies of the message for use in campaigns to get their members working for passage of the bill.

The Legislative Situation

The new civil rights bill was introduced into the Senate and the House on February 20 and referred to the Judiciary committees of both bodies. (In the House, the bill number is H.R.5700, in the Senate, S.1026.)

No one expects the Senate Judiciary Committee, under that civil rights graveyard keeper Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.) to do very much with the bill. But Senator Philip A. Hart (D., Mich.), who will be floor leader for the bill and other cosponsors of the measure are exploring ways to bring it to the Senate floor without waiting for Judiciary to act.

In the House, Rep. Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.), Chairman of the House Judiciary, has not announced yet when he will start hearings on the bill.

27 Senators

The Senate bill had 27 sponsors when it was introduced. The Civil Rights Act of 1966 had only 20. More Senators would certainly have added their names to the bill if it had been permitted to lay

at the Clerk's desk for a few days, but an objection by Senate Republican Leader Everett M. Dirksen prevented that. In addition to Senator Hart, the other sponsors of the bill are:

Daniel B. Brewster (D., Md.), Edward Brooke (R., Mass.), Clifford P. Case (R., N.J.), Joseph S. Clark (D., Pa.), Thomas J. Dodd (D., Conn.), Hiram L. Fong (R., Hawaii), Ernest Gruening (D., Alaska), Vance Hartke (D., Ind.), Daniel K. Inouye (D., Hawaii), Jacob K. Javits (R., N.Y.), Edward M. Kennedy (D., Mass.), Robert F. Kennedy (D., N.Y.), Edward V. Long (D., Mo.), Eugene J. McCarthy (D., Minn.), Walter F. Mondale (D., Minn.), Wayne Morse (D., Ore.), Edmund S. Muskie (D., Maine), John O. Pastore (D., R.I.), Claiborne Pell (D., R.I.), William Proxmire (D., Wisc.), Jennings Randolph (D., W.Va.), Abraham A. Ribicoff (D., Conn.), Hugh Scott (R., Penna.), Joseph D. Tydings (D., Md.), Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (D., N.J.), Stephen M. Young (D., O.).

What We Should Be Doing

What needs to be done now is to increase the kind of activity already underway. If your organization has not yet issued a statement, now is the time to do it. The groups that have notified us of statements and efforts in support of the bill are: the AFL-CIO, the American Jewish Committee, the Boston Archdiocese, the NAACP, the National Association of Real Estate Brokers, the National Board of the YWCA, the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, the National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, the National Urban League, the UAW, the United Packinghouse Workers.

Issue a statement, start a campaign and we will be glad to add your name to the list. Wherever possible, try to get press coverage for your activities. Editorials particularly can help build support for the bill (we enclose recent ones from the Washington Post and the New York Times). Favorable public opinion is a crucial factor in a successful fight for the Civil Rights Act of 1967. We must begin to create that opinion now.

* * * * * *

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The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1967

Civil Rights Commitment

The President's Civil Rights message ought to extinguish the last lingering remnant of skepticism about his unwavering commitment to the principle of equality and the practical proposals available to achieve it.

It is a long message. And it contains a lot of homely truths that it should not be necessary to repeat at this stage of the Nation's history. But the experience of the last session showed clearly enough that the Congress had either forgotten or did not ever know some of the facts of life that the President recited. And it revealed plainly enough that repetition of first principles still is necessary.

The proposals themselves are perfecting and improving devices for existing programs, for the most part. It is difficult to see how Congress could seriously object to most of them. The President has used great skill and persuasive talent to try to bring around those who opposed the fair housing proposal last session. Whether his three-stage plan is more palatable than his one-jump plan remains to be seen, but it shows his desire to be conciliatory and his old urge to find a consensus.

The country still has far to go to achieve its goals and purposes. The progress which the President detailed is impressive, but it counsels no diminishing of our exertions.

Important as his legislative proposals are, it is quite clear that it is equally important to have the President of the United States, year after year, reaffirm the broad principles on which the country stands. President Johnson has succeeded in getting Congress to approve more civil rights measures than any other Administration in our history. He still is at work on that legislative program. But perhaps, even more significant, is the fact that he has renewed the national commitment in a way that leaves no room for doubt.

February 16, 1967

The New York Times.

Published every day by The New York Times Company

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A Question of Time...

In his message on civil rights, President Johnson assumes that acceptance of nondiscriminatory practices in the sale and rental of housing is merely a question of time. It is probable that this assumption reflects a prudent judgement of Congress's currently hostile mood rather than an expression of optimism about the nation's eagerness for residential desegregation.

The real estate industry and its political allies, notably Senator Dirksen, are not likely to be more receptive to open housing effective in 1969 than they were to last year's call for speedier action. Mr. Johnson has chosen to take refuge on political middle-ground.

The remainder of the civil rights package is much the same as last year. Mr. Johnson would strengthen existing Federal criminal laws to protect civil rights workers in the South and would eliminate racial discrimination in the make-up of both Federal and state juries. He also urges that the commission on equal employment opportunity be empowered to issue legally enforceable orders against racial discrimination.

The need for these improvements in Federal law enforcement and the judicial system in the South is reflected in thhe dismaying news that Byron de la Beckwith intends to run for Lieutenant-Governor of Mississippi. His candidacy is proof of the open contempt in which the lives and opinions of Negroes are still held in parts of the South. Mr. Beckwith's sole claim to political preferment is that he has been twice tried though not convicted for the murder of Medgar Evers, the Mississippi leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Tighter Federal laws are imperative to make murder a crime, whatever the color of th victim's skin is.

file

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March 3, 1967

Dear Friend:

Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, institutions receiving federal funds are required not to discriminate. Under Title III of the Act, the Attorney General can file suit to desegregate public (that is, governmentally owned or operated) facilities.

These provisions of the law have led to some desegregation. The extent of progress, however, has been nowhere near the potential which could be obtained if the laws were fully enforced. One reason has been an insufficient number of complaints. In order to remedy this, the Committee on Compliance and Enforcement of the Leadership Conference seeks your assistance in generating complaints on the local level.

Because the medicare program is so comprehensive in its coverage, we have decided to begin with hospitals and nursing homes. Accordingly we are distributing the attached questionnaire relating to this type of institution. Please have it completed with respect to hospitals and nursing homes in your area. If you need additional copies please contact this office.

Sincerely yours,

James Hamilton

James Hamilton, Chairman
Committee on Compliance
and Enforcement

"Cooperation in the Common Cause of Civil Rights for All"

QUESTIONNAIRE

NURSING HOMES AND HOSPITALS

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 forbids discrimination in the use of federal funds. Although it has not been enforced as effectively as we believe it should be, some progress has been made in combatting discrimination in federally-assisted facilities.

A good number of hospitals and other medical facilities have been desegregated under Title VI. Again, progress has not been what we should expect, but there have been a significant number of changes. Much of the progress that has occurred has been a result of complaints filed by Leadership Conference organizations.

On January 1, 1967, nursing homes became eligible to particpate in the medicare program. Accordingly, they fall under the non-discrimination provisions of Title VI. Almost all nursing homes will have medicare patients (unless they fall below the quality standards set by the government.) In order to make the non-discrimination policy effective, we ask that you fill in the questionnaire below. Please fill out a separate one for each nursing home and hospital in your community.

NAME OF NURSING HOME OR HOSPITAL _____

LOCATION _____

Describe any segregation or other discrimination practiced by the institution (refusal to accept Negro patients, segregated wards or floors, separate restrooms or other facilities, lack of Negro doctors on staff, etc.) _____

_____

Please give any remarks, special circumstances, etc. _____

_____

_____

Under Title III of the Civil Rights Act, the Attorney General can file suits to desegregate hospitals, nursing homes or other medical facilities if they are governmentally operated (state, city or county). If any such institution in your community practices discrimination, please fill out the following:

NAME OF NURSING HOME OR HOSPITAL _____

LOCATION _____

Is there any person or persons in your community who would be willing to file a written complaint against such institution?

YES _____ NO _____

If so, please give names and addresses: _____

_____

When this form is completed, return to your national organization or to:

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
2027 Massachusetts Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

If you return it to your own organization, please notify the Leadership Conference.

NAME _____

ORGANIZATION _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

DATE _____

HOSPITAL AND NURSING HOME CHECKLIST

In filling out the attached questionnaire, please consult this checklist to determine whether discrimination is practiced.

Do patients have access to all of the following facilities without regard to race?

Entrance and waiting rooms	All rooms
Emergency rooms	Operating, X-ray and Other special service rooms
Clinics	Dining rooms and cafeterias
All floors	Bathrooms
All wards	Other

Does the institution discriminate against minority group doctors, nurses and other professionals in:

Granting full hospital privileges?

Staff appointments?

Accepting interns and residents for training?

Employing or promoting nurses and technicians?

Has the institution made public a policy of non-discrimination?

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MEMO: No. 5-67
March 14, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

HELP ORGANIZE CIVIL RIGHTS VISITS THIS EASTER

From March 23 to April 3, Congress will observe its annual Easter recess. Most members will return to their states and districts. It is a good time to see them and talk with them about the Civil Rights Act of 1967.

We are writing to you now to ask you to urge your local chapters to begin organizing Easter delegations. The NAACP has already announced plans to visit members in various parts of the country. We suggest that your local groups get in touch with NAACP chapters first and help plan joint delegations.

Be Broadly Representative

Wherever possible delegations should try to represent as broad a cross-section of Leadership Conference groups as possible. In most communities labor, civil rights, religious and civic groups are already in touch with each other. There can be no better way to observe Easter than to visit members on behalf of civil rights.

What To Say

1. In all visits to members of Congress delegations should attempt to obtain commitments to the Civil Rights Act of 1967 and pledges to work for its passage.

2. Wherever possible, try to publicize the visits. Following visits with members, the delegations should issue statements to press, TV and radio, reporting on the outcome of the interviews.

Senate Sponsors Needed

It is still possible for Senators to add their names to the Senate Civil Rights bill (S.1026). Senator Gaylord Nelson (D.,Wisc.) just recently became the 28th sponsor of the bill. The others are:

Daniel B. Brewster (D., Md.), Edward Brooke (R., Mass.), Clifford P. Case (R., N.J.), Joseph S. Clark (D., Pa.), Thomas J. Dodd (D., Conn.), Hiram L. Fong (R., Hawaii), Ernest Gruening (D., Alaska), Vance Hartke (D., Ind.), Daniel K. Inouye (D., Hawaii), Jacob K. Javits (R., N.Y.), Edward M. Kennedy (D., Mass.), Robert F. Kennedy (D., N.Y.), Edward V. Long (D., Mo.), Eugene J. McCarthy (D., Minn.), Walter F. Mondale (D., Minn.), Wayne Morse (D., Ore.), Edmund S. Muskie (D., Maine), John O. Pastore (D., R.I.), Claiborne Pell (D., R.I.), William Proxmire (D., Wisc.), Jennings Randolph (D., W.Va.), Abraham A. Ribicoff (D., Conn.), Hugh Scott (R., Penna.), Joseph D. Tydings (D., Md.), Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (D., N.J.), Stephen M. Young (D., O.).

Please let your members know who the sponsors are. If their Senators' names are missing they should urge them to join the bipartisan group already backing the bill. A Senator can ask unanimous consent to add his name to the bill and should have no difficulty in getting it.

Mail Still Needed

Besides asking them to make personal visits, please ask your members to write. Letters to Senators who are not yet sponsors of the Civil Rights bill should express disappointment that they have not backed the bill. Senators whose names are on S.1026 should be congratulated.

Letters to House members should point out how urgently needed the new bill is. We enclose with this MEMO an analysis of the bill by J. Francis Pohlhaus, Special Consultant to the Leadership Conference. If you need extra copies please let us know.

We are always glad to get reports on what delegations learn in their encounters with members of Congress. Please pass along to us any information you obtain.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION FUND REQUEST NEEDS BACKING

The Office of Education has asked the House Appropriations Congress for a substantial increase in funds for Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This is the section that enables the Office, wherever local communities ask for help, to make grants that permit school districts to set up institutes and training programs aimed at solving problems they encounter in desegregating their schools.

These programs have grown in size until now the Office has a backlog of applications for funds totaling $48 million. Last year the Office received $8 million for Title IV. This year it is asking $30 for fiscal 1968, the year starting July 1.

The request is presently before a House Appropriations Subcommittee headed by Rep. John Rooney (D., N.Y.). This is another instance of a badly needed civil rights program that has been starved for lack of money. Please urge your members to write members of the

subcommittee (or see them when they are home for Easter) and urge them to grant the full $30 million.

The other Democratic members of the subcommittee, besides Mr. Rooney are:

Robert L.F. Sikes (Fla.), John Slack (W.Va.), Neal Smith (Iowa), John Flynt (Georgia), Charles Joelson (N.J.).

The Republicans are:

Frank T. Bow (Ohio), Glenard P. Lipscomb (Calif.), Elford Cederberg (Mich.), and Mark Andrews (N.Dak.)

* * * * * * *

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MEMO: No.6-67
March 29, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

A CHANCE FOR HEARINGS ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Signs of movement at last! After a month in which the Civil Rights Act of 1967 languished in Committee, Senate sponsors of the bill have engaged in a series of maneuvers designed to get hearings on its provisions.

Back To Judiciary

The six sections have been reintroduced as separate bills. Title I, which would prohibit discrimination in the selection of federal juries and Title II, which would extend similar prohibitions to the selection of juries in state courts have been reintroduced by Sen. Joseph Tydings (D., Md.). Their numbers are respectively, S.1319 and S.1318. Both of these bills have been referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee, whose chairman, James O. Eastland (D., Miss.) has shown his customary disposition to bury the omnibus bill.

However, it may be possible to get hearings on these separate sections. Senator Tydings, as chairman of a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee hopes to hold hearings on the federal jury bill and in fact has already begun to hold hearings on other jury reform measures he has introduced. The state jury section may be sent to an uncertain fate, a subcommittee headed by Senator Sam Ervin (D., N.C.).

Title V, of the omnibus bill, which would make any interference with constitutional rights a criminal offense, has been reintroduced by Senator Philip A. Hart (D., Mich.), as S.1362 and goes to Judiciary as does S.1359, Title VI, the section that would extend the life of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission for five years beyond its scheduled termination date of January 31, 1968.

Equal Jobs and Equal Housing

The remaining two sections of the bill have been removed from Eastland's grasp. Title IV, the section that would eventually prohibit discrimination in the sale and rental of all housing has been reintroduced as S.1358 by Senator Walter F. Mondale (D., Minn.) and referred to Senate Banking and Currency Committee. Title III, to strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is now S.1308 and goes to Labor and Public Welfare. It was introduced by Senator Joseph Clark (D., Pa.).

Chances for Hearings are Improved

Complicated as these actions sound, their net result is a brightened prospect for hearings on different parts of the omnibus bill. (S.1026). After hearings are completed, the next step will be to get one or more of the sections reported out of Committee. Once a section reaches the Senate floor the other parts can be added as amendments and the entire measure reassembled. An alternative would be to attach the omnibus bill as an amendment to a minor measure and get it before the Senate that way.

It is easy to say that but saying it takes little note of the pitfalls that lie between possibilities and accomplishment. The chief drawback we face is a familiar one: apathy in Congress and in the nation.

Urgency is the Key

Last year, when he was addressing the White House Conference on Civil Rights, Roy Wilkins told the delegates that if there was to be any legislation that year they had to remember that "urgency is the key." It still is. Very little will happen unless we convey to our Senators the desperate need for the Civil Rights Act of 1967.

The first session of this 90th Congress is moving slowly. Members have already begun to talk about when they are going to quit. According to the Washington Post (March 24, 1967), shortly before the Easter recess, "Democratic and Republican leaders compared legislative notes and found only one common denominator: they would like to pass all appropriations bills plus a number of priority items and adjourn sine die by August 1." There was talk of a September first adjournment at the latest. The same article says the President's 1967 civil rights recommendations are not among the priority items.

We Must Make the Change

That Congress does not assign a high priority to civil rights is scarcely news. The civil rights bills of 1963 and 1965 were fairly low down on the lists until public indignation compelled Congress to deal with the issues.

Congress will continue to dally with civil rights legislation unless we insist that action be taken. The obligation falls on the groups in the Leadership Conference to organize in 1967 the kind of broad scale national support that brought us the legislative advances of the last few years. Congress responds to a unified demand.

It's Still the Omnibus Bill

The introduction of the six sections of the bill as six separate bills need not confuse anyone. The goal for us is still the total civil rights package, the omnibus bill, S.1026. Mail on the bill is terribly low. Every group in the Conference has to set its own priority list at once, put S.1026 at the top of it, and get members to write urging their Senators to work for early passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1967.

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MEMO: No.7-67
April 4, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST "ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE" LEGISLATURES REVIVES

The attempt to upset the Supreme Court reapportionment decisions has taken a new tack. Defeated twice in their efforts to get Congress to approve a constitutional amendment that would nullify the Court ruling that state legislatures must apportion themselves on a "one-man, one-vote" basis, opponents led by Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen have carried the campaign to the states. While they are gaining support here, the prospects for ultimate success are dubious.

A Call for a Constitutional Convention

Article V of the Constitution prescribes that Congress upon "the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states shall call a convention for proposing amendments....." That call is pressing upon Congress as it never has before. Two-thirds of the several states is 34 and already 32 have passed resolutions calling for the Constitutional convention. Dirksen has predicted that the remaining two calls will reach Congress soon.

How it Began

Most of the petitions for a convention are not new. The first of the pending ones were passed in 1963. Indeed, Senators William Proxmire (D., Wisc.) and Joseph Tydings (D., Md.), leaders of the opposition to the convention call, estimate that at least 26 of the 32 state legislatures were malapportioned when they passed their convention resolutions. The Senators contend these petitions are invalid.

However, this issue is not clear. Very little connected with the campaign is clear since there is no precedent for calling a convention. There are numerous questions that need to be settled. Must

all of the resolutions be identical? Is a petition good indefinitely? How does Congress go about calling a convention and must it call one if 34 states ask? Most troubling of all is whether a constitutional convention, if it were called, would limit itself solely to an amendment on reapportionment. It is entirely likely that the country would be faced with a "runaway convention" ready to change the Bill of Rights or alter other provisions of the Constitution.

Even if the campaign for the constitutional convention does not succeed, Dirksen may be using it as a means of gaining leverage for another attempt to get the Senate to adopt his amendment. Last year he failed by only seven votes. He may hope that Congress will be sufficiently intimidated by the call from the states to agree to his proposal.

What's at Stake

The present move in the states is aimed at the adoption of an amendment that would permit one house of bicameral legislature to be apportioned on some basis other than population. But such an amendment would almost certainly undermine the progress being made toward reapportioning legislatures responsive to the needs of most of the voters in the states. It could very well result in legislatures where the actions of one house that represented people could be blocked in the other body by the hide-bound, largely rural interests that have for so many years blocked state action on socially progressive legislation.

Maryland provided a vivid example this year of what a fairly reapportioned legislature can do. The reconstituted body passed a fair housing law, a relatively mild one, but one that puts the state firmly on record in support of open occupancy. It would be tragic if such progress were halted or reversed.

A Complicated Matter

Despite the urgency and dangers of the present situation it needs to be handled with caution. The complexities and time tables for adjournment one encounters among the legislatures of 50 states makes it impossible to put forward a single blueprint for action. In some states, vigorous campaigns against convention calls could stir opposition. In any case, there should be close consultation with state legislators who support reapportionment before any campaign is undertaken. Here are some rough guidelines.

At present there are 16 state legislatures meeting and the last two calls may come from them. In two of the states, Alaska and Iowa, the threat is imminent. In each state a convention call has passed the House and is now being considered by committees of the Senate. Groups in the Leadership Conference with strong chapters in Iowa should

keep alert to the situation. An open campaign might be unwise but letters to Governor Harold Hughes expressing concern and asking him to use his influence with the Senate could be helpful here.

In the following states convention calls have been introduced but no action has been taken on them as this MEMO is written: Michigan, Pennsylvania, Vermont and Wisconsin.

In these states, no calls have been introduced as yet: California, Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Maine, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island. Here no action is needed but your chapters should keep close watch, remembering that the recent calls have usually been rammed through with little advance notice and no debate.

32 Calls

Here are the 32 states in which convention calls have been adopted:

Alabama	Louisiana	North Dakota
Arizona	Maryland	Oklahoma
Arkansas	Minnesota	South Carolina
Colorado	Mississippi	South Dakota
Florida	Missouri	Tennessee
Georgia	Montana	Texas
Idaho	Nebraska	Utah
Illinois	Nevada	Virginia
Indiana	New Hampshire	Washington
Kansas	New Mexico	Wyoming
Kentucky	North Carolina	

Senator Tydings, in a recent speech, presented tables that describe the actions of these states in detail. We include these tables with this MEMO to supply information you may need to plan a course of action for your organization.

Attachment No.1 April 4, 1967

CONVENTION CALLS: WHAT 32 STATES HAVE DONE SO FAR

EXHIBIT 1.—ANALYSIS OF CONVENTION CALLS REGARDING REAPPORTIONMENT RECEIVED BY CONGRESS FROM STATE LEGISLATURES

TABLE A.—*States which have sent memorials to Congress requesting a constitutional convention for the purpose of proposing an amendment to permit malapportionment of 1 house of a State legislature*

State	Congress during which convention call made	Year of latest call	Constitutionally apportioned at time of call	Election subsequently held under fair apportionment
Alabama	89th	1965	No	Yes, 1966.
Arizona	89th	1965	No	Do.
Arkansas [1]	89th	1965	No	Do.
Florida	89th	1965	No	This week.
Idaho [1]	89th	1965	No	Yes, 1966.
Indiana	90th	1967	Yes	Do.
Kansas [1]	89th	1965	No	House only, 1966 (senate continued under court order to reapportion).
Kentucky	89th	1965	Yes	Yes, 1964.
Louisiana	89th	1965	No	Not until January 1968.
Maryland	89th	1965	No	Yes, 1966.
Minnesota	89th	1965	No	Do.
Mississippi	89th	1965	No	To be held in 1967.

TABLE A.—*States which have sent memorials to Congress requesting a constitutional convention for the purpose of proposing an amendment to permit malapportionment of 1 house of a State legislature*—Continued

State	Congress during which convention call made	Year of latest call	Constitutionally apportioned at time of call	Election subsequently held under fair apportionment
Missouri [1]	89th	1965	No	Yes, 1966.
Montana [1]	89th	1965	No	Yes, 1965.
Nebraska	89th	1965	No	Yes, 1966.
Nevada [1]	89th	1967	No	Do.
New Hampshire.	89th	1965	No	Do.
North Carolina.	89th	1965	No	Do.
Oklahoma	89th	1965	Yes	Yes, 1964.
South Carolina. [1]	89th	1965	No	Yes, 1966 (Senate continues under order to reapportion).
South Dakota [1]	89th	1965	No	Yes, 1966.
Texas [1]	89th	1965	No	No.
Utah	89th	1965	No	Yes. 1966.
Virginia [1]	89th	1964	No	Yes, 1965.

[1] These States also memorialized the 88th Cong., requesting a different amendment. See table D.

TABLE B.—*States which reportedly passed such resolutions during the 89th Cong., but apparently did not submit them to that Congress*

State	Congress during which convention call made	Year of latest call	Constitutionally apportioned at time of call	Election subsequently held under fair apportionment
Georgia	89th	1965	No	No.
New Mexico	89th	1965	No	Yes, 1966.
Tennessee	89th	1965	No	Do.

TABLE C.—*States which have reportedly passed such memorials this year, but had not been noted in the Congressional Record as having submitted them to Congress as of Mar. 20, 1967*

State	Congress during which convention call made	Year of latest call	Constitutionally apportioned at time of call	Election subsequently held under fair apportionment
Colorado	90th	1967	Yes	Yes, 1966.
Illinois	90th	1967	Yes	Do.
North Dakota	90th	1967	Yes	Do.

TABLE D.—*States which have sent memorials to Congress requesting a constitutional convention for the purpose of proposing an amendment to prevent judicial review of State malapportionment and make it constitutional*

State	Congress during which convention call made	Year of latest call	Constitutionally apportioned at time of call	Election subsequently held under fair apportionment
Washington	88th	1963	No	Yes, 1964 and 1966.
Wyoming	88th	1963	No	Yes, 1966.

NOTE.—In addition to Washington and Wyoming 11 States, all of whose legislatures were subsequently declared unconstitutionally malapportioned, also requested of the 88th Cong., a convention for the purpose of cutting off judicial review of the rotten borough system of State legislative apportionment. These States, all of which are listed in table A as memorializing the 89th Cong., for a different amendment, include: Arkansas, Idaho, Kansas, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, and Virginia.

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MEMO: No.8-67
May 3, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

RE: The Quie Amendment

A NEW THREAT TO SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

In their search for ways to evade or hobble school desegregation, Southern members of Congress are seizing on a new device: the Quie amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. (ESEA)

The proposal advanced by Rep. Albert H. Quie (R., Minn.), would scrap the present method of making funds available for specific and clearly defined programs. It would substitute in its place a system of block grants to the states for general educational purposes.

To his credit, Mr. Quie disavows any intention of using his proposal as a way of avoiding the requirements of the school desegregation guidelines or undermining Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination in all federally-assisted programs.

A Bandwagon for Southerners

But what Mr. Quie professes is one thing. What many Southern members see in his proposal is another. Encouraged by some Republicans, they are lining up behind the Quie amendment because they hope it will help them get out from under the school desegregation guidelines.

Because the present education act requires that funds be allocated in strict categories, the federal government can keep fairly close watch on how the money is being used. But a block grant would leave it up to state officials to allocate the money among their school programs.

It is hard enough now to check on compliance with the school guidelines and title VI. The Quie amendment, by giving greater control to the states, would make it even more difficult to catch evasions.

The Southerners are so eager to try the new plan that many of them are backing the Quie bill even though under its formula authorizations to 16 Southern and border states would be reduced by $373 million. (It would also, incidentally, cut the authorizations for New York, California, Illinois and New Jersey by $134 million.)

Other Flaws in the Quie Bill

Mr. Quie's proposal suffers from other defects.

1. Only 50 percent of all the funds would be set aside for the educationally deprived. The ESEA would make 80 percent of the funds available to these children.

2. With control in the hands of state education departments, agencies that often have a strong rural bias, there is a likelihood that cities will suffer discrimination in the allocation of funds.

3. The Quie bill would wipe out some of the innovative programs developed under the ESEA, the Teacher Corps, most notably, but also special education for children in state institutions for the handicapped, neglected or delinquent, etc. It would also eliminate programs meant to benefit specific groups such as the children of migrant workers, foster children and children on Indian reservations.

Every major education group opposes the Quie proposal even though it has been amended four times in an effort to secure support.

Some Alarming Consequences

Entirely apart from the merits or defects of the Quie proposal, there is another issue involved here. Opponents of the Great Society are out to wreck its major programs. The Quie amendment offers them a chance to carve up education. If they succeed, the coalition of Southern Democrats and hide-bound Republicans that has blocked much socially necessary legislation in the past would be encouraged to attack other programs such as those dealing with health and poverty.

Attempts would be made to apply the system of block grants to other programs and since all of them are subject to Title VI this could provide another way to undermine that section of the Civil Rights Act.

The Conference Opposes the Quie Amendment

For many of these reasons, Washington representatives to the Leadership Conference, at a meeting on April 26, agreed to oppose the Quie amendment.

At the moment, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act has been reported out of the House Education and Labor Committee and the Rules Committee. It is being readied for action on the House floor and may be brought up within the next week or so. At that point Mr. Quie will offer his proposal as a substitute for the committee bill (H.R.7819). No doubt the segregationist forces will begin to offer amendments of their own, changes intended to weaken Title VI and restrict its enforcement. We anticipate attempts to stop or slow school desegregation.

Things You can do.

We urge all of our organizations to oppose the Quie amendment.

1. Adopt a resolution against the Quie proposal and release it to the press.

2. Try to get local papers to run editorials in opposition (we enclose with this MEMO two good ones from the New York Times and the Washington Post). Send copies to your Congressmen and ask them to insert them in the Congressional Record.

3. Ask your members to write to their House members urging them to vote not only against the Quie amendment but against all amendments that might weaken Title VI.

4. Cities stand to lose under the Quie proposal. Try to enlist mayors and councilmen in the opposition to it.

The kind of legislation we get from the 90th Congress may be determined by the outcome of this fight. We have got to win it.

* * * * * *

(Extra copies of this MEMO are available. Let us know how many you want.)

NEW YORK TIMES, Wednesday, April 26, 1967

School Aid Under Attack

The House Republicans are playing a dangerous game with the program for Federal aid to elementary and secondary schools.

As worked out in the 1965 law, this program managed skillfully to steer around racial and religious antagonisms that had previously killed school-aid bills for a generation. Instead of general school aid, the law provides for assistance to individual school districts based upon the number of their children from families with annual incomes under $3,000. This provision funnels the aid to the districts that need it most.

Under this law the Feleral funds remain under the control of public officials, but children in parochial schools are qualified to receive the same kind of supplementary assistance as those in public schools. In practice, such aid means providing them with the services of a remedial reading teacher or a guidance counselor or with a hot breakfast program. No money goes directly to any private or parochial school. Naturally, the program involves some fairly detailed Federal requirements including racial equality, but it has worked well because it also elicits cooperation between public and parochial school administrators at the local district level.

* * *

In place of this intricate and ingenious compromise, the Republican minority on the House Education and Labor Committee under leadership of Representative Quie of Minnesota proposes the substitution of block grants to the states for educational purposes. The formula of the Quie bill would provide less money for the impoverished rural districts of the South, but it appeals to racist sentiment because state education commissioners in the South could more easily evade Federal desegregation requirements.

The Quie bill attempts to pacify parochial school supporters by including a proviso that one-half of the block grants would have to be used for special programs in which poor children in religious schools could participate, much as they do now. But most states have language in their constitutions forbidding the spending of public money for private schools, and this restrictive language might be held to apply if the states received any genuine discretion in the use of these Federal grants. Moreover, unfortunately, some states have a history of bitter ill-will between their state departments of education and parochial school systems.

* * *

If Republicans and Southern Democrats unite to substitute the Quie bill for the simple renewal of the existing law, the effect may be to kill school aid altogether. This is because most Catholic members are likely then to vote against the bill on final passage. In short, there is serious danger that the nasty quarrels of the past will be exacerbated.

It is possible that block grants to the states might usefully be substituted for some existing Federal programs, but such a change would have to be made on an extremely limited, experimental basis and with great caution. The highly charged school aid program is the least promising place to begin.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, APRIL 27, 1967

Congress and the Schools

The whole character and purpose of Federal aid to education is now under challenge. Congressman Quie's amendment promises to derange far more than the benefits to parochial schools. The Act was specifically written to funnel Federal funds into the schools that serve the most bitterly deprived children. Congressman Quie now proposes to dilute this commitment to a point at which it would become meaningless.

The national pledge to come to the rescue of the slum schools, both urban and rural, is the heart of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. That pledge is now the target of the attack that, under Mr. Quie's leadership, is now gathering in the House of Representatives.

The Quie amendment would set up a new distribution formula putting far less money into those states where blight and poverty are most severe. According to the figures offered by the author himself, the states that would receive substantially larger proportions of the Federal aid are Utah, Ohio, Idaho, New Hampshire and Indiana. Those that would receive much smaller shares are New York (on a catastrophic scale), Mississippi and California. The District's share would be cut to less than half the present level.

The partisan advantage to Republican Congressmen is obvious enough. Within the states Mr. Quie would require only half of the Federal money to go to deprived children, compared with the present allocation of well over three quarters. That means less for the inner city up North and less for the rural countryside down South. It means much more for the suburbs and the prosperous small cities.

But the amendment has a powerful appeal that reaches well beyond the Republican Party. It would require the Federal Government to give each state its annual share in one big block grant, to be divided up within the state by the state education authorities. This procedure is drawing support from all those Congressmen who resent in principle the Federal influence on the local schools. It is drawing support from all those Congressmen who are fed up with the administrative complexities and delays that, in practice, the present rules have generated.

Under the law as it now stands, a school system has to draw up a separate application under each title of the Act, justify it in detail to state authorities, then wait for an equally detailed Federal review. This process gives the Federal Office of Education extremely precise control over the use of the money locally. But it also imposes a fearful burden of forms and questionnaires upon local school administrators, as well as excessive delays (the final distribution of Title I money for the current school year is just now reaching, for example, the classroom level in Virginia).

The Office of Education will have to be prepared, in the coming debate, for a great deal of solid and justified criticism of administrative requirements that force an average local school superintendent to deal with 15 or 20 separate Federal bureaucracies, administering separate funds under separate (and annually changing) regulations. Since the Commissioner of Education, Mr. Howe, is an extremely able and sensible man, he can be expected to recognize the urgency in reorganizing and radically simplifying the Federal procedures. Mr. Howe has already begun that process. It can be carried a great deal further without requiring Congress to destroy the purpose of the Education Act.

The slum schools, city and country, are the least effective in the Nation. They are the least successful in teaching their pupils to read and write. They desperately need more resources. The Federal aid is only beginning to take effect there. To disperse these crucial funds now, to scatter them indiscriminately among the best schools with the worst and the richest communities with the poorest, would be a dereliction of national duty. It would be a betrayal of the promise of equal opportunity to the country's least fortunate children.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

file

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MEMO: No. 9-67
May 17, 1967

An Urgent MEMO

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

A MAJOR ATTACK ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION BEGINS

The gains of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 have never been in graver danger than they will be the week of, May 22. That's when the House begins to consider new amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA).

In our last MEMO (No. 8-67) we discussed the threat to school desegregation posed by the amendment Rep. Albert Quie (R., Minn.) plans to offer once the bill reaches the floor Monday. But other amendments are being readied, too. Taken together, these proposed changes are part of an attempt to cut the heart out of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. They are meant to halt school desegregation by hacking away at Title VI of the Act, the section that prohibits discrimination in Federally-assisted programs.

The Office of Education's school desegregation guidelines are based on Title VI. If these amendments succeed the whole basis for the guidelines will be undermined and we will lose the most effective means we have for dual school systems.

Start Now

We hope as you read this MEMO you will start planning what you and your organization can do to rally forces we need to repel this new attack.

Worse than Quie

Some of the proposed amendments would be more crippling than the Quie Amendment. Quie, as we pointed out last time, would scrap the present system of grants for specific programs in elementary and secondary schools and substitute in its place a system of making

block grants for education to the states to spend pretty much as they please. The greater latitude this would give state officials in deciding how to spend the money would almost certainly result, in some states, in new attempts to evade the desegregation guidelines. In many states block grants might offer a way to shortchange the cities and their large underprivileged and minority populations.

Worse things face us. One of the amendments that may be offered would amend Section 704 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in such a sweeping fashion that schools would be removed from the coverage of Title VI. (We enclose a description of that amendment with this MEMO).

Fountain Amendment Again

We also anticipate that one of last year's worst amendments will be introduced again. This is a proposal by Rep. L. H. Fountain (D., N.C.) that would prevent the Office of Education from witholding funds for new programs from a school district it has good reason to believe discriminates until it had completed full hearings on the matter. One HEW attorney described the possible effect of the Fountain amendment by saying, "Governor Wallace could come to us and say he was going to use his funds to build new schools for whites and buy cattle prods to keep Negro students out of them and we would have to give him the money until we fininished the hearing a year from now." Although that amendment passed the House by a big vote, 221 to 116, a reasonable compromise was worked out in conference. It is some measure of the difficulties we face today that the amendment may be reintroduced next week not by Mr. Fountain but by Rep. Edith Green (D., Ore.) who certainly cannot be considered a segregationist.

What We Can Do

The votes on the ESEA this coming Monday and Tuesday are being heralded as a test of the Administration's ability to get its programs through Congress. It is no less a test of the civil rights movement. Title VI was one of the major achievements of our efforts in 1963 and 1964. It's about all we have to compel desegregation of schools, hospitals, nursing homes and other beneficiaries of Federal programs. If it is weakened or gutted this country will slip far back in its attempts to achieve full equality through law. What that will in public disillusionment, frustration and bitterness is simply beyond calculation.

ATTACHMENT NO. 1

The "704" Amendment We Have To Beat

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT

PL 89-10 (ESEA 1965)

Federal Control of Education Prohibited

Sec. 604. Nothing contained in this Act* shall be construed to authorize any department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States to exercise any direction supervision, or constrol over the curriculum, program of instruction, administration, or personnel of any educational institution or school system, or over the selection of library resources, textbooks, or other printed or published instructional materials by any educational institution or school system.

PL 89-750 (ESEA 1966)

Redesignated Sec. 604 as Sec. 704 and added before the period:", or to require the assignment or transportation of students or teachers in order to overcome racial imbalance."

*An amendment to Sec. 704 now is being proposed that would add (at the asterisk above) the words "or any othe Act." Such an amendment would eliminate the application of the Civil Rights Act and its Title VI to ESEA.

This is not a minor amendment. Its implications are obvious. It must be rejected.

We must make our position clear to Congress and the Administration:

1. Wire or write to House members

Urge them to stay on the floor during the two or three days the ESEA will be considered and vote against all amendments aimed at weakening the bill as reported by the Education and Labor Committee.

2. Wire or write Speaker John McCormack (D.,Mass.) and Republican Leader Gerald Ford (R., Mich.)

Tell them we see next week's vote as a test of their commitment to civil rights and ask them to reject all attempts to undermine Title VI and its enforcement.

3. Wire or Write President Johnson

Urge him to come out publicly and oppose all amendments to the bill with the same vigor he has opposed the Quie amendment. But please start at once. We have less than a week to save. A law that carries so great an investment of work and hopes.

File

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Memo No. 10-67
May 18, 1967

URGENT

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

HELP SAVE TITLE VI

The Leadership Conference observed the 13th anniversary of the U. S. Supreme Court school decision by issuing, on May 17, an attack on the latest efforts to make that historic ruling meaningless.

As the statement we enclose with this MEMO points out, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), which the House will take up this Monday, May 22, is being used as a means "for reversing court decisions and Federal law and halting the efforts to end segregated dual school systems."

Many amendments are being readied for introduction when the Act comes up. Debate may be finished Monday and the final votes are expected to come on Tuesday. That doesn't give us much time to act. We appeal to all of our participating organizations and to those interested and concerned persons who get our MEMO to do one thing:

Write, wire, or phone your Congressmen at once and urge them to stay on the House floor those two days, vote for the Committee bill (H.R. 7819), and vote against all amendments aimed at crippling or nullifying Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

There are all sorts of ways to commemorate an anniversary. There's no better way to remember May 17th than to do what we can to save the start we have made toward school desegregation.

###

Leadership Conference Statement on the Anniversary of the
1954 Supreme Court School Decision

Scarcely three years after Congress undertook to end racial discrimination through law, we face a mood in Washington that seems intent upon wiping out whatever progress has been made. Today, on the 13th anniversary of the Supreme Court school decision, we witness the most disheartening manifestation of this mood: a drive in Congress to halt the few steps we have taken toward school desegregation.

Evidence of this new attempt to turn back the clock continues to multiply.

In the appropriations committees of Congress we see efforts to legislate by appropriation. Funds badly needed for civil rights enforcement are cut back. Bargains are exacted from government agencies that are doing no more than trying to carry out the responsibilities placed upon them by the Congress in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. We find further evidence of the retreat in the Senate, where the Civil Rights Act of 1967 is quite clearly bogged down.

The most glaring example of the tendency in Congress to placate Southern segregationists occurs ironically on this anniversary. It is the attempt to use the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) as a means for reversing court decisions and Federal law and halting the efforts to end segregated dual school systems. We see this in the Quie amendment to substitute block grants for categorical aid. We sense a willingness in some quarters to accept as a price for defeating the Quie amendment other amendments that may be even more destructive of civil rights enforcement.

Disillusionment with the efficacy of legislation is already widespread. Nothing is more calculated to further that disillusionment than capitulation in Congress to segregationist pressures and timidity on the part of the Federal agencies in carrying out their civil rights obligations.

We in the Leadership Conference do not believe that the people of this country are ready to turn back. We call upon the President to exercise the leadership he has supplied before, by backing the government officials and agencies that are trying to carry out their responsibilities and exerting his full influence to block amendments to ESEA that would have the effect of destroying Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. We call upon the Democratic and Republican leadership in the House and Senate to stop the retreat in Congress and to get on with their constitutional obligations to end the last vestiges of enslavement and inequality. We call upon the millions of Americans represented by our participating organizations to express the kind of national concern that led to the enactment of the major civil rights laws of recent years. We cannot turn back. We will not see the destruction of laws that carry so great an investment of our work and hope. The alternative to progress through law is anarchy. There is no other course for this country but to move on toward freedom.

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MEMO: No.10-67
June 5, 1967

TO: PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

THE HOUSE VOTES CURBS ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

What the House ended up doing to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) was not as bad as we feared it would be. Nevertheless, the effect of the changes adopted during the three days of bitter, often confusing debate would be to impede effective civil rights enforcement and to make progress toward school desegregation more difficult.

Quie Amendment Defeated

Most of the campaign against weakening changes was directed at the Quie amendment and that was defeated, 197 to 168. As proposed by Rep. Albert Quie (R., Minn.), it would have scrapped the present system of direct federal aid to impoverished school districts and instituted, instead, a system of block grants to the states, to spend on education as they saw fit.

By giving the states greater control over programs, the Quie amendment offered Southern school districts a possible way of avoiding their legal obligation to desegregate. In spite of Quie's denials that his amendment could be used in such a way, Southern Democrats were attracted to it.

The task of defeating the Quie amendment thus largely became the task of persuading Southern members to vote against it, since it had almost complete Republican support. The situation gave the Dixiecrats of Congress a strategic advantage. Though rumors of deals were resolutely denied, it seems unlikely that the Southerners did not wring a few concessions. The votes on a few of the amendments indicate they did win some.

Move to Nullify Title VI also Defeated

Although it drew little attention in the press, the most notable victory for civil rights was the defeat of an amendment offered by Rep. L.H. Fountain (D., N.C.), that would have had the effect of nullifying Title VI, the section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that requires all federally-supported programs to be administered without discrimination.

Its defeat by a standing vote of 167 to 101 suggests that if the 90th Congress is ready to slow down Title VI enforcement, it is not yet ready to repeal the Title outright.

The Amendments That Got In

While the Quie amendment was beaten, two "mini-Quies" as the press dubbed them, were adopted. Offered by Rep. Edith Green (D., Ore.), they would give the states control over the $515 million the Act would authorize for experimental programs and the $80 million it would authorize for strengthening state departments of education.

The experimental programs constitute one of the finest achievements of the ESEA. Giving the states control of these funds probably means a large part of the money would be spent on existing programs and on unimaginative ones.

Other troublesome amendments were added to the bill:

1. A second proporal by Mrs. Green that would require all HEW rules, regulations, guidelines, etc., to be applied uniformly to all 50 states and to carry citations of their statutory or legal authority.

2. Another Fountain amendment that would prevent the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) from withholding funds for new education programs from any school district it believes is practising discrimination until it has completed hearings in the matter and found a violation.

3. An amendment by Rep. John N. Erlenborn (R., Ill.) that strikes from the ESEA an authorization to continue the Teacher Corps, after June 30.

Of all these amendments, the most dangerous is Mr. Fountain's. It would deprive HEW of one of the few weapons it has for compelling compliance with the law. The same amendment was adopted by the House last year. However, a conference between the House and Senate worked out a compromise that permitted HEW to withhold funds for 90 days if it completed its hearing in that time. One of our major objectives when the ESEA comes before the Senate will be to try and get the Fountain amendment struck or at least to have last year's compromise reestablished.

A Chance for the Teacher Corps

All may not be lost with the Teacher Corps. An authorization to continue it is contained in the Higher Education Act now before a House Education and Labor subcommittee chaired by Mrs. Green. But if the Corps is not to be dismantled, action will have to be taken before June 30, when its present authorization expires.

What do the Green Amendments do?

For those who know what a good voting record she has on civil rights and education, one of the great disappointments of the debate was finding Mrs. Green siding most of the time with the foes of desegregation. Her proposals generated most of the heat in the debate and very little light.

Most puzzling of all was her amendment requiring uniform application of all HEW rules, regulations, etc. This was clearly aimed at the school desegregation guidelines HEW first issued in 1965. But that is all that is clear. Seldom has the House witnessed such utter confusion as that which attended the floor debate on this proposal.

While Mrs. Green's call for a uniform application of the guidelines has a surface fairness, it is based on a misunderstanding of what the desegregation guidelines were meant to do. They were never meant to apply to all school districts in the nation. As HEW Secretary John W. Gardner explained in a letter to House members, they were issued to help about 2,000 districts in the South by providing a measure for the progress they must make toward ending their dual school systems, if they are to continue to receive federal funds.

How these guidelines can be applied to Northern districts was never fully clarified. Mrs. Green's amendment, Rep. James O'Hara (D., Mich.) observed, was "either meaningless or mischievous." However he, Rep. Frank Thompson (D., N.J.) and other House liberals questioned Mrs. Green so skillfully as to her intentions they established a legislative history for the amendment that suggests it might conceivably be used against de facto segregation in the North and to speed desegregation in the South.

The Harm of the "Mini-Quies"

Mrs. Green's "Mini-Quie" proposals apply to only a small portion of the funds authorized by the ESEA. But they open a path toward state control that opponents of federal standards for education will now try to enlarge. Rep. Wayne Hays (D., O.) put the matter in a true and caustic light when he observed, "The Green amendments.....ought to be called 'The Green amendments for the further deprivation of already deprived children.' I will try to tell (you) why. Who are the people who have neglected the children, that made the federal

government get into this field? The states. My state is the sixth of the seven richest in the country and it is 39th in what it does for education. And the state department of education tried to veto every single grant for the deprived areas of Ohio and the grants had to be made around (it).

"The deprived children of Ohio, who are now getting some help....are going to have it taken away from them." The situation in Ohio is not unique.

An Old Alliance is Revived

One striking aspect of the ESEA debate was the revival at strategic moments of the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition. Republican leader Gerald Ford, in a recent speech, pronounced it dead. His strategy, he said, was to drive the Dixiecrats into the arms of the Democratic party. If he meant it, he must have been embarrassed by the frequency with which the Southerners embraced the members of his own party. Most of the votes on the ESEA amendments were unrecorded. Yet it was easy to see from the gallery the many occasions on which Southerners and Republicans stood up on their sides of the aisle and marched through the teller lines together. The Fountain amendment that was added to the bill won because only 6 or 7 Republicans stood up against it. The coalition was never more evident than in the final hours of debate; its members blocked every attempt to conclude a session that lasted to nearly 2 A.M.; and whenever Mrs. Green spoke, she received standing ovations and rebel yells from Republicans and Dixiecrats.

Effects on HEW

The real casualty of the debate on ESEA is not the act so much as the morale of the officials in HEW who must administer it and carry out their responsibilities under the civil rights laws. They have already been intimidated by congressional criticism. They will probably be even more cautious after this.

The ESEA debate was not the only blow against the department. The day after the House added restrictions to the Education Act, it took up the matter of HEW's appropriations for fiscal 1968. Included in that was the Department's request for an extra $2 million to expand its civil rights enforcement work. It got only $1 million more--and a reprimand. The Appropriations Subcommittee wrote into its report a statement saying it had received testimony suggesting that HEW had gone beyond the law in enforcing its guidelines and cautioned the Department to follow the law and administer it "with firmness and fairness among all the states."

Since the testimony came from Southern congressional delegations bent on having no guidelines at all and since the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals has already twice upheld the constitutionality of the rules, the committee report was little more than a calculated

insult. Rep. Byron Rogers (D., Colo.) was good enough to rise and defend HEW against its detractors. But the Department finds few champions and just as much harm as the Southerners are able to do to the spirit of the Department can be done by the silence of those in Congress and in our own organizations who should defend it.

What the Leadership Conference must do now.

Before the debate and during it the Leadership Conference and many of our organizations sent wires and statements to House members urging them to vote against Quie and all other weakening amendments. A number of Washington representatives worked tirelessly to protect the Act. All this effort certainly helped stop some of the most damaging changes proposed. But we must recognize that the response of the Conference organizations as a whole fell short of what was needed to meet the many threats that confronted the ESEA.

The fight now shifts to the Senate where we are determined to press for the elimination of some of the weakening amendments added to the bill. But if we are to succeed there we must redouble our efforts.

HOW MANY COPIES OF THE PRESIDENT'S CIVIL RIGHTS MESSAGE CAN YOU USE?

Thanks to the generosity of the AFL-CIO, which underwrote the cost of printing, we were able to offer free copies of the eloquent civil rights message President Johnson sent to Congress at the start of this session.

If you have a convention coming up or a large meeting, we urge you to plan a session on the Civil Rights Act of 1967. Each of your members ought to have a copy of the message. We will send copies as long as the supply lasts. On large orders we will have to charge postage, but that charge is minimal.

A NEW PAMPHLET ON "RIGHT TO WORK" AND MINORITY RIGHTS

Bayard Rustin has written an excellent pamphlet, entitled "Right to Work" Laws--A Trap for America's Minorities. A copy will be sent to you shortly. You may order additional copies from the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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MEMO: No.12
June 23, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

CONGRESS BUILDS DISCRIMINATION INTO THE WESTON ATOM SITE

Within the week Congress will begin considering a proposal to build a $300 million atomic energy facility in a heavily segregated section of Illinois.

The matter comes before the House and Senate in a bill (H.R.10918) reported out by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. The joint House-Senate body approved $7.3 million for fiscal 1968 that would permit the Atomic Energy Commission to begin designing a 200-billion electronic-volt accelerator for Weston, Illinois, even though there is every indication that Negroes could not find housing near the plant and could thus be frustrated in their attempts to find employment there.

A Closed Housing Market

The joint committee approved the Weston site, 11 to 3, even though it is now clear that the Illinois state legislature, which is scheduled to adjourn at the end of this month, will not pass a fair housing law. In fact it has killed eight pending laws. Thus if the huge facility is built, it will be located in a tiny farm community, 35 miles west of Chicago, that offers no prospect of adequate housing for minority workers. The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing estimates that 83 percent of the housing in the area is closed to Negroes. That means most colored workers will have to live in Chicago and commute about 70 miles a day if they take a job at Weston.

Pastore Protests

The joint committee's action was taken in spite of the vigorous protests of its Co-Chairman, Senator John O. Pastore (D., R.I.). He was joined by Senators Henry M. Jackson (D., Wash.)

and George D. Aiken (R., Vt.) in objecting to the location of the facility where it can only perpetuate discrimination in housing and employment.

In separate views in the report on the bill, Senator Pastore pointed out that of the six states under consideration as possible sites for the atom smasher, AEC chose the one that has no open housing law. This, he said, in spite of its announced policy that "the local status of civil rights and non-discrimination would be of primary concern in making its choice." He observed, "having introduced civil rights and non-discrimination as a major issue, the AEC then conveniently set it aside. In effect, the Commission took a bold and forthright public position--while privately, its position was one of compromise and retreat."

The Senator denounced the selection in passionate words: "In the name of advancing science and technology we should not be guilty of retreating from our boasted principles of equity, equality, humanity. That would be an offense to our conscience. That would be an affront to our intelligence . . . . . I do not exaggerate--the soul of man is at stake when his dignity is endangered by discrimination. Let us be done with such inequity."

The Situation in Congress

Pastore has indicated he is ready to lead a fight against the Weston site once the AEC authorization bill comes to the Senate floor. However, action on the joint committee's report will come first in the House. Last Thursday the House Rules Committee cleared the bill for action allotting two hours for debate and permitting amendments. The bill may come up this Wednesday. When it will come before the Senate isnot known as this MEMO is written.

A number of organizations in the Leadership Conference have already begun to voice their objections to the Weston site. All organizations, all individuals opposed to it, must let their Congressmen, the AEC and the White House know immediately, if they are to have any effect.

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MEMO: No.13-67
July 7, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

RE: A Summary of New Developments

CONGRESS BEGINS TO MOVE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Just before it quit for the July 4th recess, Congress began to stir on civil rights. This MEMO is an assessment: of what happened in the last few weeks; of our immediate prospects; and of what we need to do.

Action in House and Senate

For the first time since the beginning of this session, the House has shown signs of activity. The House Judiciary Committee has reported out two sections of the Civil Rights Act of 1967 as separate bills.

One, H.R.2516, is essentially Title V of the omnibus Act. It is meant to give Negroes and civil rights workers greater protection against racist attacks. It prescribes stiff penalties for anyone who injures or intimidates another person, because of that person's race, color, religion or national origin, while he is exercising his constitutional rights to vote, attend public school or college, enjoy federal or state programs or facilities, seek employment, engage in jury service, use public transportation, or enjoy places of public accommodation or amusement. The maximum penalty would be $10,000 fine and 10 years' imprisonment if there is bodily injury (or life imprisonment in the case of death); and $1,000 fine and one year's imprisonment for unlawful threats or harassment.

The second bill the Committee reported out, H.R.10805, would simply extend the life of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission for five years, from January 31, 1968, its expiration date, to January 31, 1973. This is Title VI of the omnibus bill.

The Price for Title V

A subcommittee of House Judiciary sought to join the Title V protections to one of the many anti-riot acts that have been introduced in this Congress. However, the Chairman of the House Rules Committee, William M. Colmer (D., Miss.), told Emanual Celler (D., N.Y.), Chairman of House Judiciary, he would not clear the combined bill for floor action. He insisted that the anti-riot act and the Title V measure be offered as separate bills and promised if they were to grant a rule on each one. Mr. Celler reluctantly agreed.

The anti-riot bill (H.R.421) would make it a federal crime to cross state lines with the intent of inciting people to riot. It's chief sponsor, Rep. William Cramer (D., Fla.) insists the bill is directed against racist groups like the American Nazi Party and the Klan, but it is so broadly and vaguely drawn it might lend itself to use against peaceful demonstrations and peaceful picketing.

The Leadership Conference will fight the bill, but we realize fully how hard it will be to block such a measure, considering the current mood of Congress.

Last year Mr. Cramer put forward a similar proposal as an amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1966. It carried overwhelmingly, 389 to 25. When the 1966 bill was stopped in the Senate, so was the anti-riot act. As a separate bill it may well be enacted into law--potentially a dangerous and mischievous one.

On the Senate Side

In the Senate, a subcommittee of Labor and Public Welfare, headed by Senator Joseph Clark (D., Pa.), has completed hearings on S.1308, a measure intended to strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, mainly by giving it authority to issue cease and desist orders. The bill is expected to be reported to the full committee shortly. It is Title III of the omnibus bill.

As for the remaining titles of the omnibus bill, Title I, which would prohibit discrimination in the choice of federal juries has been the subject of extensive hearings by a subcommittee of Senate Judiciary; Title II, which would extend similar prohibitions in the selection of state juries has yet to be set for hearing; a subcommittee of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee may hold hearings on the fair housing section, Title IV, sometime in August. Senator Walter Mondale (D., Minn.) will chair these sessions.

The Conference Will Testify

The Leadership Conference will certainly present testimony in support of the Fair Housing bill. On August 8, the Conference is scheduled to testify before a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee headed by Senator Sam Ervin (D., N.C.), on the entire omnibus bill (S.1026), all six titles.

Funds and ESEA and Atom Smasher Sites

Other civil rights measures in which the Leadership Conference is keenly interested are still pending. Two subcommittees of the Senate Appropriations Committee should begin work shortly after the current recess ends on July 10. Three appropriations matters of vital concern to the Conference are: funds for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's civil rights enforcement work in fiscal 1968; the fiscal 1968 budget for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; and funds for HEW's program under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, to help school districts deal with problems incident to desegregation. The House cut all of these appropriations and we need to work for restoration of the full amounts. (See MEMO: No.11-67.)

A subcommittee of Labor and Public Welfare should begin consideration, soon, of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which passed the House with several amendments we consider harmful (see MEMO: No.10-67). We will attempt to have these amendments knocked out in the Senate.

Although the House approved an initial amount to start work on the multimillion dollar atom smasher at Weston, Illinois, in a heavily segregated section of the state, an attempt will be made to stop the project when authorization for it comes up on the Senate floor, probably soon after the recess ends.

Summary of Civil Rights Activity

1. Civil Rights Act of 1967

Title I - Federal Jury Reform	- In Senate Judiciary Subcommittee hearings still continuing
Title II - State Jury Reform	- In Senate Judiciary Subcommittee no hearings scheduled yet
Title III - Strengthen EEOC	- In Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee - hearings concluded
Title IV - Fair Housing	- In Senate Banking and Currency. Hearings scheduled to start in August.
Title V - Protect Constitutional Rights	- Reported out by House Judiciary June 29, 1967

Title VI - extend U.S. Civil Rights Commission 5 years -

Reported out by House
Judiciary June 29, 1967

2. Appropriations

HEW Civil Rights Enforcement - $5,411,000 - In Senate Appropriations before Lister Hill Subcommittee. Chairman Lister Hill (D., Ala.)

Title IV and EEOC - fiscal 1968 budgets - In Senate Appropriations subcommittee Chairman John McClellan (D., Ark.)

What to do

Leadership Conference organizations and individuals who support civil rights can help by following the course we have advocated in recent MEMOs. We need a barrage of mail to Senators Hill and McClellan and the members of their subcommittees, urging full appropriations for civil rights programs and no "riders" to these bills that will make enforcement difficult.

At summer meetings and conventions, urge your members to write to their Senators and Congressmen urging action on the Civil Rights Act of 1967 this year.

RUSTIN SCORES THE "RIGHT TO WORK" LAWS

As we promised in MEMO No.10, we include with this mailing a copy of Bayard Rustin's new pamphlet, "Right to Work" Laws - A Trap for America's Minorities. Additional copies of this valuable booklet can be ordered direct from the A.Philip Randolph Institute, using the coupon on the last page.

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MEMO: No.14-67
July 18, 1967

TO: PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

A CALL TO ACTION ON OFF-BASE HOUSING

Within the past month, the Defense Department has taken a laudable step toward ending housing discrimination. It has declared off-limits to all personnel, those apartments and trailer camps near six military bases in Maryland that refuse to accommodate Negro servicemen.

On June 23, when the Department issued its first directive, the one aimed at segregated housing near Andrews Air Force base, Leadership Conference Chairman Roy Wilkins sent a telegram to Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara hailing the move as an important first step, but urging him to employ the same sanction against segregated housing at all the large bases in the country--nearly 300 of them. That was our position when Mr. Wilkins and a delegation drawn from the Conference's Committee on Compliance and Enforcement met with Secretary McNamara and his staff back in May. It is still our position. The Executive Committee of the Leadership Conference now calls upon all of our participating organizations to join in an intensive campaign to end discrimination in all off-base housing.

The Department has the Power

If there was ever any question about the Department's authority to issue directives against segregated off-base housing, it has been clearly settled by the moves against the six Maryland bases. What must be done now is to convince the Department to take the same action everywhere.

Secretary McNamara is sensitive to the problem. He showed that in his meeting with Leadership Conference representatives and in his own public statements. Noting, recently, that the more than 300,000 Negro servicemen in the armed forces can count on full equality in the ranks and on the base he observed that once they go off the base

"equality is a lamentable casualty. Thousands of men in uniform, many of them combat veterans, and their families are being subjected to humiliating discrimination by the refusal of landlords to rent or sell because of race, color or creed."

He has called for a nationwide census of housing near some 300 bases and expects the base commanders to report back to him by Aug.15.

Why Maryland?

Meanwhile, the Secretary has shown, in Maryland, that the Department is ready to act before the study is fully completed. There are several reasons why he chose to make his first move against bases in that state. For one thing it is close to the nation's capital and discrimination that close to the nation's capital can be a source of acute embarrassment. For another, the Maryland legislature this last session and the governor of the state, Spiro T. Agnew, both urged the Department to end discrimination against military personnel.

Another factor in the Maryland situation, and one that should be very instructive to organizations in the Conference, was the six months campaign of a determined and energetic local fair housing group ACCESS (the Action Coordinating Committee to End Segregation in the Suburbs). This group is a model for what local action can accomplish. Organizations throughout the country ought to start emulating it.

What Your Organization can do

The Executive Committee of the Leadership Conference recommends that all participating organizations give top priority to the campaign to open all off-base housing to servicemen:

1. If your organization is holding a convention why not schedule a workshop on off-base housing? We can supply material.

2. Wires and letters and convention resolutions should be sent to Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, c/o The Pentagon, and President Lyndon B. Johnson, congratulating them on the first steps but urging them to see that the off-limits sanction against segregated off-base housing is extended as quickly as possible.

4. If you have chapters in communities with military bases, get them to join with other interested groups and have them send delegations to commanding officers urging them to ask Secretary McNamara to issue a directive where voluntary attempts to persuade local real estate interests to desegregate have met with failure.

5. Local groups should visit their mayors and governors and newspaper editors and urge them to take up the campaign for open housing for servicemen. It was just this kind of local pressure by ACCESS that helped move the Defense Department on Maryland.

6. Every group should have its members write to members of Congress urging them to communicate with Secretary McNamara, praising him for his efforts but asking him to extend them.

The Executive Committee does not see this campaign as an alternative to a national fair housing law. We shall still press for that. But we do see that the needs of Negro servicemen are so immediate and the wrong so glaring, we must move on this at once. When a man is ready to lay down his life for his country he ought to be able to find a place to rest his head.

HAVE YOU SENT YOUR MESSAGE IN SUPPORT OF CIVIL RIGHTS APPROPRIATIONS YET?

The appropriations for civil rights enforcement, equal employment work and school desegregation programs are still before two Senate Appropriations Subcommittees.

1. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare's budget for enforcement work in fiscal 1968 was scaled down by the House to $4,511,000. The Department is asking $5.4 million.

2. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is seeking $7.2 million for fiscal 1968. The House cut that to $6.5 million.

3. HEW is asking for $30 million to help meet a backlog of applications from desegregating school districts seeking expert help under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The House voted only $10 million.

What you can do

What's needed now are messages and convention resolutions to the two Senate Appropriations subcommittees now considering these budget requests, urging them to restore the House cuts.

Letters calling for full enforcement funds for HEW should go to these subcommittee members:

Democrats	Republicans
Hill (Alabama) Chairman	Javits (New York)
Russell (Georgia)	Cotton (New Hampshire)
Magnuson (Washington)	Case (New Jersey)
Stennis (Mississippi)	
Bible (Nevada)	
Byrd (West Virginia)	
Holland (Florida)	
Bartlett (Alaska)	

Letters urging a full budget for the EEOC and for Title IV programs should go to these Senators:

Democrats		Republicans
McClellan (Arkansas)	Chairman	Smith (Maine)
Ellender (Louisiana)		Hruska (Nebraska)
Holland (Florida)		Cotton (New Hampshire)
Pastore (Rhode Island)		Case (New Jersey)
McGee (Wyoming)		Javits (New York)
Byrd (West Virginia)		
Mansfield (Montana)		

The subcommittees may act within the next few weeks so try to get your messages out now.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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MEMO: No.15-67
August 22, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations
FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary
RE: A Summary of Civil Rights Actions

THE RIGHTS PROTECTION BILL MOVES TO SENATE: OTHERS STILL PENDING

To an accompaniment of bitter speeches denouncing urban riots and black militants, the House last week did an important and heartening thing. It passed by an overwhelming vote of 326 to 93 a bill the Leadership Conference has long worked for and advocated; a measure that gives the Justice Department greater powers to move against anyone interfering with constitutionally-protected civil rights.

Passage of the bill (H.R.2516) is evidence that in spite of the generally hostile mood of this Congress it is still possible to get approval of basic legislation.

A Substantial Measure

Although there were nine amendments to the bill, some of them reflecting the current preoccupation with the riots, the measure that was finally voted out is still significant and substantial. It would protect against injury or intimidation persons exercising their rights in eight areas: voting, attending public schools, using facilities supported by the federal government or the state, seeking employment, serving on juries, using any kind of public transportation, enjoying the benefits of any federally-assisted program, visiting restaurants or hotels or any places of public accommodation. Violations of the law would be subject to penalties ranging from a minimum of $1,000 fine and not more than one year in jail to $10,000 and ten years in the case of serious bodily injury. In case of death, the maximum sentence could be life imprisonment.

The bill is now before the Senate.

Violence and Juries

The civil rights protection bill is essentially Title V of the omnibus Civil Rights Act of 1967. It complements Title I of that bill, the section that would prohibit discrimination in the selection of

federal court juries. The protection bill would be much more effective if any cases that arose under it were tried before juries representative of the general community. Title I, as a separate bill, is now pending before a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee. All six titles of the omnibus bill have been introduced as separate bills. Here is a brief rundown of where they are:

Title I - Federal Jury Reform (S.1319)	In Senate Judiciary Subcommittee. Hearings before Sen. Joseph Tydings (D., Md.) completed. Awaiting markup and report.
Title II - State Jury Reform (S.1318)	In Senate Judiciary. Subject to hearings before Sen. Sam Ervin (D., N.C.) as part of omnibus bill (S.1026).
Title III - Strengthen Equal Employment Opportunity Commission by giving it power to issue cease-and-desist orders. (S.1308)	Hearings before Sen. Jos. Clark (D., Pa.) completed. Reported to full Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee and pending there.
Title IV - Fair Housing Act (S.1358)	Three days of hearings held before a Senate Banking and Currency Subcommittee under Sen. Walter Mondale (D.,Minn.). Record still open.
Title V - Protect Constitutional Rights (H.R.2516)	Passed House, August 16, 326-93.
Title VI - Extend U.S. Civil Rights Commission 5 years to Jan.31, 1973 (H.R.10805).	Passed House July 10, 282-89. Referred to Senate Judiciary Committee.

The omnibus Civil Rights Act of 1967 (S.1026), which contains all six titles, is the subject of what promises to be extensive and not very productive hearings before a Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary headed by Senator Sam Ervin (D., N.C.), who in the last Congress used similar hearings to voice his opposition to the legislation.

Other Civil Rights Developments

1. The "Anti-Riot Act." Passed by the House July 19, 347 to 70, the bill would make it a federal crime for anyone who crossed state lines with the intent of inciting a riot. Crossing state lines can be done by mail or telephone. Vaguely and broadly drawn, the bill defines "public disturbance" in such a way that only three people need

be involved and actual damage or injury need not occur. Senator Ervin has expressed misgivings about the constitutionality of the bill and as a result, Senator Eastland has taken over the bill and has been conducting hearings before the full Judiciary Committee.

2. Elementary and Secondary Education Act. (H.R.7819) Passed by the House, May 25, the bill now contains one amendment that would weaken enforcement of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the section that prohibits discrimination in all federally-assisted programs. The "Fountain amendment," named after its sponsor, Rep. L.H. Fountain (D., N.C.), would prohibit HEW from cutting off funds for new programs in a school district it believes is discriminating, until there has been a hearing in which the district is found to be out of compliance. The same amendment was adopted last year by the House and compromised into harmlessness by a House-Senate conference. As it stands, it could deprive HEW of one of the few weapons it has to compel compliance with Title VI. The bill is now before Senate Education and Public Welfare. Other House amendments that ought to come out of the bill, would take controlover some of the programs away from the federal government and give it to state departments of education. Senator Wayne Morse (D., Ore.) is presently conducting hearings on this bill.

3. Off-Base Housing. Prodded into action by civil rights groups, the Defense Department has begun to try to correct a national disgrace: the denial of decent off-base housing to Negro servicemen and their families. In Maryland, at four bases, the Department has declared off-limits to all servicemen housing units that refuse to accept Negro servicemen. The Leadership Conference has repeatedly urged the Department, at the very least, to extend the same sanction to discriminatory housing near bases throughout the country. Almost 300 bases are under study by the Department.

What Needs to be Done

All Leadership Conference organizations and their sponsors should begin at once to concentrate on the Senate in urging fast action on the pending bills. Resolutions and letter-writing campaigns are the easiest way to begin. But the Labor Day recess is coming up and delegations to Senators would be the most effective way to act. The recess will run from September 1 through September 10. Plan now to visit Senators when they are home.

1. Urge members of the Senate Judiciary Committee to work for prompt passage of the full civil rights package.

2. Urge members of the Senate Labor Committee to report out the bill (S.1308) to strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

3. Urge all Senators to support the major civil rights measures outlined here when they reach the Senate floor.

****

Senate Judiciary Committee

Democrats	Republicans
James O. Eastland (Miss.) Chairman	Everett McKinley Dirksen (Ill.)
John L. McClellan (Ark.)	Roman L. Hruska (Neb.)
Sam J. Ervin, Jr. (N.C.)	Hiram L. Fong (Hawaii)
Thomas J. Dodd (Conn.)	Hugh Scott (Pa.)
Philip A. Hart (Mich.)	Strom Thurmond (S.C.)
Edward V. Long (Mo.)	
Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.)	
Birch Bayh (Ind.)	
Quentin N. Burdick (N.D.)	
Joseph D. Tydings (Md.)	
George A. Smathers (Fla.)	

Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee

Democrats	Republicans
Lister Hill (Ala.) Chairman	Jacob K. Javits (N.Y.)
Wayne Morse (Ore.)	Winston L. Prouty (Vt.)
Ralph W. Yarborough (Texas)	Peter H. Dominick (Colo.)
Joseph S. Clark (Pa.)	George Murphy (Calif.)
Jennings Randolph (W.Va.)	Paul J. Fannin (Ariz.)
Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (N.J.)	Robert P. Griffin (Mich.)
Claiborne Pell (R.I.)	
Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.)	
Gaylord Nelson (Wis.)	
Robert F. Kennedy (N.Y.)	

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office
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MEMO: NO. 17-67
September 14, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

LET'S BACK THE ANTI-POVERTY BILL!

Later this month, anytime from September 20th on, the Senate plans to take up the latest proposals for continuing the War on Poverty and, as part of it, to provide between 200,000 and 300,000 emergency jobs a year.

Mindful of how basic these programs are to any advances in civil rights, the Executive Committee of the Leadership Conference calls upon all participating organizations, if they have not yet done so, to back the latest anti-poverty bill (S.2388) and, particularly, the "Emergency Employment Act of 1967," an amendment added to the bill in committee by Senators Joseph Clark (D., Pa.), Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.), and a number of other sponsors.

The Bill Bears Out Conference Purpose

In urging support of the anti-poverty program, the Executive Committee does no more than give specific endorsement to legislation that will move us toward the goals of the Leadership Conference. The statement of purpose we adopted in January of this year declared that civil rights meant "not only the establishment and enforcement of rights in law, but also the realization of social and economic conditions in which alone the fulfillment of these rights is possible."

At its first meeting in March, the newly established Executive Committee endorsed, in principle, support of the War on Poverty as the logical consequence of our broad purpose. And if we need to mention any further precedent we recall, as we have on many occasions, that the slogan of the August 1963 March on Washington was "Jobs and Freedom."

Clark-Javits Plan Needs Special Support

That cry only emphasizes the importance of supporting the section of the anti-poverty bill that offers the most immediate antidote to the disorders of this past summer and the section that will probably face the heaviest attack once the

bill is brought up on the Senate floor.

This is the Clark-Javits proposal for emergency employment. It would authorize a $2.5 billion program--$1 billion for fiscal 1968, to generate 200,000 immediate jobs and $1.5 billion in fiscal 1969 to open 300,000 more.

The program would put the unemployed largely unskilled poor of the cities and rural areas to work at once, cleaning and beautifying streets and parks, serving as aids in schools, hospitals and recreation areas--in short, tackling the immense backload of work needed to be done in the public service. The Labor Department would administer the program. Besides authorizing grants to public and private agencies to pay for the programs it would also provide financial assistance to assure that those employed would be given opportunities for further education and training in order to prepare them to obtain better regular jobs in the future.

Already Growing Support For The Idea

The Clark-Javits proposal is hardly new. An even broader bill, one that would provide at least 1 million emergency jobs each year, has been introduced in the House by a group of 76 members. The new Urban Coalition of labor, religious, civil rights and business forces, in the statement it adopted on August 24 (see MEMO No. 16-67) endorsed the idea of the Federal government as "employer of last resort" and called for an emergency work program whose first goal would be "putting at least 1 million of the presently unemployed into productive work at the earliest possible moment."

Three Presidential Commissions (the National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress; the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights," and the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber) have called for similar programs.

But no matter how widespread the idea is or how much support it is gathering, that support will mean very little unless it is in evidence when the anti-poverty bill comes up.

Basic Features of the Anti-Poverty Bill

The bill that comes before the Senate would authorize, in addition to the funds for the Clark-Javits program, another $2,258 billion to carry on the present poverty programs, such as the Job Corps, work and training for youth and adults, the Community Action programs, Head Start, volunteer projects involving VISTA, aid to the rural and urban poor, small business assistance, and a new program of day care for children of low-income families whose parents want to work or take vocational training.

The bill also keeps the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) as the central anti-poverty agency of the Federal government. And it returns local matching contributions for community action programs to a formula that would require 10 per cent in local funding to match 90 per cent in Federal money. Many rural areas and smaller cities have been unable to afford the 80-20 formula that went into effect July 1st.

What You Can Do

The summer riots only underscore what was perfectly plain already: that we can do little that is meaningful in civil rights without, at the same time improving the lot of some 34 million poor people. We therefore call upon all of our organizations to phone, wire and write their Senators urging them to vote for the Committee bill (S.2388) without any amendments.

It is one way to restate in 1967 the 1963 shout of "Jobs and Freedom."

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NOTE: The Leadership Conference testimony on the omnibus Civil Rights Act of 1967 will be presented this coming Wednesday, September 20, at 10:30 a.m. before a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee headed by Senator Sam Ervin (D., N.C.). The hearing will be in Room 2228, New Senate Office Building. We urge all Washington representatives to be there.

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MEMO NO. 19-67
October 9, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

A THREAT TO TITLE VI AND A NEW BURDEN TO SOCIAL SECURITY

The Social Security Bill, which came from the House with several features in it that would make life harder for people on welfare, has become the target of a new threat to civil rights enforcement.

A full action MEMO on Social Security legislation is in the process of being prepared and we hope to get it to you shortly. But an amendment (S. 2074) that Senator Herman Talmadge (D-Ga.) has put forth in the Senate Finance Committee, which is considering the Social Security bill, presents such an immediate danger to civil rights we want to call your attention to it at once. His proposal would open a way for hospitals to avoid coverage of Title VI, the section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that empowers the government to cut off funds to all Federally-assisted programs guilty of discrimination.

Patients and Standards Would Suffer

The Talmadge amendment would permit patients in hospitals not in compliance with the requirements of the Medicare program to receive a 75 per cent reimbursement of their medical expenses. In other words, these hospitals could practice discrimination with impunity and even fail to meet proper medical standards and patients in them would still get some of the Medicare benefits.

At present only 200 hospitals, most in Mississippi, Georgia and Louisiana, have refused to participate in the Medicare program because of Title VI. Their patients would be the immediate beneficiaries of the Talmadge amendment. But its harmful effect would not stop there. It would provide an enormous temptation for other Southern hospitals to drop out of compliance. It might also furnish a blueprint for legislation designed to help other Federally-assisted programs evade Title VI.

-more-

What You Can Do

The Talmadge amendment may be considered by the Senate Finance Committee this week. We urge all our participating organizations to wire members of the committee at once (a list of them is included with this MEMO). Urge them to oppose the Talmadge amendment (S. 2074). The Leadership Conference has already sent the following telegram to those members of the Committee who voted in favor of Title VI back in 1964:

"THE PROPOSED TALMADGE AMENDMENT (S. 2074) WOULD TURN BACK THE CLOCK AND REPUDIATE YOUR VOTE FOR TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964. WE URGE YOU TO OPPOSE A MOVE WHOSE ULTIMATE EFFECT WOULD BE TO LOWER MEDICAL STANDARDS AND DEPRIVE THOUSANDS OF THEIR RIGHT TO FULL EQUALITY IN MEDICAL TREATMENT."

Similar telegrams were sent to other Committee members. We are also wiring the President and Secretary of HEW John Gardner, urging them to voice their opposition to the Talmadge amendment as one more evidence of the dangerous trend in Congress to whittle Title VI away.

Please send your own wires to the Senators, the President and Mr. Gardner today!

Senate Finance Committee

Russell B. Long (D-La.), Chairman

Democrats	Republicans
George A. Smathers (Fla.)	*John J. Williams (Del.)
* Clinton P. Anderson (N.M.)	*Frank Carlson (Kan.)
Albert Gore (Tenn.)	*Wallace F. Bennett (Utah)
Herman E. Talmadge (Ga.)	*Carl T. Curtis (Neb.)
* Eugene J. McCarthy (Minn.)	Thruston B. Morton (Ky.)
* Vance Hartke (Ind.)	*Everett McKinley Dirksen (Ill.)
J. W. Fulbright (Ark.)	
* Abraham A. Ribicoff (Conn.)	
* Lee Metcalf (Mont.)	
# Fred R. Harris (Okla.)	

* Voted for Title VI in 1964
\# Not in the Senate in 1964

Send messages to the Senators c/o The Capitol, Washington, D. C.

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MEMO NO. 20-67
October 23, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL FACES NEW THREAT IN COMMITTEE

The kind of civil rights bill we will get from this Congress may very well be determined on Wednesday, October 25. The full Senate Judiciary Committee has scheduled a meeting on one section of the Civil Rights Act of 1967 but will very likely consider others.

Our energies, in the next few days, must be directed toward seeing that the Committee members who will support a meaningful civil rights bill are present and voting.

To Protect the Rights of Citizens

The matter immediately before the Committee is legislation to protect Negroes and civil rights workers in the exercise of their constitutional rights -- Title V of the six titles in the omnibus Civil Rights Act.

As we have already reported, a bill to protect such rights, H.R. 2516, passed the House August 16. When it reached the Senate, it was referred to Senate Judiciary with instructions that it be reported back in 60 days. That time expires tomorrow, but the Senate will extend the time another week.

In Senate Judiciary, the bill came first before the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, which Senator Sam Ervin (D-N.C.) chairs. Here, he won approval for his own version of H.R. 2516, a bill drastically different from the House-passed measure and, on the whole, much weaker. It tends to cut back on the rights protected and, in addition, attempts to fashion the bill into an instrument that could be used against organized labor.

Faults and Features of the Ervin Substitute

1. Coverage - Where the Ervin bill falls conspicuously short is in the kinds of activities it would protect. Like the House version of H.R. 2516, it would protect citizens exercising their rights to: vote in Federal elections; serve on Federal juries; enjoy Federally-sponsored and Federally-assisted benefits and programs; obtain equal opportunities in employment covered by the 1964 Civil Rights Act; and enjoy places of public accommodation.

But it omits other activities that the House version would protect such as state elections; service on state juries; enjoyment of exclusively state administered or assisted programs; attendance at public schools; use of public transportation; and all employment.

Senator Ervin would include about four other kinds of activities within coverage of the bill, but they are all negligible except one, protection for persons travelling in interstate commerce -- such as Col. Lemuel Penn, the Washington, D. C. man who was shot and killed on a public highway as he drove home from reserve officer training.

(Note: The rights Senator Ervin would remove from coverage are much more important than the ones he would add to the list. Southern elections and Southern schools, for instance, are notorious for the opportunities they afford for intimidation, harassment and physical violence. Ervin argues that schools would be covered anyway, since most of them participate in Federally-assisted programs. But not all schools do; the worst ones refuse Federal assistance so that they will not have to desegregate. The protection is still badly needed.

2. Exemption for Law Enforcement Officers and Firemen - Senator Ervin would exempt police, members of the National Guard and the U. S. Armed Forces engaged in suppressing riots or civil disturbances or while restoring law and order, regardless of the legality of their actions.

Considering how irresponsibly some policemen and guardsmen acted during the Newark and Detroit riots, such a blanket exemption seems unwise and dangerous.

3. Constitutional Basis - The Ervin substitute removes all references to the 14th Amendment, the foundation of all civil rights legislation.

4. Persons Protected - By dropping all reference to "race, color, religion, etc." Ervin would extend protected protections to everyone. Desirable as this may be, in some instances it could be too much of a good thing, since the broader coverage would tend to dilute enforcement. It would also offer protection to persons who don't need it, which is to say most white Americans. Negroes and civil rights workers in hostile Southern states would benefit from narrower and more specific coverage.

5. Penalties - The Ervin substitute keeps the penalties of previous versions of the bill, namely, a maximum fine of $1,000 or up to one year in

prison or both; a maximum sentence of $10,000 or 10 years or both in the case of serious bodily injury; and a maximum sentence of life imprisonment in the case of death.

The "Union-Busting" Provisions

The most harmful features of the Ervin substitute are probably the two additions that don't belong in a civil rights bill at all -- amendments aimed at organized labor.

1. The first would subject to the penalties of the law, anyone who interfered with a person because he was working on a job or travelling to or from his place of employment. In short, it would encourage strike-breaking.

2. The second would prohibit any labor union or court from fining or taking any disciplinary action against any member who chose not to participate in "any strike or other concerted activity." Besides creating a situation highly injurious to union morale, the amendment would also reverse a decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, which held that such fines and disciplinary actions were justified.

An Alternative to Ervin

When the House meets on Wednesday morning, Senator Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.) intends to offer a substitute for the Ervin version, that is even better than the House-passed bill. It keeps the broadened coverage of the original Title V and it eliminates some of the less-desirable features of the House bill. It offers, therefore, a bill that deserves our wholehearted support.

What Happens Next

The 16-member Committee plans to meet on October 25 and complete action on the bill in a single day. Here is the Committee membership:

James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), Chairman

Democrats	Republicans
John L. McClellan (Ark.)	Everett McKinley Dirksen (Ill.)
Sam J. Ervin, Jr. (N. C.)	Roman L. Hruska (Neb.)
Thomas J. Dodd (Conn.)	Hiram L. Fong (Hawaii)
Philip A. Hart (Mich.)	Hugh Scott (Pa.)
Edward V. Long (Mo.)	Strom Thurmond (S. C.)
Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.)	
Birch Bayh (Ind.)	
Quentin N. Burdick (N. D.)	
Joseph D. Tydings (Md.)	
George Smathers (Fla.)	

At least nine of those Committee members, a clear majority, can be expected to support a strong civil rights measure: Senators Hart, Kennedy,

Bayh, Dodd, Long, Burdick and Tydings among the Democrats and Senators Scott and Fong among the Republicans. If they are present and stay with the Committee all day, we can expect a good bill.

We, therefore, urge all of our participating organizations to wire these Senators today. Urge them to be present on October 25 and to stay in the committee room until all voting is completed and to support the Hart substitute. It is possible that efforts will be made in committee to add other titles of the omnibus civil rights bill to H. R. 2516. If so, members should be asked to vote for these additions.

Wednesday, October 25, can be a day of fateful decisions. We must help make certain that these decisions are the correct ones.

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MEMO NO. 21-67
October 27, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

A SOCIAL SECURITY BILL THAT PUNISHES THE POOR

What began as an attempt by Congress to modernize the Social Security Act has, in the bill the House approved, resulted in several proposals that seem both backward and punitive.

Some of the House proposals come close to taking the long discredited view that the proper way to handle welfare is to insult the people who need it and try to push or scare them off the rolls.

When Newburgh, New York, in 1962, proposed to cut off assistance to recipients who refuse to take any jobs offered to them, it was excoriated throughout the nation for its medieval attitude. Yet the House-passed bill (H. R. 12080) has a provision that would authorize much that sort of treatment to dependent mothers and their children.

When Louisiana sought to cut off aid to mothers who gave birth to illegitimate children after going on relief, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare ruled the plan invalid. Yet the House, by placing a ceiling on aid to needy children seems to be trying, indirectly, to put its own limits on births.

The social security amendments are now before the Senate and it is here that we must concentrate our efforts for improvements in the 32-year-old statute that will make it responsive to the present needs of American society.

A Loophole for Hospitals

In one of our recent MEMOs (No. 19-67, October 9), we sounded the alarm in regard to an amendment that was not in the House-passed measure but was to be proposed as an addition to the bill during current consideration of it by the Senate

Finance Committee. This was the amendment offered by Senator Herman Talmadge (D-Ga.) that would enable patients to receive Federal medical benefits in hospitals that are not in compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. We pointed out, then, the obvious danger this poses to adequate enforcement of Title VI of the Act, the section that enables the Federal government to cut off funds to any Federally-assisted program that discriminates.

A Compromise Effected

As this MEMO is written, a compromise appears to have been worked out between HEW and Senator Talmadge. Patients in non-complying hospitals would still be reimbursed, although the percentage of reimbursement no longer appears to be fixed. But instead of allowing such reimbursements for a period running from the start of Medicare in 1966 to December 31, 1968, the compromise would move the cutoff date for such treatment to December 31, 1967.

While this is an improvement, the amendment still opens a loophole in Title VI enforcement and should still be opposed.

New Burdens on the Poor

While the Talmadge amendment is the one that deals most specifically with a matter of civil rights, other proposals in the House bill would fall so heavily upon the urban poor and their large minority groups, that it seems incumbent upon the Leadership Conference to oppose them.

At the last meeting of the Washington representatives there was unanimous agreement that in addition to opposing the Talmadge amendment, the Conference should express its opposition to three others:

1. Compulsory Work and Training Programs

States would be required to set up work and training programs and adults and children over 16, who are not in school, would be required to participate or face the loss of assistance. To mothers getting help under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program, this provision would come as a blow. They would be forced to take jobs or training even though, in many cases, there was no adequate day-care for their children and even though it was more important for them to stay home and care for their youngsters.

What's more, there are no assurances that the training would be thorough or lead to anything. It could very well force them, in the end, to work in dead-end jobs for low wages. And certainly forcing people to either work or lose the help they need for themselves and their children returns welfare to about the level of the mid-Victorian poorhouses.

2. Limits on Aid to Children

The House bill would limit assistance under the AFDC program to only the percentage of children in broken homes, as related to all children under 21 in each state, that was receiving help in January 1967. For instance, if three percent of the

minor children in a state were in broken homes and on AFDC in January, the state could not get Federal funds for more than three percent in subsequent years, no matter how large an increase there might be in the number of poor, fatherless youngsters living in it.

Hardest hit by this proposal would, again, be the people least able to bear the burdens it would impose -- the migrants coming from the rural South to the cities. For those states in which such migrants usually settle, the choice would be bleak: either to assume the increased costs of caring for the destitute or to simply ignore them and invite further chaos.

3. Benefits

The House bill would increase social security benefits by only 12 1/2 percent and raises the minimum benefit from the present $44 to only $50. This is clearly insufficient to meet the needs of individuals and families whose incomes are already being eroded by inflation. The Administration proposal calls for a 15 percent across-the-board increase and a 59 percent increase in the minimum to $70.

While many groups within the Leadership Conference feel even this increase is insufficient, they are willing to endorse it as the minimum amount. The Conference consensus covers the amendments outlined thus far.

There are other amendments in the bill that individual groups in the Leadership Conference oppose. One particularly, is the drastic restriction the House bill imposes on the new Medicaid (Title XIX) program of medical care for the needy. Income limits would be established at one-third over the AFDC payments level which would actually cut off from Medicaid eligibility welfare recipients in some states. The bill also permits states to cut back on the range of medical care services provided, including the possibility of providing neither hospital nor physician services if other less essential services are provided instead.

What Needs To Be Done

We urge all our participating organizations to join in opposing at least: the Talmadge amendment on hospitals; the mandatory work-training provisions and the freeze on the percentage of dependent children who can be helped. We should strongly urge substantially larger increases in social security benefits, both across the board and in the minimum payments.

Please write to members of the Senate Finance Committee (list attached) and urge them to vote against these and any other amendments that would lead us backward, plunge millions of poor people into despair and play into the hands of cynics who say Congress is unable to meet the pressing needs of our communities.

But please act now! To a growing and alarming extent, the War on Poverty appears to be shifting into a War on the Poor.

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SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE

Russell B. Long (D-La.), Chairman

Democrats	Republicans
George A. Smathers (Fla.)	John J. Williams (Del.)
Clinton P. Anderson (N.M.)	Frank Carlson (Kan.)
Albert Gore (Tenn.)	Wallace F. Bennett (Utah)
Herman E. Talmadge (Ga.)	Carl T. Curtis (Neb.)
Eugene J. McCarthy (Minn.)	Thurston B. Morton (Ky.)
Vance Hartke (Ind.)	Everett McKinley Dirksen (Ill.)
J. W. Fulbright (Ark.)	
Abraham A. Ribicoff (Conn.)	
Lee Metcalf (Mont.)	
Fred R. Harris (Okla.)	

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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URGENT

MEMO: No. 22-67
November 1, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

THE ANTI-POVERTY BILL FACES A HOSTILE HOUSE

On Tuesday, November 7, the House is scheduled to start debating the anti-poverty bill. The measure (S. 2388), as it comes from the House Labor Committee after a round of stormy public sessions, is weaker than the bill the Senate approved on October 5.

Given the present mood of the House, however, the bill has little chance of being strengthened on the floor. The fight there will be to keep the bill from being mutilated altogether, so that it can be improved when it finally goes to conference between the House and Senate.

What Must Be Done

This is an urgent appeal to all Leadership Conference organizations that recognize the importance of the anti-poverty bill to any advance in civil rights to wire or write House members at once and urge them to do at least two things:

1. Oppose any further cuts in anti-poverty funds. The House Labor Committee approved an authorization for fiscal 1968 of $2,060,000,000 for the war on poverty. The Senate authorized $2,258,000,000. Neither amount is sufficient to carry present poverty programs forward on a large enough scale. Further cuts would be disastrous.

2. Oppose any attempts to dismantle the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). There will be an all-out effort made on the House floor to take OEO apart and reassign its programs to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Labor and other government agencies. OEO has demonstrated its value as the coordinating mechanism for poverty programs and must be kept as intact as possible.

PLEASE ACT AT ONCE IF YOU HAVE NOT ALREADY DONE SO. An outpouring of public concern can make the difference between saving a critically-needed program or seeing it wrecked.

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MEMO: No. 23-67
November 13, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

CONFERENCE LEADERS CALL FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION ON CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

The need for immediate Senate action on the civil rights protection bill was urged upon Senate leaders and White House this weekend by Roy Wilkins and Arnold Aronson.

In similar telegrams to Democratic Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.) and Republican Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen (R., Ill.), the Chairman and Secretary of the Leadership Conference declared, "The civil rights protection bill died in the Senate last year in spite of majority support for it. Unless you act at once, the Senate will permit another year to pass without providing safeguards against terrible injustice."

In their wire to the President, Mr. Wilkins and Mr. Aronson said that while "it is a narrow bill" it is, "as you indicated in your civil rights message one badly needed to assure justice for all citizens...

"Failure to act again this year will be a serious blow to those of us who share your conviction that progress in securing equal rights can be made through the legislative process."

The wires were sent because so far the Senate shows no disposition to take up the bill even though it was reported out by the Senate Judiciary Committee on November 2.

What's In the Bill

The bill (H.R. 2516) which the Committee approved is better than the version passed by the House on August 16. Essentially, it is Title V of the

....MORE....

omnibus Civil Rights Act of 1967. It prescribes stiff penalties for anyone - private citizen or public law enforcement officer - who interferes by force or threat of force with a person because of his race, color, religion, or national origin and because he seeks to exercise such rights as voting; attending public schools or colleges; enjoying the benefits of Federal state or local programs or facilities; applying for employment, union membership, or the services of an employment agency; serving on juries; using busses, trains, or other vehicles of transportation; participating in Federally-assisted programs; and enjoying hotels, theatres, restaurants, and other places of public accommodation. The maximum penalties range from $1,000 fine and one year in prison for the misdemeanors; to $10,000 and 10 years imprisonment where bodily injury results; and to life imprisonment in the case of death. (Under this law, the murderers of Chaney, Schwerner, and Goodman would all face life sentences.) The protections of the bill would also apply to civil rights workers engaged in urging others to enjoy their rights; and to public officials and others, such as hotel or restaurant owners or employers who seek to treat all members of the public alike and face harassment or abuse for doing so.

A Cliffhanger

Few bills have reached the Senate floor under more dramatic circumstances. Although the Senate Judiciary Committee is headed by that implacable foe of civil rights, Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, it has more liberals serving on it than conservatives. Attempts by Senator Sam Ervin (D, N.C.) to rewrite the bill were defeated by scant votes of 8 to 7. At the urging of the Leadership Conference, Senator Hugh Scott (R., Pa.) flew back from London in an Army plane in order to supply the one vote margin. Senator Thomas Dodd (D., Conn.), who would most likely have voted with the majority was taken ill and was unable to make the crucial committee meeting.

Other Senators who voted in favor of a strong bill were: Philip A. Hart (D., Mich.) who will lead the floor fight on the measure, Edward V. Long (D., Mo.), Edward M. Kennedy (D., Mass.), Birch Bayh (D., Ind.) Quentin N. Burdick (D., N.D.), Joseph D. Tydings (D., Md.) and Hiram L. Fong (R., Hawaii).

Every one of them deserves a note of thanks from Conference organizations.

Where the Bill Is Now

Although the bill is ready for debate, Senate leaders still delay bringing it up. The rush is on for adjournment and the bill is controversial. What is more, Senator Everett Dirksen (R., Ill.) who voted against the bill in Committee has predicted it will run into a filibuster once it gets on the floor. Senate leaders fear consideration of the bill may block action on other vitally needed measures. But few bills are as urgently needed as this one and the Senate ought to act on it at once and certainly before it goes home.

....MORE....

A Bill That Won Approval

Of the six titles in the omnibus civil rights bill introduced as separate bills early in this session, one has finally passed both Houses. This is Title VI, the section that extends the life of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission five years to January 31, 1973. It passed the House in August and the Senate on November 1. However, the Senate limited its annual budget to $2,650,000 and the bill is now in conference.

Where The Others Are

Here is a status report on the other titles of the omnibus bill:

Titles I & II - to end discrimination in the selection of Federal and State juries. Still pending in the Senate Judiciary Committee, though Title I (Federal juries) is ready to be reported out and has a good chance of being sent to the floor.

Title III - to strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission by giving it power to issue cease-and-desist orders. Still in the Senate Labor Committee, it, too, is ready to be reported out.

Title IV - to establish a Federal Fair Housing law. Hearings before a subcommittee of Senate Banking have been completed. It now awaits further action.

What Needs To Be Done

We must not let the Senate adjourn without passing the Civil Rights Protection Bill this year. Attached to this MEMO are copies of the telegrams Roy Wilkins sent to the President and Mike Mansfield. We urge our organizations to get busy and send their own wires at once.

-30-

ATTACHMENT

URGENT REMINDER ON ANTI-POVERTY

Voting on the Anti-Poverty Bill starts in the House this week. Mail has been coming in. We need more! Please phone, wire, or write your Congressman to:

1. Oppose any cut in funds.
2. Oppose any break-up of OEO.
3. Vote AGAINST recommittal and FOR final passage.

ATTACHMENT - TELEGRAMS

COPY

The Hon. Lyndon B. Johnson
President of the United States
Washington, D. C.

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of 112 national civil rights, labor, religious, and civic organizations, expresses appreciation to you for urging Congress to pass civil rights legislation in this session. We respectfully and earnestly urge you to exert your full influence to have Democratic majority leader Mansfield bring to the Floor of the Senate at once the civil rights protection bill approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee last week and already passed by the House of Representatives. It is a narrow bill but as you indicated in your civil rights message one badly needed to assure justice for all citizens. In spite of majority support for the bill, the Senate failed to act on it last year. Failure to act again this year will be a serious blow to those of us who share your conviction that progress in securing equal rights can be made through the legislative process. We have expressed our sense of urgency in this to the majority and minority leaders.

Roy Wilkins

Arnold Aronson

* * * * * * * * * *

COPY

The Hon. Mike Mansfield
U. S. Senate
Washington, D. C.

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of 112 national civil rights, labor, religious, and civic organizations, urges you to bring to the Senate floor immediately the bill already approved by the Judiciary Committee for federal protection of persons exercising their civil rights.

The civil rights protection bill died in the Senate last year in spite of majority support for it. Unless you act at once, the Senate will permit another year to pass without providing safeguards against terrible injustices. Tuesday's elections supported our contention that full equality can be won peaceably through electoral and legislative processes. Failure to enact this minimum legialative program will have an opposite effect. It will seriously weaken the case of those of us who urge reliance on law to redress wrongs.

Congress can and in the interest of domestic tranquility must pass this civil rights legislation this year.

Roy Wilkins

Arnold Aronson

(A similar telegram was sent to Senator Dirksen)

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

file

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ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
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U R G E N T

MEMO: No. 24-67
November 23, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

HELP GET A GOOD ANTI-POVERTY BILL OUT OF CONFERENCE

The fact that the anti-poverty bill passed the House in reasonably good shape last week is due in part to the efforts of everyone who sent a telegram or letter supporting the measure. House members say their mail in support of the bill ran heavy and some even compared it to the outpouring of public concern that helped pass the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965.

But we must maintain the same level of support for a strong bill now that S.2388 has been sent to Conference. Conferees are attempting to work out the differences between the House and Senate versions and they will still be working on the bill next week.

We, therefore, urge all of our participating organizations to surmount the holiday interruption and send wires to all House and Senate Conferees urging them to fight for four things:

1. A minimum budget of $2 billion a year. (The Senate authorized $2.26 billion. The House cut the money figure back to $1.6 billion.)

2. A two-year authorization for the poverty program. (The Senate authorized two years, the House only one.)

3. Deletion of "the Green amendment." (The House adopted an amendment by Rep. Edith Green (D-Ore.) that turns control of independent community action programs over to city hall, greatly minimizing the role of the poor in these programs.)

4. Deletion of the 10 percent cash requirement for localities. (Till now the formula for sharing the cost of community action programs permitted localities to make their contribution "in cash or kind" -- equipment, facilities, etc. The strict 10 percent cash requirement in the House bill will make it harder for communities that most need action programs to take part in them.)

Help make this a brighter Thanksgiving for millions of American poor by sending your wires at once.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE ON THE ANTI-POVERTY BILL

Senate Conferees:

Democrats	Republicans
Joseph S. Clark (Pa.)	Winston L. Prouty (Vt.)
Jennings Randolph (W. Va.)	Jacob K. Javits (N. Y.)
Claiborne Pell (R. I.)	George Murphy (Calif.)
Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.)	
Gaylord Nelson (Wis.)	
Robert F. Kennedy (N. Y.)	

House Conferees:

Democrats	Republicans
Carl D. Perkins (Ky.)	William H. Ayres (Ohio)
Edith Green (Ore.)	Albert H. Quie (Minn.)
Frank Thompson, Jr. (N. J.)	Charles E. Goodell (N. Y.)
John H. Dent (Pa.)	John M. Ashbrook (Ohio)
Roman C. Pucinski (Ill.)	John N. Erlenborn (Ill.)
James G. O'Hara (Mich.)	John R. Dellenback (Ore.)
Sam M. Gibbons (Fla.)	
Carl Albert (Okla.)	

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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MEMO: No. 25-67
December 5, 1967

To: Participating Organizations

From: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

A CHANCE FOR A GOOD SOCIAL SECURITY BILL

Conferees are scheduled to start meeting today to work out the differences between the House and Senate versions of the Social Security Bill. On the whole, the Senate bill is better. Strong public support for Senate changes, particularly in the public welfare provisions, can help persuade the conference committee to report out a bill free of some of the insulting and punitive provisions included in the House bill.

Better for Mothers and Children

Unquestionably, mothers and children would fare better under the Senate provisions. In three areas of particular concern to the Leadership Conference (see MEMO: No. 21-67) -- compulsory work and training programs, the proposed freeze on aid to children, and the benefits -- the Senate bill is clearly preferably.

1. Compulsory Work and Training Programs

One of the great vices of the House bill is that mothers with children and young people over the age of 16 would be compelled to participate in state work and training programs, no matter how unsuitable such programs were or disruptive of family life. Failure to participate would result in loss of benefits.

The Senate version is better in several respects. It defines more carefully than the House bill does the kinds of programs welfare recipients would be assigned to. It exempts from work and training those mothers getting help under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program, who care for pre-school children or for youngsters under 16 when they are not in school. It also exempts persons under 16 or in school; those too ill or old to participate; those caring for ill or incapacitated members of their family; and those whose participation the state determines is not in their own best interest nor in the best interest of the program.

2. Limits on Aid to Children

Completely eliminated from the Senate bill is the House provision that would put a freeze on help to children. The House bill would limit assistance under the AFDC program to that percentage of children in broken homes, as related to all children under 21 in each state, that was receiving help on January 1, 1967. For instance, if three percent of the minor children in a state were in broken homes and on AFDC in January, the state could not get Federal funds for more than three percent in subsequent years, no matter how large an increase there might be in the number of poor, fatherless youngsters living in it.

3. Benefits

The Senate level of benefits is significantly higher. Monthly minimum benefits would be increased to $70 for an individual and to $105 for a couple. The House bill would increase the minimum benefits to only $50 for an individual and $75 for a couple.

The general increase in cash benefits would come to 15 percent under the Senate bill and only 12.5 percent in the House version. The Senate is also more liberal in the assistance it would give to older persons not eligible for regular benefits and to disabled widows.

What You Can Do

On a separate page, we list the Senate and House conferees. Please wire all of them as soon as possible, urging them to support the best features of the Senate bill, particularly those that (1) provide help for mothers with dependent children, (2) are designed to aid children from broken homes and (3) set the levels of benefits.

Your messages and those of your members can help bring out of a rather undistinguished session of Congress a bill that could change the 32-year old Social Security statute in ways that could provide something close to adequate benefits for the nation's old and poor.

-30-

ATTACHMENT # 1

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE ON THE SOCIAL SECURITY BILL

(H.R. 12080)

Senate Conferees:

Democrats	Republicans
Russell B. Long (La.)	John J. Williams (Del.)
Clinton P. Anderson (N.M.)	Frank Carlson (Kan.)
George A. Smathers (Fla.)	Carl T. Curtis (Neb.)
Albert Gore (Tenn.)	
Herman E. Talmadge (Ga.)	

House Conferees:

Democrats	Republicans
Wilbur D. Mills (Ark.)	John W. Byrnes (Wis.)
Cecil R. King (Calif.)	Thomas B. Curtis (Mo.)
Hale Boggs (La.)	James B. Utt (Calif.)
Frank M. Karsten (Mo.)	Jackson E. Betts (Ohio)
A. Sidney Herlong, Jr. (Fla.)	

file

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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MEMO: No. 26-67
December 7, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

A NEW THREAT TO SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

With their customary tenacity, Southern Senators are undertaking a new campaign to undermine Federal efforts to compel school districts to desegregate.

The new attack takes the form of amendments being proposed to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), presently being debated on the Senate floor.

Unless public opposition to these amendments is expressed soon, this threat to enforcement of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 -- the section that authorizes the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to cut off funds to school districts that discriminate -- could become a grim reality.

Senator Russell's Monkey-Wrench

The worst of the amendments we are aware of, as this MEMO is written, is one being proposed by Senator Richard Russell (D-Ga.). It would prevent HEW from cutting off funds to a district during a school year, even after HEW had found the district to be out of compliance with Title VI. Nothing could be better calculated to block HEW's desegregation efforts.

The Department, at present, does not cut off funds to a school district until it has pursued a lengthy procedure in which it tries, first, to negotiate a settlement, and when that fails, goes on to cite a district, hold protracted hearings and issue formal findings. By the time the funds are cut off, many months have passed and the school district has had ample warning of HEW's intentions. The Russell amendment would permit a school district to continue to receive funds for months more after HEW had found evidence of discrimination and was ready to cut off the money.

Some Other Crippling Amendments

Russell's amendment is not the only one that threatens adequate enforcement. An attempt will probably be made to restore to the bill the "Fountain Amendment," which the House adopted but which the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee rejected during its consideration of the ESEA. The amendment, sponsored by Rep. L. H. Fountain (D-N. C.) would prevent HEW from deferring new funds to a school district it has reason to believe is violating the law, until it completes hearings and issues an order, again a matter of many months.

Senator Strom Thurmond (R-S. C.) is planning to introduce as an amendment, a section of the House bill the Senate committee would not accept. This would place complete control of Title III programs -- projects designed to bring new ideas and techniques into the public schools -- in the hands of state school boards, some of which can be expected to shortchange the big cities and the children of their minority groups.

What We Must Do

The Senate is already voting on amendments to the bill. So far the worst ones offered have been beaten, notably one by Senator Everett Dirksen (R-Ill.) that would have barred use of Federal funds to pay for busing students in order to correct racial imbalance in the schools. Leadership Conference representatives worked vigorously against this proposal on the Hill and had the satisfaction of seeing Senator Dirksen withdraw it for lack of votes.

We, therefore, call upon our organizations to phone or wire their Senators (there is not much time for letters since the votes may come within the next few days) and urge them to vote against all amendments aimed at wrecking Title VI and making enforcement difficult. Your messages can help strengthen Senators in their resolve to oppose these amendments. HEW, an agency already hamstrung enough, must have some manueverability in order to carry out responsibilities Congress placed upon it to desegregate the nation's public schools.

* * * * * *

(Enclosed with this MEMO is a copy of a Washington Post editorial which sees the Russell amendment for what it is: "A wrecking device, impure and simple.")

FLASH: HELP PASS THE ANTI-POVERTY BILL!

The House is scheduled to take up on Monday the conference report on the anti-poverty bill. (The Senate will probably have acted on it by the time this MEMO reaches you.)

The bill as reported out by the House-Senate Conferees comes reasonably close to meeting the points the Leadership Conference has agreed upon. We, therefore, urge all groups and individuals to get in touch with their Congressmen and say:

1. Be present Monday
2. Vote for the Conference report
3. Support the highest possible authorization and appropriation for the war on poverty.

ATTACHMENT #1

Monday, Dec. 4, 1967 THE WASHINGTON POST

Wrecking Device

Senator Richard Russell has come up with a new gimmick for gutting the provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act designed to promote desegregation of the public schools. The Act flatly forbade dispensing Federal funds to any public facilities operating on a racially discriminatory basis. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare, responsible for the allocation of grants under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, drew an extremely moderate and reasonable set of guidelines to determine compliance with the Civil Rights Act requirements. The more obdurate Southern states screamed about these guidelines as though they amounted to a shroud and at once set about evading them.

Under existing procedures fixed by HEW, it takes about ten months—consumed by citation, hearings and formal findings—to determine that a school district is in violation of the guidelines and to cut off Federal funds it is already receiving. New funds can be denied, however, without this long delay. In the House of Representatives, Southerners have succeeded in passing an obstruction called the Fountain amendment which would require the same delay for the denial of new funds to a state already found to be in violation of the guidelines. The Russell amendment would carry frustration one step farther. It would prohibit HEW from cutting off Federal funds to a school district in the midst of a school year. This would mean that the period between the original Federal citation for violating the Civil Rights Act and any enforcement could be stretched out for as long as 22 months.

The Russell amendment is expected to come up in the Senate today. Its plain purpose is to nullify the Civil Rights Act. It is a wrecking device, impure and simple. It ought to be resolutely rejected if the Senate really wants to foster equality of opportunity in public education.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

file

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MEMO: No. 27-67
December 12, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

THE SOCIAL SECURITY CONFERENCE REPORT MUST BE REJECTED

The social security bill that the House and Senate conferees have just reported out is a disgraceful measure. It abandons virtually all of the improvements the Senate approved and adopts some of the worst features of the House bill: the compulsion on mothers with dependent children to go into training programs or lose their benefits; the freeze on the ratio of children from fatherless homes who would qualify for welfare (See MEMO: 21-67). It would also cut back the general increase in benefits from the 15 per cent voted by the Senate to an inadequate 13 per cent. This bill, on the part of Senate conferees, is not compromise but capitulation.

After polling the Leadership Conference executive committee, Roy Wilkins sent the following telegram to Senate members:

"The Executive Committee of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights urges you to vote against the conference report on the social security bill. What started out as a social security measure has become an instrument of social insecurity. It generates forces to break up families. Under this bill fathers would be under pressure to abandon their families and mothers to leave their children and go to work. The war on poverty is becoming a war on the victims of poverty. Cities now wracked by terrible crisis would be faced with the intolerable choice of leaving poor people destitute or trying to provide for them out of funds they do not have. This is a shocking and regressive bill. We urge you to send it back to conference and instruct the conferees to insist on the Senate provisions."

The conference report on the bill comes up in the House for a vote Wednesday and in the Senate, probably no later than Thursday. We urge our organizations to wire Senators at once urging them to reject the conference bill and to insist on the Senate provisions.

Only a flood of messages in the next 48 hours, similar to the Wilkins' telegram, can block this shameful bill.

FLASH! HELP BLOCK "THE FOUNTAIN AMENDMENT"

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act has gone to a House-Senate Conference for immediate action. The worst hurdle we face is "the Fountain Amendment" which was included in the House bill but not in the Senate version. This would make it extremely difficult for HEW to cut off funds to school districts that discriminate and deprive it of one of its surest weapons for compelling school desegregation. PLEASE WIRE MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE AND URGE THEM ALL TO VOTE AGAINST "THE FOUNTAIN AMENDMENT."

Senate Conferees:

Democrats	Republicans
Senator Lister Hill (Ala.)	Senator Jacob K. Javits (N. Y.)
Senator Wayne Morse (Ore.)	Senator Winston L. Prouty (Vt.)
Senator Ralph W. Yarborough (Texas)	Senator Peter H. Dominick (Colo.)
Senator Joseph S. Clark (Pa.)	Senator George Murphy (Calif.)
Senator Jennings Randolph (W. Va.)	
Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr. (N. J.)	
Senator Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.)	

House Conferees:

Democrats	Republicans
Cong. Carl D. Perkins (Ky.)	Cong. William H. Ayres (Ohio)
Cong. Edith Green (Ore.)	Cong. Albert H. Quie (Minn.)
Cong. Elmer J. Holland (Pa.)	Cong. Charles E. Goodell (N. Y.)
Cong. Roman C. Pucinski (Ill.)	Cong. Alphonzo Bell (Calif.)
Cong. Dominick V. Daniels (N. J.)	Cong. Marvin L. Esch (Mich.)
Cong. John Brademas (Ind.)	Cong. William A. Steiger (Wis.)
Cong. Hugh L. Carey (N. Y.)	
Cong. Carl Albert (Okla.)	

file

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MEMO: No. 28-67
December 27, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson

RE: A Last Word on the First Session

A LOOK AT WHAT HAPPENED IN THE CLOSING DAYS

The rush of urgent MEMOs during the past few weeks was part of our attempt to enlist your help with some of the critical matters that engaged the 90th Congress during the last hectic days of the first session. Now that the House and Senate have adjourned to January 15, we attempt in this MEMO to assess what effects our efforts had on the bills to which we alerted the Conference membership, bills dealing with such areas of direct concern to us as education, poverty, social security and civil rights.

SOCIAL SECURITY: A BIG DENT IN THE PROGRAM

One of the worst setbacks this past session was the passage of a social security bill that contains provisions punishing to the poor.

The 13 percent increase in the general level of benefits will be welcomed by millions of the old and disabled, widows and orphans -- even though it is still short of what is needed to keep up with rising costs. But it was a gain bought at a high price -- public assistance provisions that will fall heavily upon the poor, particularly mothers and children.

Despite the efforts of many of our groups, the bill that came from the House-Senate conference committee contained two provisions we had sought to have deleted: one compels mothers with dependent children to take part in state work-training programs or lose their benefits -- it is a compulsion they would have to accept even though insufficient day care is provided for their children and they may be forced to accept ill-paying, dead-end jobs; the other

freezes the number of children in fatherless homes who can receive help under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program.

Opponents Were Tricked

A group of Senate liberals attacked the cruel and regressive features of the conference bill and indicated their readiness to filibuster it in order to prevent a vote until next year. Delaying consideration to January, they said, would hurt no one since the increased benefit checks would not be mailed out until March and the delay might afford an opportunity to mobilize the public pressure necessary to moderate the welfare provisions. The Leadership Conference shared this view.

But on Thursday, December 14, a day before the Senate adjourned, the majority whip, Sen. Russell Long (D-La.), outmanuevered the liberals. During the early morning, when few Senators were on the floor and the Senator the liberals posted to keep watch was momentarily distracted, Long brought up the conference report and rushed it through on a voice vote.

A protest from Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.), who was absent while this was going on, led to an agreement to reconsider the bill so long as a specified time was fixed for voting on the conference version before adjournment. Unfortunately, fixing a time cut off all further debate and the conference bill passed 62 to 14.

Speaking on behalf of the Leadership Conference, Roy Wilkins issued a statement in which he declared:

"The haste with which the House and Senate approved the conference version of the social security bill is cause for bitter disillusionment among those of us who look to Congress to help solve the grave social problems of this nation.

"Congress, in this instance, has failed us. It is a failure that will return to plague its members. The Leadership Conference intends to press for a reconsideration of the welfare provisions in this bill and for a revision of the entire antiquated welfare structure. We will not let the war on poverty become war on the poor."

WAR ON POVERTY: HOLDING THE LINE

If the anti-poverty bill is hailed as a victory, it is because the worst things Congress was generally expected to do to the poverty program were somehow avoided. The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) was not dismembered. The authorization for the program was kept to two years and not cut back to one. The level of funding suffered no serious cut: the funds authorized were kept at $1,980,000,000 for the first year and $2.1 billion for the second and the funds finally appropriated for fiscal 1969 were $1.773 billion.

While this was some $5 million less than OEO Director Sargent Shriver said he needed to keep the program going without reduction, it was still considerably more than Congress was expected to approve.

A compromise was reached on another feature of the House anti-poverty bill to which we had objected. This was the requirement that state and local governments contribute 20 percent toward the cost of community action programs and that 10 percent of that be in cash. It was a requirement that could well have killed off such programs in poorer communities. The House-Senate conferees, however, finally agreed that the 20 percent could be in either cash or kind -- equipment, facilities, etc.

A bad amendment that was not beaten was one sponsored by Rep. Edith Green (D-Ore.). It gives local public officials control over the community action programs.

On the whole, however, the anti-poverty bill came through surprisingly intact. We drew a heavy response to our MEMOs on this bill. Unquestionably, the strong public support for an adequate poverty program, as evidenced in visits and messages to members of Congress, helped contribute greatly to this success.

EDUCATION: A PSYCHOLOGICAL VICTORY FOR THE SOUTH

The two-year extension of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is another occasion for mixed feelings. Considering the readiness of this Congress to cut back on domestic spending, particularly spending meant to help poor people, it is again remarkable that so much of the program survived.

During Senate consideration of the bill, the most heated fights centered on civil rights issues. Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.) attempted to write into the bill a provision prohibiting any use of the funds in the $9.1 billion measure for the busing of children to correct racial imbalance. Leadership Conference groups vigorously opposed this amendment. We had the satisfaction of seeing Senator Dirksen withdraw it when it became evident he did not have the votes for its adoption.

Southern Manuevering Again

Senator Richard Russell (D-Ga.) led a new floor attack on enforcement of Title VI - the vital section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that authorizes the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) to cut off funds to school districts that discriminate. The Senator was prepared to offer an amendment that would have prohibited HEW from cutting off any funds during a school year. In short, if HEW found a district out of compliance and issued an order terminating funds, the district would continue to get the money for months more, even though it was guilty.

The Southerners threatened to filibuster the Education Act if they did not get the Russell amendment. Our head counts indicated that the votes to beat

the Russell amendment were probably available. But the vote looked close and the Senate leadership wanted to get the bill passed before adjournment. Accordingly, a compromise was worked out in which Senator Wayne Morse (D-Ore.), floor leader for the bill, read a letter from HEW Secretary John W. Gardner into the Record giving southern school districts assurance they would receive sufficient advance notice of a possible termination of funds.

How the Gardner Compromise Works

Under the terms of the letter, HEW will notify recalcitrant school districts by March 1 that its information indicates "probable noncompliance" with the requirements of Title VI and that they face a cut-off of funds if they do not take "adequate corrective action." HEW will then negotiate with the districts until September 1, of the new school year. If negotiations fail, it will then cite the non-complying districts for hearing, and issue a terminating order against them even if it results in a cut off of funds during a school year.

In this way, HEW preserves control over the timing of the cut-off. HEW officials have assured the Leadership Conference that the terms of the Gardner letter will not seriously affect enforcement. This may be so. But the newspapers heralded the development as a concession to the Southerners and psychologically, it was their victory.

Thurmond Amendment Beaten

Another Southern amendment civil rights forces succeeded in defeating was one proposed by Senator Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.). It would have written into the bill the House provision that gives the states complete control over the $1.7 billion authorized by Title III of the bill to set up supplementary centers for innovative educational projects. The amendment failed narrowly, 35 to 38. That left in effect, temporarily, the Senate compromise that would have turned Title III funds over to the states in stages -- one-third in fiscal 1969, half in fiscal 1970 and two-thirds in fiscal 1971.

Despite our opposition here, however, the House-Senate conference on the education bill adopted virtually intact the House proposal -- advocated by Mrs. Green -- that will eventually give the states control over the Title III funds.

Fountain Defeated

There was one clear-cut victory for civil rights in the House-Senate conference, though. The "Fountain amendment" was finally rejected. This was the provision adopted by the House two years running that would prevent HEW from deferring new funds to any school district it has reason to believe is discriminating until it completes a lengthy hearing on the matter. We indicated in several MEMOs that we would press to have the amendment struck in conference and were glad to see this come to pass.

CIVIL RIGHTS: SOME FINAL ACTIONS OF THE 90TH

The only section of omnibus civil rights act of 1967 that was enacted into law was Title VI, which extends the life of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission for five years to January 31, 1973. Unfortunately, Congress retained a Senate provision that keeps the agency's annual budget at its present level, $2,650,000.

Another section of the omnibus bill, the civil rights protection act (Title V) was passed by the House and just before adjournment, Senator Mansfield announced that the bill (H. R. 2516) will be the pending business when the Senate comes back in January. Many Senators will be home during the three weeks of adjournment. Alert your members to visit the Senators during the current recess and urge them to be ready to VOTE TO BREAK A FILIBUSTER ON THE BILL and to work for its passage and the passage of other civil rights bills now before Congress.

There can be no better way to start the New Year.

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LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

file

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MEMO No. 1-68
January 15, 1968

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

THE FIGHT FOR THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1968 BEGINS TODAY

The immediate business before the Senate as its second session starts today is the civil rights protection act, H.R. 2516.

The immediate business before the Leadership Conference is to see that at least two other crucial civil rights measures are added to H.R. 2516 as amendments -- the bill to establish a national fair housing law (S.1358), and the bill to strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission by giving it power to issue cease-and-desist orders (S.1308).

Back to the Original Strategy

In a sense, all that is involved here is reminding the Senate of what was intended last year, when the six titles of the President's Civil Rights Act of 1967 were introduced as separate bills. That was done in the hope that the sections would move faster separately than as parts of an omnibus measure. It was agreed by civil rights proponents that once one of the titles reached the floor, an effort would be made to add the other titles to it, in short to reassemble the President's bill.

The civil rights protection act, which the House passed last year, is Title V of the omnibus bill. The fair housing section is Title IV and the bill to strengthen EEOC, Title III.* Taken together, they would constitute a bill that would assure a meaningful civil rights advance this year. Senate hearings on both the fair housing and EEOC sections have been completed. Both have had ample consideration.

* The other titles of the 1967 omnibus bill don't figure here. Title I, to end discrimination in the selection of Federal juries breezed through the Senate last year and must now be acted on by the House. Title VI, to extend the life of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission five years is already signed into law. Title II, to end discrimination in state jury selection, is still in committee and no action is expected.

Why One Bill

It is generally anticipated that the Senate debate on the civil rights protection section will be turned into a filibuster by Dixiecrats and conservative Republicans. But any one of the three bills would be met with a filibuster. And in a year when the Senate will be trying to finish its work before the national conventions start in August, it will not be possible to consider more than one civil rights measure. By combining the three titles into one, the Senate need wage only a single civil rights battle this year. It could scarcely consider waging three.

The Conference Urges All-Out Fight

Washington representatives to the Leadership Conference, at their last meeting, adopted a statement calling on Congress and the Administration to combine the three bills and to fight for them until they are passed. The text of that statement is attached to this MEMO.

The statement recalls that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was faced with hostility when it reached the Senate. But the public pressure for a law became an irresistable force and the bill was passed after a debate that lasted 90 days.

A similar situation confronts the Senate this year. It will move as far as it is urged to by the public. The obligation then rests with us. What we need is a barrage of mail to remind Congress that work begun in 1964 is far from done.

We open this year's campaign with a new ally. The Urban Coalition, which has brought businessmen and city officials into the fight for a society free from poverty and discrimination, has issued a statement of its own in which it calls for open housing.

All of our organizations and supporters can begin now. Please alert your members to start writing to members of the Senate today, urging them to support a single civil rights measure that will put an end to discrimination in housing and jobs and protect persons in the exercise of their civil rights. And urge them to fight for the President's program no matter how long it takes.

# # # #

Attachment

A CALL FOR ACTION ON CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION IN 1968

Adopted by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
January 11, 1968

With the resumption of Congress tomorrow the nation will be given another opportunity to reverse the growing sense of frustration and despair among minority groups. The passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 symbolized a national commitment to achieve social justice for all citizens, thus raising the expectations of millions of Americans who were victims of discrimination and disadvantage. That national commitment has become tarnished in the last two years by the failure of Congress to act on its unfinished civil rights agenda.

In the context of a society wracked by racial tension and the prospects of further violence, failure to close civil rights gaps this year cannot help but be interpreted as an act of retrogression -- with tragic consequences for the nation.

Three crucial civil rights bills are before this session: H.R. 2516, the bill to provide greater protection to Negroes and civil rights workers in the exercise of constitutional rights; a bill to establish a national fair housing law; and a bill to strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission by giving it the power most regulatory agencies have, to issue cease-and-desist orders.

The separate bills are all part of the President's Civil Rights Act of 1967. We call upon members of Congress and the President to see that the three bills are combined and passed as a single piece of legislation.

We know this bill can be passed. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, when it was before the Senate, was also met with hostility. There was particular opposition then to two proposals: to eliminate discrimination in places of public accommodation and to establish the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. In spite of that, determination finally won enactment of the 1964 law. Congress, backed by the Administration, made it unmistakably clear that nothing else would be considered until action on the Civil Rights Act was completed. The 1964 filibuster lasted 90 days and in that time the legislation was finally shaped and passed.

Determination on the part of Congress and the Administration can make the difference this year. That determination faltered in 1966. That year the House acted favorably on all of the pending measures. A majority of the Senate showed itself in favor of them too. It was only because Senate leadership yielded too soon that the Civil Rights Act of 1966 suffered defeat.

On behalf of the 112 national civil rights, labor, religious, and civic organizations in the Leadership Conference, we urge Congress and the Administration to follow the example of 1964, not 1966. We call upon the President to make clear that he favors combining the three civil rights bills into one, similar to the bill he presented to Congress on February 15, 1967, and that he expects the Senate to keep at the task of enacting civil rights legislation until the job is done, no matter how long it takes. We call upon Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield to hold the Senate to the task. We call upon the Senate to override obstructionists even if it takes all summer. No other business must be transacted until these essential laws are passed.

This is a more perilous year than 1964. The many Americans who are denied homes and jobs because of their race or who are afraid for their lives if they try to exercise rights guaranteed by the Constitution have faith in legislation as the way to have their wrongs redressed. We must vindicate that faith, and reaffirm the efficacy of the democratic process.

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LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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MEMO: No. 2-68
February 8, 1968

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

THE BOARD MEETS IN THE MIDST OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT

The annual dinner meeting of the Leadership Conference national board on January 30 became the occasion for giving the representatives of our organizations an opportunity to learn at first hand how the fight for civil rights laws in 1968 is going and what they must do to help win passage.

It also became, we hope, an occasion for communicating to members of the U. S. Congress and to Administration officials the urgent need for the bills now under consideration.

20 Senators and the Vice President

The dinner was preceded by a reception on Capitol Hill in a room near the Senate floor. About 20 Senators took time off from their duties and the prolonged debate on the civil rights protection act (H.R. 2516) to come in and meet national leaders of Conference organizations and to talk informally and candidly about the bill.

It gave us an opportunity to urge them to stay with the legislation until a filibuster is broken and to improve the bill by adding two others to it -- the fair housing bill (S. 1358) and the bill to strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (S. 1308).

The climax of the reception came when Vice-President Hubert Humphrey appeared, to greet Conference leaders and members and to pledge his support in behalf of a strengthened bill.

Dinner: Tributes and Plans

The proceedings of the dinner meeting at the Hotel America that night began on a somber note. Roy Wilkins, as chairman for the evening, led the board members and their guests, about 130 people altogether, in a tribute to Roy Reuther, whose death only a week earlier had saddened the civil rights movement.

The next tribute was a much happier one. The Conference awarded a citation to John M. Doar for his work as head of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department. Mr. Doar, who has now become Executive Director of a project to develop the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, was given a parchment saluting him as one whose "personal commitment and perseverance in the fight for civil rights for all Americans has been total and uncompromising" and recalling his courage at many trouble spots in the South and his "brilliant advocacy" in the series of Federal cases that led to the landmark Fifth Circuit decision on school desegregation and successful prosecutions in the murders of Viola Liuzzo, James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner.

The present U. S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and two previous ones, Senator Robert Kennedy and Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach came and gave their own words of praise for Mr. Doar. Mr. Clark and Mr. Katzenbach stayed for much of a lengthy program of reports and business.

Two other colleagues of Mr. Doar's were Conference guests that night, Warren Christopher, Deputy Attorney General, and Stephen Pollak, Mr. Doar's successor as head of the Civil Rights Division.

Words From The Battle-Front

Two Senators who are leading the floor fight for the civil rights protection act were at the dinner to report on the legislative situation. Senators Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.) and Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) presented frank appraisals of the bills they are fighting for and called on the Leadership Conference for support.

Senator Hart, floor manager for the pending civil rights bill, gave this estimate: "Realism suggests that the odds are long with respect to housing; the odds are good with respect to civil rights protection; and someplace in between" for the bill to give the EEOC cease and desist powers. The three bills are titles in the President's omnibus civil rights measure and the Senator said, "I renew the commitment of every man who co-sponsored each of these titles -- we want them -- and we will be bound to vote for them." He urged Leadership Conference to work for the legislation, observing that "if we achieve success, some Senators may think we did it bare-handed; the more realistic will realize that it was only because of your willingness to keep the fuel added to the fire and direct public debate in a constructive way -- just as you did in '65 and '64."

Senator Javits, leader of the liberal Republican forces, noted that "the difficulty we have is that civil rights legislation has gotten out of fashion because it has merged with the urban crisis."

He said, "only a fight will win -- a big, hard and strong fight. Your cooperation is absolutely indispensable." He put the obligation for work in support of the bills squarely upon the Leadership Conference. "Don't you get tired," he said. "There is no other way to do it than through the tireless persistence, the enormous range of coverage of which the Leadership Conference is capable. I pledge to you that you will find no dearth of energy, will and persistence on our part."

Reports for the Year

Arnold Aronson, as Secretary of the Leadership Conference, then presented the Annual Report. He called it a report "on the state of our union," and reviewed the various campaigns undertaken in 1967 by the 112 national organizations that participate in the Conference.

He reminded those present that their organizations constitute "a substantial majority of the American people," and that progress was made in 1963, 1964 and 1965 "because, working together, we succeeded in so mobilizing our constituencies as to make the seemingly impossible yield to what was necessary. Working together we can do so again. And the time to begin is tonight."

James Hamilton, as Chairman of the Committee on Compliance and Enforcement, reviewed the work his committee has been doing to improve the civil rights enforcement work of such agencies of government as the Departments of Health, Education and Welfare, Justice, Treasury, Defense, Labor, Commerce, Post Office, as well as the Civil Rights Commission and the Civil Service Commission.

Dr. David French, Chairman of the Medical Subcommittee of the Committee on Compliance and Enforcement, gave a separate report detailing HEW's failure to obtain compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 from hospitals and other health facilities in various parts of the country. An attempt to correct this situation is expected to be one of the full Committee's major programs in 1968.

Support for Truth-in-Lending

The Board meeting came just the night before the House voted on the Truth-in-Lending bill, legislation to inform consumers of how much interest they pay on credit purchases. Evelyn Dubrow, legislative representative for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, presented the legislative picture on the bill and urged support. The next day, the House passed a strengthened version of the bill which incorporated three things Miss Dubrow urged: coverage of "revolving credit" transactions; coverage of purchases where the interest charges are $10 or less; and some protection against the evils of wage garnishment.

The bill now goes to conference where an attempt will be made to hold on to the House improvements in the measure.

From 112 to 115

Three new organizations were unanimously admitted to membership in the Leadership Conference: the Division of Social Christian Concern of the American Baptist Convention; the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union; and the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality. That brings the total of national organizations participating in the Conference to 115.

We State the Priorities

The meeting ended with the unanimous adoption of a statement that committed the Conference to support a broad legislative program in civil rights, employment, education and housing. We enclose a copy of the statement.

NOTE: Because of their length, we are unable to send copies of the Annual Report for 1967 and the Reports of the Committee on Compliance and Enforcement to our entire mailing list. However, we will send copies to those who personally request them.

FLASH! FAIR HOUSING IS NOW BEFORE THE SENATE

Just as this MEMO was being readied for mailing, Senator Walter Mondale (D-Minn.) joined by a seven-man majority of his fellow members on the Banking Committee, moved to add the fair housing bill to H.R. 2516, the civil rights protection act now pending before the Senate. His motion came immediately after a victory for those Senate liberals who have been standing firm against any attempt to water down H.R. 2516. By a bi-partisan vote of 54 to 29, they succeeded in tabling the weak bill Senator Ervin (D-N.C.) sought to substitute for the pending measure.

That victory was won without much mail from the public. Fair housing will not be won without a flood of mail from all of us. We, therefore, urge everyone to write or wire their Senators urging them to back the fair housing bill and to fight any attempt to cut off debate on it too early. The Senate will go into Lincoln Day recess from February 9 to February 13, and many Senators will be home. Try to see them. Visits, letters and telegrams are what we must have if we are to make 1968 a meaningful year for civil rights law!

STATEMENT ADOPTED BY THE ANNUAL BOARD MEETING OF THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS
January 30, 1968

At this time of racial and social crisis, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, on the occasion of its annual board meeting, reaffirms its conviction that solutions to our nation's domestic problems can and must be achieved through peaceful, democratic means and within the American political system.

It is a reaffirmation made with a sense of burning urgency. For unless this Congress and this Administration act quickly, our reaffirmation may become empty rhetoric.

The bill the Senate is now debating, the civil rights protection act, would do much to protect citizens from violence in the exercise of such elementary rights as serving on juries, going to school, getting a job, using public transportation, visiting a restaurant or movie or enjoying the parks or other facilities paid for with their taxes. It would protect those working to help people achieve and exercise the rights to which they are constitutionally entitled.

But this bill alone will not advance us very far toward full equality. It does not address itself to two glaring injustices -- the denial of equal access to housing and jobs. If the Fair Housing Act and the bill to strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission now before the Congress are added to the civil rights protection bill, we would then have legislation that

would at least offer hope that Congress means to continue the work it began in 1964 and 1965 of correcting injustices through law.

We therefore call upon the Senate to combine the three bills into a single measure and to keep the Civil Rights Act of 1968 the pending business of the Senate until the filibuster is broken and this broader bill is passed. We call upon the President to exert the utmost influence in support of this course of action.

We deplore current efforts that tend to compromise the civil rights protection bill rather than strengthen it. The debilitating compromises being circulated are unnecessary and unacceptable retreats from the Fourteenth Amendment. We urge the shelving of these proposed compromises and the return to the civil rights offensive through the passage of the fair housing and equal employment amendments.

Because we believe that civil rights require not only the establishment and enforcement of rights in law, but also the realization of social and economic conditions in which alone the fulfillment of these rights is possible, we reaffirm our support of a legislative program that will guarantee decent jobs to all who are able to work, adequate housing, full education and a living income to all citizens mired in poverty.

We support the President in his call to private industry to help find 500,000 jobs for the hard-core unemployed. But it is a task that cannot be left to private industry alone. We urge enactment of legislation already before this Congress that would oblige the government to act as employer of last resort by channeling workers into needed public service jobs.

We also support the President's call for "a 10-year campaign to build six million new decent housing units for low and middle-income families."

The announced cuts in anti-poverty programs underscore the need for this Congress to provide adequate funds for the welfare and education programs it has already authorized. We know too well the disillusionment created when a program of promise is held out to desperate people and then withdrawn. We call on this session to vote sufficient funds to enable threatened programs to continue.

The first session of the 90th Congress committed a crime against the poor when it adopted welfare provisions that force mothers to take jobs, often wretched ones, or lose their benefits, and that put severe limits on aid to children in fatherless homes.

We therefore call upon this session to repeal these provisions and upon the President and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to see that defenseless people do not suffer.

The goals we set forth tonight are modest, minimal and necessary. We shall do all in our power to fulfill them in 1968. We cannot and must not falter in our drive toward full equality.

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LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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MEMO: No. 3-68
February 12, 1968

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

THE TIME FOR AN OPEN HOUSING LAW IS NOW

The Senate is face to face with an opportunity to pass a national fair housing law.

It is an opportunity for all of us who have worked for such a law. If we can demonstrate within the next week or so that there is solid national sentiment to end the shame of housing discrimination, the bill can pass.

How the Bill Stands Now

On Friday, February 9, the Senate left for a Lincoln Day recess. Still before it is the civil rights protection act (H.R. 2516), the House-passed bill it has been debating since January 15. As we reported hastily in the last MEMO (No. 2-68), civil rights proponents won a victory last week when they rejected, 54 to 29, a weak substitute for the pending bill. Immediately after that, Senator Walter Mondale (D-Minn.) offered the fair housing act as an amendment to H.R. 2516. Sponsors of the proposal included a majority of the Senate Banking Committee, which held hearings on the bill this past summer: Senators Brooke (R-Mass.), Case (R-N.J.), Proxmire (D-Wisc.), Muskie (D-Me.), Williams (D-N.J.), Long (D-Mo.), McGee (D-Wyo.), Nelson (D-Wisc.), and Percy (R-Ill.). Other sponsors are still being added.

What we must do during the Lincoln Day recess, which ends February 13, is to try and organize delegations to visit Senators while they are home. When they return on the 14th, we plan to bring delegations in to see them here in Washington.

The Bill and the Issues

The bill would eventually end discrimination in the sale and rental of most housing. Immediately upon passage, it would apply to the Federally-financed housing already covered by the President's Executive Housing Order; after December 31, 1968, to most new housing projects, and to apartment houses or multiple unit dwellings meant for five families or more; and after December 31, 1969, to the sale or rental of all housing, with the exceptions of housing under the control of religious organizations and "Mrs. Murphy's boarding house" (owner-occupied dwellings such as rooming houses or duplexes and "fourplexes" where the owner lives in one of the apartments -- perhaps three percent of the housing supply).

We enclose with this MEMO a summary of the bill and some Questions and Answers on it that Senator Mondale included in the Record when he introduced his amendment.

The issues in the Senate fight are set forth with great clarity in an editorial from the New York Times. We include that, too, with this MEMO. As the Times observes, we are faced once more with a situation in which Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen is using his considerable influence to block a civil rights bill with the threat of a filibuster and where Majority Leader Mike Mansfield could endanger passage by moving too soon to cut off debate.

What We Can Do

Under these circumstances the Conference proposes this course of action. During the Lincoln Day recess, we plan to have delegations visit Senators who are home and urge them to:

1. Support the fair housing amendment and to become a co-sponsor if they have not already done so;

2. Stay near the Senate floor;

3. Oppose any motion to table it or to cut off debate too quickly;

4. Vote for cloture if a filibuster attempt looks as if it will bar a vote on open housing.

We also want delegations to come to Washington after the recess to urge Senate support for fair housing and civil rights protection. If you can come to the Capital starting February 19, let us know. We will help arrange your visit.

For those who cannot join delegations, there is still the post office and Western Union. We need floods of letters and wires if we are to seize this chance to end housing discrimination.

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NEW YORK TIMES

February 8, 1968

Mr. Dirksen vs. the Senate

The Senate again faces a time of testing on the issue of racial equality, and again Mr. Dirksen, the minority leader, occupies the pivotal position. The nearly two-to-one vote the other day against a weak Southern substitute showed that a strong majority in both parties favors a meaningful civil-rights law.

The heart of the issue is open housing. Equal access to housing in the market place is essential if slum pressures are to be relieved and cities freed from the strangling noose of segregated white suburbs.

The other elements required for a genuinely effective civil-rights law include adequate enforcement powers for the Federal commission to prohibit racial discrimination in employment and protection for Negroes and civil rights workers in exercising their constitutional rights. A bill embodying the latter provision passed the House last year. What is needed, however, is a plugging of all three weak points in the present statutory safeguards against bias.

In 1966 the House passed a satisfactory omnibus bill, but Senator Dirksen and the more conservative Senate Republicans joined with the intransigent Southern bloc in a prolonged delaying action at the end of the session. As a result the bill never reached a final vote. The same alliance is projected this year.

Senator Morton of Kentucky and other middle-of-the-road Republicans, however, have made it plain that they do not want to tie their party to the dying cause of racism, particularly in a national election year. Moreover, the open-housing issue comes up now at the beginning rather than the end of a session. Time is not on Mr. Dirksen's side.

Senator Mansfield, the Democratic floor leader, has talked of seeking an early vote on a closure position. Such a vote would be a sham. Everyone recognizes that a two-thirds majority is unobtainable without Mr. Dirksen's cooperation. Under the Senate's pro-filibuster rule, Senator Dirksen and a dozen or so Republicans can obstruct action by voting with the Southern diehards.

There is no cause for hasty action. Let the Senate debate the bill until Mr. Dirksen decides he is willing to reach an accommodation with a majority of his colleagues. If the majority perseveres, he cannot frustrate it indefinitely.

THE PROPOSED FAIR HOUSING ACT OF 1967: SUMMARY

The Act would gradually prohibit discrimination on account of race, color, religion or national origin in the sale or rental of housing. Housing already subject to the President's Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing would be covered immediately. Housing held for sale or rent by someone other than its occupant and housing for five or more families would be covered from and after Dec. 31, 1968. All housing other than exempted housing of religious institutions would be covered from and after Dec. 31 1969, with the exception of the "Mrs. Murphy" provision.

The Act would also prohibit "blockbusting," discrimination in the financing of housing, discrimination in the provision of services or admission to membership by real estate organizations, and interference with or threats against persons enjoying or attempting to enjoy any of the rights which the Act grants or protects.

Responsibility for administration and enforcement would rest with the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. He would use the time during which the enforcement provisions gradually went into effect to consult with housing industry leaders and state and local officials and otherwise carry on educational and consultation activities.

The Secretary would be required to seek a voluntary solution in every case. If his attempt was unsuccessful, he would be authorized to issue a complaint, hold hearings and, if the evidence disclosed that discriminatory acts had occurred, issue orders granting appropriate relief. All orders of the Secretary would be subject to judicial review.

A person who believed that he had been injured by a discriminatory housing practice could file a charge with the Secretary. The Secretary would not be required to conciliate or to issue a complaint on the basis of every charge so filed, but if he did not, the person filing the charge could commence an action himself in any court of competent jurisdiction.

The Attorney General would be empowered to initiate suits in United States district courts to eliminate patterns or practices of housing discrimination. The Secretary could cede his jurisdiction to state or local fair housing agencies in appropriate cases or cooperate with them without ceding his jurisdiction.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON THE PROPOSED FAIR HOUSING ACT OF 1967

1. *Who will be covered?*

The Act will cover brokers, property owners, managers and anyone else who participates in the sale, rental or financing of housing.

2. *What are the stages of coverage?*

The first stage is federally assisted housing—essentially, housing with FHA or VA-guaranteed mortgages or public housing. This is the same housing which is already covered by the President's Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing of November 20, 1962 (Exec. Ord. 11063). (The implementation of that Order by federal agencies, however, has not been quite as broad as the Order itself. In particular, because they lacked sufficient enforcement personnel, the agencies exempted owner-occupied one- and two-family homes.)

The second stage, from and after January 1, 1968, is housing held for sale or rent by someone other than its occupant and housing for five or more families, whether or not one of its occupants is its owner.

The third stage, from and after January 1, 1969, is all housing. (But religious institutions could continue to give preference in housing to persons of their own religion.)

The Act's prohibitions against discrimination in the financing of housing, and in membership in, or obtaining the services of, real estate organizations will *not* become effective in stages. They go completely into effect on and after January 1, 1968. To have put them into effect in stages would not have made sense. For example, how can a real estate organization not discriminate as to membership only with respect to five-family homes?

The Act's provision against threats or coercion of persons who exercise the rights it grants or protects becomes effective immediately. Thus, as the previous rights become effective, in stages or from and after January 1, 1968, this provision will come into effect to protect persons in their exercise of them.

3. *Why does the Act go into effect only gradually?*

Responsibility for enforcement of the Act will rest with the Department of Housing and Urban Development, which already has the responsibility for enforcing the President's Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing. Thus, the Department can begin the first stage of enforcement with very little "tooling up," because the first stage of coverage is identical to the coverage of the President's Order. The next two stages of coverage are timed to coincide, roughly, with the time it will take the Department to hire and train its new personnel and establish its operational procedures.

The delay will also permit the Department of Housing and Urban Development to carry on educational and consultation activities, to acquaint the housing industry and the country generally with the provisions of the Act before it goes into effect.

4. *What exemptions does the Act have?*

There is an exemption to permit religious institutions or schools, etc., affiliated with them, to give preference in housing to persons of their own religion despite the Act. But religions whose membership is limited to persons of particular races, colors or national origin are not permitted to make use of this exemption.

There is a "Mrs. Murphy" exemption. And, insofar as a homeowner honestly chooses a roomer on the basis of personal friendship, or because he is a relative, for example, he would not violate the Act. The act forbids refusals only on the basis of "race, color, religion or national origin."

5. *How will the Act be enforced?*

Primary responsibility for enforcement is vested in the Department of Housing and Urban Development. It will establish local offices throughout the country for this purpose as needed. The Department will employ hearing examiners, who will be appointed and will serve in accordance with the Administrative Procedure Act.

Persons who believe they have been discriminated against may file a charge with the Department. If the Department decides to process the charge, it will so notify the person. If it decides not to, or fails to give notice within 30 days, the person can bring his own action in any court of competent jurisdiction.

The Department must always first try to settle a charge voluntarily, by conciliation and agreement. Only if that fails can it issue a complaint and hold hearings.

The Attorney General will also be empowered to enforce the Act, but only when a "pattern or practice" of resistance to its provisions is found to exist.

6. *Will persons who disagree with the Department of Housing and Urban Development's interpretation of the Act have any recourse?*

All orders of the Department will be subject to review by the Federal courts. In addition, the Department will be subject to the provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act in all its operations under the Fair Housing Act.

7. *What effect will the Act have on State or local fair housing laws?*

None. It will leave them in effect. In appropriate cases, the Department of Housing and Urban Development may even cede its jurisdiction to State or local agencies, or cooperate with them in joint operations.

8. *What effect would the Act have on the President's Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing (Exec. Ord. 11063)?*

None. It will leave it in effect. However, once the Act becomes fully effective, the Order will no longer be necessary, because the Act will cover everything which it covers, and more. The President will then presumably rescind the Order.

9. *Does Congress have the constitutional power to prohibit discrimination in housing?*

Yes. Supreme Court decisions clearly state that Congress has this power both under the Fourteenth Amendment and the Commerce Clause. A summary of these decisions has been prepared and is available.

10. *Will the Act prohibit "blockbusting"?*

Yes. Section 4(e) prohibits blockbusting.

11. *Will the Act make it a crime to discriminate in housing?*

No. All its enforcement provisions are civil in nature. An individual who disobeys the Act and refuses voluntarily to correct the harm he has done may be ordered by the Department of Urban Development (or, if necessary, by a court) to take appropriate action, but such orders cannot include fines, imprisonment or other criminal punishment.

12. *Why does the Act cover religious as well as racial, color, and national-origin discrimination?*

Although discrimination on religious grounds is not a major problem in housing, it nevertheless exists and is appropriately dealt with along with the other forms of discrimination.

13. *Will not the passage of a Fair Housing Act lower property values?*

No. Careful, well documented studies have shown that in the overwhelming majority of cases property values in unsegregated neighborhoods actually rise slightly faster than proprty values in all-white neighborhoods. The only general exception is when panic selling occurs, and even then the drop is temporary. The Act deals with this exception, too, by prohibiting "blockbusting"—the practice of frightening homeowners into selling at a low price by telling them that their neighborhood is, or is about to be, integrated.

State and local fair housing laws have been in existence for several years, and in no area have there been reports that property values have fallen on that account.

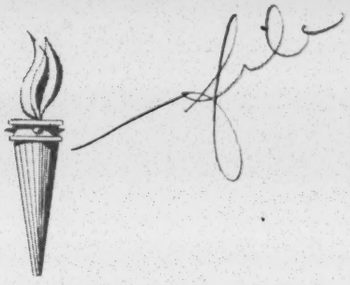
14. *Would the Act prohibit a person from refusing to sell or rent for any reason other than race, color, religion or national origin?*

No. Other reasons for refusing would continue to be as valid as they are now. For example, property owners will continue to be free to refuse to sell or rent to people who cannot meet the price, who have bad credit ratings, who fail to provide adequate character or financial references, etc.

15. *Will a person against whom a complaint of discrimination is issued have to prove that he did not discriminate?*

No. The burden of proof rests on the Department of Housing and Urban Development, or the complaining person, to prove that the defending person *did* discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS



ROY WILKINS, Chairman
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MEMO: No. 4-68
February 23, 1968

URGENT!

The New York Times

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1958

Surrender in the Senate

The open-housing amendment is the heart of the civil rights bill now pending in the Senate. On Tuesday sixty Senators voted or had themselves paired in favor of bringing the bill to an early vote. Yesterday approximately the same number rejected a motion to cut the housing amendment out of the bill.

Under these circumstances it would be inexcusable for Senator Mansfield, the majority leader, to abandon the fight for open housing if victory is not won by Monday. No legislative battle was ever won by such dilatory, defeatist tactics.

The vote on closure dramatized the split in the ranks of Senate Republicans on the housing issue. The 36 Republicans divided evenly. Those who followed Mr. Dirksen's leadership and joined with the Southern Democratic diehards bear the responsibility. Gov. George W. Romney, to his credit, called upon all G.O.P. Senators to support closure; Richard M. Nixon, his rival, has kept silent. He and other Republican leaders around the nation have an obligation to make themselves heard now.

Open housing is an elementary right that should scarcely have to be fought for in Congress. Since a fight is necessary, it deserves something much better than the token effort that Senator Mansfield and the Administration have made. It is far too early for a three-fifths majority of the Senate to surrender feebly to Mr. Dirksen and his Southern allies.

This states the case perfectly!

Wire your Senators before 1 P.M. Monday and urge them:

1. To vote for cluture
2. Oppose any effort to table or set the civil rights bill aside
3. And vote for open housing and civil rights protection.

Arnold Aronson, Secretary

"Cooperation in the Common Cause of Civil Rights for All"

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

file

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MEMO: No. 5-68
February 28, 1968

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

THE SENATE GETS SET TO PASS A GOOD CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

To something like general amazement, the Senate, after six weeks of filibuster, is now expected to limit debate and move on toward passage of a good civil rights protection act and a good national fair housing bill.

This Friday, the Senate will make its third cloture try in less than two weeks and this time it looks as if it will muster the necessary two-thirds of those present and voting. Final passage of the bill ought to follow within the week.

Dirksen Is The Key

Once again, as in 1964 and 1965, the pivotal Senator is Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.). Starting as he did in 1964 as a professed foe of the pending civil rights legislation, he has now accepted a strong version on both protection and housing and is working to line up votes for it.

His change of heart is probably due to the logic of the situation. The four votes on the legislation, since the debate began on January 15, have shown strong and growing support. When the pending matter before the Senate was H.R. 2516, the House-passed bill that gives the Justice Department new powers to protect Negroes and civil rights workers in the exercise of certain constitutional rights, Senator Sam Ervin (D-S.C.), leader of the Southern opposition, offered a weaker substitute. On February 6, that was defeated 54 to 29. The Leadership Conference, meanwhile, had been urging that fair housing be added to the protection bill and immediately after the defeat of the Ervin substitute, Senators Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.), and Edward Brooke (D-Mass.) offered fair housing as an amendment. The faint-hearted predicted such an addition would kill any chance for a civil rights bill this year. Instead, by raising the stakes, it aroused a new surge of interest in the nation and in the Senate. On February 20, Majority Leader Mike Mansfield first attempted to cut off debate and got a vote of 55 to 37 in favor of cloture, seven votes short. The next day, February 21, he moved to table the fair housing amendment and his proposal

was overwhelmingly rejected, 58 to 34. This past Monday, the second cloture attempt drew a vote of 56 to 36, only six short of the necessary two-thirds.

Meanwhile, messages and telegrams in support of the bill began pouring in.

Faced with these evidences of the Senate will and public opinion, and finding defections within his ranks (19 of the 36 Republicans voted for cloture Monday) Senator Dirksen announced he was ready to work out a bill.

What The Bill Provides

The new version of the bill is a very good one. The civil rights protection part is in some ways an improvement on H. R. 2516. For one thing, it adds the obtainment and accupancy of housing to the list of rights it would protect. Activities within the Federal realm -- serving on a Federal jury, using Federal facilities, enjoying the benefits of Federal programs, etc. -- would be protected without regard to race, color or creed. State activities -- such as serving on state juries, attending public schools, etc. -- would be protected under the 14th Amendment, and there race, color, religion or national origin would be considerations.

This is exactly the proposal Leadership Conference lawyers suggested last year when Senator Ervin offered his substitute in committee.

What The Fair Housing Bill Would Cover

Unlike the original Mondale-Brooke proposal, the fair housing section would not cover the sale and rental of all single family homes but it would go a long way in that direction. Immediately upon passage, it would apply only to housing already covered by the Executive Order of November 20, 1962 -- essentially homes with FHA or VA guaranteed mortgages and public housing. Later, coverage would be extended to housing held for sale or rent by someone other than its occupant -- all new project homes for instance -- and to apartments of five or more units, whether or not the owner lived in one of them. Finally, it would cover the sale or rental of single family homes where the transactions are carried on by brokers. Sales or rentals by owners would be added to the present exemptions in the bill for boarding houses ("Mrs. Murphy"), housing controlled by religious institutions and dwellings with four units or less in which the owner, himself, is living.

What Needs To Be Done

Once the bill passes, we will provide a more detailed analysis of it. Our task right now is to help get it through the Senate and, after that, through the House.

The response of our participating organizations to our last few MEMOs has been admirable. Your messages have played a significant part in creating the present bouyant mood of the Senate.

Please don't let up now. Keep the wires coming. Between now and Friday we urge you to:

1. Commend your Senators for voting for cloture (we enclose the votes on cloture and tabling) and ask them to be present Friday;
2. Urge them to stand firm against any attempt to weaken the compromise;
3. Urge them to vote for the civil rights protection bill and the fair housing measure.

ATTACHMENT NO. 1

Votes on Cloture and Tabling

Senate Rollcall Votes On Rights Filibuster

The Senate on Feb. 20 voted 55-37 to end a filibuster which has blocked action on civil rights legislation. The vote for cloture fell short of the two-thirds margin required to limit debate under Senate rules. Labor supported the position of the 37 Democrats and 18 Republicans who wanted to let the Senate vote on the legislation.

The bottom rollcall shows the 58-34 vote on Feb. 21 against tabling an open housing amendment to the civil rights bill. Labor supported the position of the 39 Democrats and 19 Republicans who voted against killing the most meaningful part of the President's program.

FOR CLOTURE

Democrats 37

Anderson (N.M.)
Bayh (Ind.)
Brewster (Md.)
Burdick (S.D.)
Church (Ida.)
Clark (Pa.)
Dodd (Conn.)
Gore (Tenn.)
Gruening (Alaska)
Harris (Okla.)
Hart (Mich.)
Inouye (Hawaii)
Jackson (Wash.)
Kennedy (Mass.)
Kennedy (N.Y.)
Lausche (Ohio)
Long (Mo.)
McCarthy (Minn.)
McGee (Wyo.)
McGovern (S.D.)
McIntyre (N.H.)
Metcalf (Mont.)
Mondale (Minn.)
Montoya (N.M.)
Morse (Ore.)
Moss (Utah)
Muskie (Maine)
Nelson (Wis.)
Pell (R.I.)
Proxmire (Wis.)
Randolph (W.Va.)
Ribicoff (Conn.)
Symington (Mo.)
Tydings (Md.)
Williams (N.J.)
Yarborough (Tex.)
Young (Ohio)

Republicans 18

Aiken (Vt.)
Allott (Colo.)
Boggs (Del.)
Brooke (Mass.)
Case (N.J.)
Cooper (Ky.)
Dominick (Colo.)
Fong (Hawaii)
Griffin (Mich.)
Hatfield (Ore.)
Javits (N.Y.)
Kuchel (Calif.)
Morton (Ky.)
Pearson (Kan.)
Percy (Ill.)
Prouty (Vt.)
Scott (Pa.)
Smith (Maine)

AGAINST CLOTURE

Democrats 19

Bartlett (Alaska)
Bible (Nev.)
Byrd (Va.)
Eastland (Miss.)
Ellender (La.)
Ervin (N.C.)
Fulbright (Ark.)
Hayden (Ariz.)
Hill (Ala.)
Holland (Fla.)
Hollings (S.C.)
Jordan (N.C.)
Long (La.)
McClellan (Ark.)
Russell (Ga.)
Sparkman (Ala.)
Spong (Va.)
Stennis (Miss.)
Talmadge (Ga.)

Republicans 18

Baker (Tenn.)
Bennett (Utah)
Carlson (Kan.)
Cotton (N.H.)
Curtis (Neb.)
Dirksen (Ill.)
Fannin (Ariz.)
Hansen (Wyo.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)
Hruska (Neb.)
Jordan (Ida.)
Miller (Iowa)
Mundt (S.D.)
Murphy (Calif.)
Thurmond (S.C.)
Tower (Tex.)
Williams (Del.)
Young (N.D.)

Paired For Cloture: Hartke (D-Okla.), Magnuson (D-Wash), Mansfield (D-Mont.), Pastore (D-R.I.)
Paired Against Cloture: Byrd (D-W.Va.) and Smathers (D-Fla.)

FOR TABLING

Democrats 18

Byrd (Va.)
Byrd (W. Va.)
Eastland (Miss.)
Ellender (La.)
Ervin (N.C.)
Fulbright (Ark.)
Hayden (Ariz.)
Hill (Ala.)
Holland (Fla.)
Hollings (S.C.)
Jordan (N.C.)
Long (La.)
Mansfield (Mont.)
McClellan (Ark.)
Sparkman (Ala.)
Spong (Va.)
Stennis (Miss.)
Talmadge (Ga.)

Republicans 16

Allott (Colo.)
Baker (Tenn.)
Bennett (Utah)
Cotton (N.H.)
Curtis (Neb.)
Dirksen (Ill.)
Fannin (Ariz.)
Hansen (Wyo.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)
Hruska (Neb.)
Jordan (Ida.)
Mundt (S.D.)
Thurmond (S.C.)
Tower (Tex.)
Williams (Del.)
Young (N.D.)

AGAINST TABLING

Democrats 39

Anderson (N.M.)
Bartlett (Alaska)
Bayh (Ind.)
Bible (Nev.)
Brewster (Md.)
Burdick (S.D.)
Church (Ida.)
Clark (Pa.)
Dodd (Conn.)
Gore (Tenn.)
Gruening (Alaska)
Harris (Okla.)
Hart (Mich.)
Hartke (Ind.)
Inouye (Hawaii)
Jackson (Wash.)
Kennedy (Mass.)
Kennedy (N.Y.)
Lausche (Ohio)
Long (Mo.)
Magnuson (Wash.)
McGee (Wyo.)
McGovern (S.D.)
McIntyre (N.H.)
Mondale (Minn.)
Montoya (N.M.)
Morse (Ore.)
Moss (Utah)
Muskie (Maine)
Nelson (Wis.)
Pell (R.I.)
Proxmire (Wis.)
Randolph (W.Va.)
Ribicoff (Conn.)
Symington (Mo.)
Tydings (Md.)
Williams (N.J.)
Yarborough (Tex.)
Young (Ohio)

Republicans 19

Aiken (Vt.)
Boggs (Del.)
Brooke (Mass.)
Carlson (Kan.)
Case (N.J.)
Cooper (Ky.)
Dominick (Colo.)
Fong (Hawaii)
Griffin (Mich.)
Hatfield (Ore.)
Javits (N.Y.)
Kuchel (Calif.)
Miller (Iowa)
Morton (Ky.)
Pearson (Kan.)
Percy (Ill.)
Prouty (Vt.)
Scott (Pa.)
Smith (Maine)

Paired For Tabling: Smathers (D-Fla.), Russell (D-Ga.), Murphy (R-Calif.).
Paired Against Tabling: Metcalf (D-Mont.), Pastore (D-R. I.), Monroney (D-Okla.).

Roll-Call Vote in Senate On Civil Rights Closure

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26 (AP) —Following is the roll-call vote by which the Senate refused today for a second time to invoke closure on the civil rights bill. A two-thirds majority was required to halt debate.

FOR CLOSURE—56

Democrats—37

Anderson (N.M.)
Bayh (Ind.)
Brewster (Md.)
Burdick (N.D.)
Church (Idaho)
Clark (Pa.)
Dodd (Conn.)
Gore (Tenn.)
Gruening (Alaska)
Harris (Okla.)
Hart (Mich.)
Hartke (Ind.)
Inouye (Hawaii)
Jackson (Wash.)
Kennedy (Mass.)
Kennedy (N.Y.)
Lausche (Ohio)
Long (Mo.)
Magnuson (Wash.)
McGee (Wyo.)
McIntyre (N.H.)
Metcalf (Mont.)
Mondale (Minn.)
Monroney (Okla.)
Montoya (N.M.)
Morse (Ore.)
Moss (Utah)
Muskie (Me.)
Nelson (Wis.)
Pell (R.I.)
Proxmire (Wis.)
Randolph (W. Va.)
Ribicoff (Conn.)
Symington (Mo.)
Tydings (Md.)
Williams (N.J.)
Young (Ohio)

Republicans—19

Aiken (Vt.)
Allott (Colo.)
Boggs (Del.)
Brooke (Mass.)
Case (N.J.)
Cooper (Ky.)
Cotton (N.H.)
Dominick (Colo.)
Fong (Hawaii)
Griffin (Mich.)
Hatfield (Ore.)
Javits (N.Y.)
Kuchel (Calif.)
Morton (Ky.)
Pearson (Kan.)
Percy (Ill.)
Prouty (Vt.)
Scott (Pa.)
Smith (Me.)

AGAINST CLOSURE—36

Democrats—19

Bible (Nev.)
Byrd (Va.)
Byrd (W. Va.)
Cannon (Nev.)
Eastland (Miss.)
Ellender (La.)
Ervin (N.C.)
Fulbright (Ark.)
Hill (Ala.)
Holland (Fla.)
Hollings (S.C.)
Jordan (N.C.)
Long (La.)
McClellan (Ark.)
Russell (Ga.)
Sparkman (Ala.)
Spong (Va.)
Stennis (Miss.)
Talmadge (Ga.)

Republicans—17

Baker (Tenn.)
Bennett (Utah)
Carlson (Kan.)
Curtis (Neb.)
Dirksen (Ill.)
Fannin (Ariz.)
Hansen (Wyo.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)
Hruska (Neb.)
Jordan (Idaho)
Miller (Iowa)
Mundt (S.D.)
Murphy (Calif.)
Thurmond (S.C.)
Tower (Tex.)
Williams (Del.)
Young (N.D.)

Not voting but paired (pairs are used to denote the positions of Senators when one or both are absent; under the two-thirds requirement, two favorable votes balance one against):

For closure, Pastore (D-R.I.) and McGovern (D-S.D.); against, Bartlett (D-Alaska). For closure, Yarborough (D-Tex.) and Mansfield (D-Mont.); against, Smathers (D-Fla.).

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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URGENT

MEMO: No. 6-68
March 6, 1968

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

WE MUST NOT LET UP NOW!

The Senate Votes Cloture

A civil rights bill that would establish a national fair housing law and provide greater protection from violence for Negroes and civil rights workers may pass the Senate within the week. This happy prospect appeared when the Senate, Monday, voted 65 to 32 to end seven weeks of filibuster.

The Legislative Situation

We are not out of the woods yet. The vote on cloture does not end debate -- it merely limits it. Each Senator has one hour to talk -- theoretically, the debate could continue for 100 hours more if each member uses his full time. The debate is on the "Dirksen substitute" -- the new version of the protection and fair housing bill worked out with Republican Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen in an effort to pick up the votes necessary for cloture -- and all amendments to it. At the time of the cloture vote, there were 83 amendments pending.

Amendments The Threat

The threats to a reasonably good bill lie in those amendments. Most of them would weaken the bill. They must be defeated.

What We Must Do

Wire your Senators today:

1. Thank those who voted for cloture (we include the last two votes with this MEMO);
2. Urge them to stay in Washington and stay on the Senate floor (a few votes for cloture were lost by Senators arriving late);
3. Urge them to vote down all weakening amendments.

1968 may yet be another Civil Rights Year!

"Cooperation in the Common Cause of Civil Rights for All"

Attachment No. 1

THE LAST TWO CLOTURE VOTES

The one that failed.....

(Friday, March 1)

59-35 Vote By Senators On Cloture

Associated Press

Here is the 50-to-35 vote by which the Senate refused to invoke cloture yesterday on the Dirksen substitute Civil Rights Bill. (The vote was four short of the required two-thirds).

Democrats for: 37

Anderson (N.M.)	McGovern (S.D.)
Bayh (Ind.)	McIntyre (N.H.)
Brewster (Md.)	Metcalf (Mont.)
Burdick (N.D.)	Mondale (Minn.)
Clark (Pa.)	Monroney (Okla.)
Dodd (Conn.)	Montoya (N.M.)
Gruening (Alaska)	Morse (Ore.)
Harris (Okla.)	Moss (Utah)
Hart (Mich.)	Muskie (Maine)
Hartke (Ind.)	Nelson (Wis.)
Inouye (Hawaii)	Pell (R.I.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Randolph (W.Va.)
Kennedy (N.Y.)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Lausche (Ohio)	Symington (Mo.)
Long (Mo.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
Magnuson (Wash.)	Williams (N.J.)
Mansfield (Mont.)	Young (Ohio)
McCarthy (Minn.)	

Republicans for: 22

Aiken (Vt.)	Griffin (Mich.)
Allott (Colo.)	Hatfield (Ore.)
Baker (Tenn.)	Javits (N.Y.)
Boggs (Del.)	Jordan (Idaho)
Brooke (Mass.)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Case (N.J.)	Morton (Ky.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Cotton (N.H.)	Percy (Ill.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Dominick (Colo.)	Scott (Pa.)
Fong (Hawaii)	Smith (Maine)

Democrats against: 21

Bible (Nev.)	Holland (Fla.)
Byrd (Va.)	Hollings (S.C.)
Byrd (W.Va.)	Jordan (N.C.)
Cannon (Nev.)	Long (La.)
Eastland (Miss.)	McClellan (Ark.)
Ellender (La.)	Russell (Ga.)
Ervin (N.C.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Spong (Va.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Hayden (Ariz.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Hill (Ala.)	

Republicans against: 14

Bennett (Utah)	Miller (Iowa)
Carlson (Kan.)	Mundt (S.D.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Murphy (Calif.)
Fannin (Ariz.)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Hansen (Wyo.)	Tower (Tex.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)	Williams (Del.)
Hruska (Neb.)	Young (N.D.)

Not voting but announced as paired on the vote (pairs are used to denote opposing positions of Senators when one or more are absent: on cloture, where a two-thirds majority is required, two affirmative votes are needed to pair with one negative:

McGee (D-Wyo.) and Pastore (D-R.I.) for, Bartlett (D-Alaska), against.

Church (D-Idaho) and Tydings (D-Md.) for, Smathers (D-Fla.) against.

.....AND THE ONE THAT WON!

(Monday, March 4)

Roll Call on Cloture

Associated Press

Here is the 65 to 32 roll call vote by which the Senate yesterday invoked cloture to limit debate on the Dirksen compromise amendment to the civil rights bill:

Democrats For—41

Anderson (N.M.)	Mansfield (Mont.)
Bartlett (Alaska)	McGee (Wyo.)
Bayh (Ind.)	McGovern (S.D.)
Brewster (Md.)	McIntyre (N.H.)
Burdick (N.D.)	Metcalf (Mont.)
Cannon (Nev.)	Mondale (Minn.)
Church (Idaho)	Monroney (Okla.)
Clark (Pa.)	Montoya (N.M.)
Dodd (Conn.)	Morse (Ore.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Moss (Utah)
Gruening (Alaska)	Muskie (Maine)
Harris (Okla.)	Nelson (Wisc.)
Hart (Mich.)	Pell (R.I.)
Hartke (Ind.)	Proxmire (Wisc.)
Inouye (Hawaii)	Randolph (W.Va.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Symington (Mo.)
Kennedy (N.Y.)	Tydings (Md.)
Lausche (Ohio)	Yarborough (Tex.)
Long (Mo.)	Young (Ohio)
Magnuson (Wash.)	

Republicans For—24

Aiken (Vt.)	Griffin (Mich.)
Allott (Colo.)	Hatfield (Ore.)
Baker (Tenn.)	Javits (N.Y.)
Boggs (Del.)	Jordan (Idaho)
Brooke (Mass.)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Carlson (Kan.)	Miller (Iowa)
Case (N.J.)	Morton (Ky.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Cotton (N.H.)	Percy (Ill.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Dominick (Colo.)	Scott (Pa.)
Fong (Hawaii)	Smith (Maine)

Democrats Against—20

Bible (Nev.)	Hollings (S.C.)
Byrd (Va.)	Jordan (N.C.)
Byrd (W.Va.)	Long (La.)
Eastland (Miss.)	McClellan (Ark.)
Ellender (La.)	Russell (Ga.)
Ervin (N.C.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Hayden (Ariz.)	Spong (Va.)
Hill (Ala.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Holland (Fla.)	Talmadge (Ga.)

Republicans Against—12

Bennett (Utah)	Mundt (S.D.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Murphy (Calif.)
Fannin (Ariz.)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Hansen (Wyo.)	Tower (Tex.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)	Williams (Del.)
Hruska (Neb.)	Young (N.D.)

Not voting nor paired but announced as for cloture:

Eugene J. McCarthy (D-Minn.), John O. Pastore (D-R.I.), Harrison A. Williams Jr. (D-N.J.)

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MEMO: No. 8-68
March 19, 1968

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

WE CAN WIN THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL THIS MONTH!

The timetable on the bill to establish a federal open housing law and guarantee greater protection for civil rights is now fairly clear. We have about one week from today in which to develop the kind of support needed to get the House to approve the bill in the form in which it passed the Senate on Monday, March 11.

The Legislative Situation Now

On Thursday, March 14, Rep. Ray Madden (D-Ind.) set in motion the procedure by which it is hoped the bill can win swift House approval. He introduced a resolution, H. Res. 1100, which says, essentially, that the House agrees to the amendments the Senate added to the House-passed civil rights measure H.R. 2516. Open housing and all the other provisions the Senate added are included in these amendments. Adoption of the Madden resolution would be the quickest way to complete action on the civil rights act.

The resolution has been referred to the House Rules Committee of which Mr. Madden is a member. That committee is expected to hold several days of hearings on the bill this week.

It is hoped that on Tuesday, March 26, the Rules Committee will report out H. Res. 1100 with a rule that would prohibit any further changes in the bill. Actual consideration of the resolution would then occur on Wednesday, March 27. The key vote will come on a matter of parliamentary procedure. At some point in the proceedings, one of the floor leaders in the fight for civil rights will say, "Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution." That would bring the House to a vote without further debate. We want everyone to support this move. If it fails, if the previous question is not adopted, a motion will be made to send the bill to conference and that can be harmful.

Obstacle to Passage

A major obstacle to swift passage is the announcement by the House Republican Leader Gerald Ford (R-Mich.) that he wants a conference on the bill between House and Senate members. Such a conference, as we pointed out in the last MEMO (No. 7-68) could result in a serious weakening of the bill or in a stalemate. We enclose with this MEMO a recent New York Times editorial that makes the point very well.

It is our hope that Mr. Ford's opposition to the resolution route is personal and that he will not attempt to make it a matter of Republican policy. If he does that, a number of Republicans who are now ready to approve the resolution and dispose of the bill quickly, may be restrained from doing so by party loyalty.

What We Can Do

We urge the heads of all cooperating organizations to notify their members at once urging them to:

1. Get in touch with members of the Rules Committee and ask them to be in constant attendance until the Madden resolution is reported out.

2. Write, or better yet, phone or wire their Congressmen urging them to stay in Washington this coming week and to vote for H. Res. 1100 when it comes to the floor.

The important thing is to get messages in right away. The real estate brokers are already writing. Their letters opposing fair housing are pouring into the House right now. In an article on the civil rights bill, the New York Times said ominously, "A heavy protest, either verbally or by mail, from constitutents could cause . . . Democrats and Republicans to abandon outright approval of the Senate bill in favor of a detour of the issue in a House-Senate conference, with major surgery."

We can help Congress avoid that detour -- and the surgery -- by flooding House members with letters and wires urging them to concur in the Senate bill.

HOUSE RULES COMMITTEE

Democrats	Republicans
William M. Colmer (Miss.) Chairman	H. Allen Smith (Calif.)
Ray J. Madden (Ind.)	John B. Anderson (Ill.)
James J. Delaney (N. Y.)	Dave Martin (Neb.)
Richard Bolling (Mo.)	James H. Quillen (Tenn.)
Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. (Mass.)	Delbert L. Latta (Ohio)
B. F. Sisk (Calif.)	
John Young (Texas)	
Claude Pepper (Fla.)	
Spark M. Matsunaga (Hawaii)	
William R. Anderson (Tenn.)	

The New York Times

FRIDAY, MARCH 15, 1968

Mr. Ford's Move

The House Democratic leadership has intelligently decided to send the Senate version of the Civil Rights bill directly to the floor for final approval.

Enemies of the bill have been pushing for a House-Senate conference, the chief purpose of which would be to consider weakening amendments to the bill's open-housing section. An effort would certainly be made in conference to add an amendment permitting a property owner to instruct his broker to discriminate racially in the sale or rental of his house. Such an amendment would tear a gaping hole in the bill. There is no basis in law or conscience for giving property owners the power to authorize discrimination.

Representative Gerald Ford, the Republican leader, is the key man in next week's vote as his counterpart, Everett Dirksen, was in the Senate. Because of Southern defections, the majority Democrats cannot put through the Senate version without the cooperation of Mr. Ford and his fellow-Republicans. It is not ideal legislating for either chamber to accept major amendments that its own committees have not considered, but in the give-and-take of the legislative process this procedure is sometimes unavoidable. In this instance, every member of the House is conversant with the open-housing provisions as voted by the Senate, and knows how he stands. Further committee consideration and debate are scarcely necessary.

A vote to go to conference is a vote to delay and weaken the bill. A vote to accept the Senate substitute would speed the bill to the President's desk and bring fresh confidence to all who believe in racial equality. At a time when racial tensions in this country are acute, Representative Ford and his Republican colleagues will be assuming a grim responsibility if they refuse to open the doors of the ghetto as wide as possible.

file

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office
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TO: Cooperating Organizations

MEMO: No. 10-68
April 10, 1968

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

A CALL FOR EASTER VISITS TO CARRY OUT DR. KING'S DREAM

In the excitement of the tragic days that began with the death of Martin Luther King, Jr., we were delayed in sending you the statement of legislative goals for this session of Congress issued by the Executive Committee of the Leadership Conference.

The statement, adopted before Dr. King's death outlines the kind of program he was preparing to urge upon Congress. We are sending it to you now in the hope it will stimulate your organization to undertake visits to House and Senate members while they are home for the Easter recess, from April 11 through April 17.

Because we believe Congress will have enacted the civil rights bill (H.R. 2516) with its open housing provision by the time you get this, we urge you to concentrate on some of the other legislative goals: at least a million jobs for the hardcore unemployed; decent low cost housing for all; repeal of punitive welfare restrictions and legislation to help farm workers organize by extending to them the protections of the National Labor Relations Board.

WHAT YOU CAN DO: 1. Tell your members to visit their Senators and Congressmen during Easter and express the concern we all feel by urging them to pass the legislation outlined in the statement as a minimum program for dealing with our present domestic crisis. Get them to join with other groups - the coalition that helped win the legislative victories of the past 10 years.

2. Write to the President and have your members write, urging him to adopt as his own priorities the kind set forth in the statement. President Johnson has postponed the speech on domestic issues he was prepared to make to a joint session of Congress. Your letters can help shape whatever speech he finally gives.

PLEASE ACT NOW. Make Easter and our common tragedy meaningful by pressing for enactment of a program Dr. King would want.

-30-

Please let us know what Easter activities you are undertaking and what we can do to help.

STATEMENT BY THE
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
ON THE KERNER COMMISSION REPORT

April 2, 1968

When the Kerner Commission declares "It is time now to end the destruction and violence, not only in the streets of the ghetto but in the lives of people," it presents a challenge to the entire nation. It is a challenge that we in the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights willingly accept.

The alternatives before the country, as the Report presents them, have never been so stark.

Either we adopt and implement a national policy that fosters racial and economic integration at every level of American life, or we shall suffer the awful consequences foreshadowed in the Report's basic conclusion that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white -- separate and unequal."

Either we find a way to create viable communities in our cities or we shall have no cities.

Either we employ, educate and house our 33 million poor so that they may live decent, dignified lives or we face the prospect of years of domestic disorder and even the destruction of our democratic system.

The choice is ours but the time to act upon that choice is fast running out. As yet, neither the executive nor the legislative branches of government has responded with the sense of urgency that the Report conveys and that the problems so clearly demand.

We share with the Commission the conviction that action must be taken now to "produce quick and visible progress." To this end, we call upon the President and members of Congress in both parties to join together and assure passage in this session of at least the following priority measures:

1. First and foremost is the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, H.R. 2516 before the Easter recess. It is a sad commentary that we still need legislation to protect Americans in the exercise of their constitutional rights and in their right to rent or purchase a home. But failure to pass this measure will be interpreted by millions of Americans, and properly so, as a refusal to accept them as full and equal citizens. The Senate has already passed this bill by an overwhelming vote of Democratic and Republican members. The House, as it did in passing the civil rights laws of 1960 and 1964, should concur in the Senate amendments and so advance us toward full equality.

2. Congress must approve the Urgent Supplemental Appropriations for 1968 as soon as possible in order to bring funds up to authorized levels and make $75 million available for summer jobs programs and $25 million for Head Start.

3. "Pervasive unemployment and underemployment," the Kerner Report observes, "are the most persistent and serious grievances in minority areas. They are inextricably linked to the problem of civil disorder." The Commission calls for "immediate action to create two million new jobs over the next three years -- one million in the public sector and one million in the private sector -- to absorb the hard-core unemployed and materially reduce the level of underemployment for all workers, black and white." We urge Congress in this session to enact legislation implementing this recommendation.

The Report also stresses the need to make good the promises of America for the rural as well as the urban poor and for all ethnic groups. One particular way of fulfilling these promises for the rural poor is to help agricultural workers organize by enacting the pending bill to bring them under the protection of the National Labor Relations Act.

4. Congress must repeal the unconscionable provisions that limit Federal participation in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program and threaten to deny assistance to about 475,000 welfare recipients; force mothers of pre-school children to take part in work-training programs; deny unemployment compensation to fathers with no significant history of employment; and cut back medical care to welfare recipients.

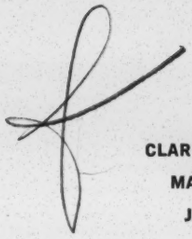
5. Governmental programs have thus far produced only 680,000 low-income housing units for the six million families that desperately need them. We, therefore, urge enactment of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 to provide for necessary expansion in the construction of public housing and to make available adequate funds for the rent supplement and model cities programs. In construction of housing, preference must be given to projects that destroy ghetto patterns and make possible the creation of a single, integrated society.

We recognize that action on these programs is costly. But inaction will be far more costly both in terms of wasted lives and in the threat to our democratic fabric. We agree with former Secretary of HEW John W. Gardner when he declared "History is not going to deal kindly with a rich nation that refuses to tax itself to cure its miseries."

The Leadership Conference has long been committed to an integrated democratic, plural society, even as we are committed to the belief that this goal can and must be achieved through peaceful, democratic means and within the American political system. We reaffirm that commitment in the light of the Kerner Report, with a heightened sense of urgency.

Accordingly, we call upon the 115 national organizations in the Conference to make the consideration and implementation of the Report their highest priority. The Congressional Easter recess is almost here. It offers us an opportunity for an immediate step. We call upon each organization to urge its local units to use the recess as the occasion of their own recommitment to the goals of the Conference and to hold special meetings, visit and phone their Senators and Congressmen and urge them to recognize our desperate situation and enact this minimum program in civil rights, employment, housing and welfare.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS



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MEMO: No. 11-68
April 18, 1968

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

SUMMING UP THE CIVIL RIGHTS VICTORY

The signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 on Thursday, April 11, was an affirmation of Adlai Stevenson's memorable remark that progress is made when "the impossible gives way to the necessary." We need not rehearse for members of the Leadership Conference how many times the press and even members of Congress gave up the bill for dead and predicted the impossibility of passing any Federal open housing legislation. The final victory is shared by all of us who worked for the passage of the bill against seemingly insurmountable odds.

Praise For Clarence Mitchell

In this connection, we are glad to include with this MEMO a copy of a Washington Post editorial commending our Legislative Chairman, Clarence Mitchell, for the decisive role he played in obtaining passage of the bill. Those who worked with him know that when even the firmest of us doubted, he did not doubt. The Post's tribute fittingly singles out a man who never gave up and whose devoted, unceasing work for civil rights too often goes unsung.

Clarence Mitchell, of course, would be the first to insist upon sharing any tribute with the others, in Washington and throughout the country, too many to list here, who also worked to get the bill passed.

Thanks To House Members

Considering the enormous pressures to which they were subjected by opponents of the law, the House members who voted to keep the bill from a conference in which it could have been hacked to pieces deserve our special thanks. We enclose that decisive vote with this MEMO. We hope our many organizations will send notes of appreciation to these Congressmen.

Where The Civil Rights Bill Stands

Enactment of H. R. 2516 virtually completes Congressional action on President Johnson's civil rights package for the 90th Congress.

Our organizations will recall that since it was felt last year that the omnibus bill could not be passed as a single piece of legislation, its six titles were introduced as separate bills.

Congress enacted months ago Title I, the section to reform the Federal jury system and Title VI, which extends the life of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission five years to January 31, 1973.

Passage of H. R. 2516 writes into law Title IV, the fair housing section, and Title V, the section meant to protect Negroes and civil rights workers in the exercise of key constitutional rights. (Because this has become the major civil rights law of this session, we enclose a summary of its principal provisions.)

The two remaining titles, on which final action has not yet been taken are Title II, the state jury reform section, and Title III, to strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, mainly by giving it authority to issue cease and desist orders.

Title II is bottled up in the Senate Judiciary Committee and has little chance of getting out. But the bill to strengthen EEOC, one of the Kerner Riot Commission's recommendations, incidentally, could be reported out readily by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee -- if only that committee could manage to meet. So far, because of the political activities of some of its members, the Labor Committee has been unable to obtain a quorum. The committee is scheduled to meet on the bill (S. 1308) this coming Wednesday, April 24. We urge our organizations to wire or write the members of the committee urging them to help complete the civil rights agenda for this year by attending the committee meeting and reporting out the bill. Here are the members:

Democrats: Hill, Chairman (Ala.), Morse (Ore.), Yarborough (Texas), Clark (Pa.), Randolph (W. Va.), Williams, Jr. (N. J.), Pell (R. I.), Kennedy (Mass.), Nelson (Wis.), Kennedy (N. Y.).

Republicans: Javits (N. Y.), Prouty (Vt.), Dominick (Colo.), Murphy (Calif.), Fannin (Ariz.), Griffin (Mich.).

* * * * * * *

We Can Still Get Emergency Funds For Jobs And Head Start

Overshadowed by the passage of the civil rights act was another hopeful Congressional action. The Senate, by a vote of 54 to 24, last week rejected a conference report on the Urgent Supplemental Appropriations for 1968, because the conferees would not accept Senate amendments to provide $25 million in emergency funds for Head Start and $75 million for the summer job program. New Senate conferees have been named. You can help them by wiring them -- Senators Holland (Fla.), Ellender (La.), Magnuson (Wash.), Bible (Nev.), McGee (Wyo.), Yarborough (Texas), Mundt (S. D.), and Javits (N. Y.) -- urging them to recognize the importance of these funds in any program to deal with our domestic crisis. Senator Javits deserves a special word of commendation. He led the fight to keep the money in the bill.

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

A LAW TO ASSURE FAIR HOUSING AND TO PROTECT RIGHTS AGAINST INTERFERENCE

(A brief summary of H. R. 2516)

TITLE I
PROHIBITS INTERFERENCE WITH FEDERALLY PROTECTED RIGHTS

Title I makes it a Federal criminal offense for anyone to interfere with certain enumerated civil rights by force or threats of force.

The rights protected against any interference include the right: to vote, to run for office, to serve as a poll watcher or election official in any election, Federal, state or local; to participate in or to enjoy the benefits of any Federal service, privilege, program, facility or activity; to apply for or enjoy Federal employment; to serve as a Federal juror; to participate in or enjoy the services of any program or activity that is assisted with Federal funds.

Other rights are protected against interference based on race, creed, color or national origin. These include the right: to enroll in or attend any public school or college; to participate in or enjoy any state benefit, service, privilege, program or facility; to apply for or enjoy employment by a state or subdivision or by a private employer; to join or use the services of any union, hiring hall or employment agency; to serve as a state juror; to travel in interstate commerce; to use the facilities of places of public accommodation.

Also protected are citizens who assist others to enjoy these rights or who advocate their enjoyment (civil rights workers) and those who extend these rights to those seeking them (such as members of a school board who desegregate schools or a restaurant owner who serves colored patrons).

Businessmen would be protected from force or threats of force during a riot.

Law enforcement officers and members of the Armed Forces or National Guard engaged in suppressing a riot would be exempted from coverage of this title. They would, however, continue to be covered by existing civil rights laws (18 U.S.C. 241 and 242).

Penalties range from one year and $1,000 fine to life imprisonment, depending on the severity of the offense. Existing civil rights laws are amended to increase penalties.

Title I also includes an anti-riot bill. It prohibits travel in interstate commerce or the use of facilities of interstate commerce with intent to incite,

organize, promote, encourage or participate in a riot or to commit any act of violence in furtherance of a riot. Penalties would be up to $10,000 fine and five years' imprisonment.

TITLE II to VII
RIGHTS OF INDIANS

These titles provide a "bill of rights" for Indians. They would extend certain constitutional rights to all Indians and would reform tribal courts and Indian law.

TITLE VIII
FAIR HOUSING

This is the open housing bill. It prohibits discrimination based on race, creed, color or national origin in the sale, rental and financing of housing. It would go into effect in three phases:

1. Upon enactment, it would apply to most housing now covered by the 1962 Executive Housing Order (government-owned or assisted housing).

2. On January 1, 1969, it would cover all other housing except single-family houses sold or rented by a private owner who owns no more than three houses; and rooms or units in dwellings of four or fewer units where the owner occupies one of the units. This is the "Mrs. Murphy's boarding house" exemption. In this phase, large apartment houses with more than four units and new single family houses in new developments would be covered.

3. On January 1, 1970, coverage would extend to all housing sold or rented through a broker or other agent (except rooms or units in a "Mrs. Murphy's" dwelling).

Religious organizations and private clubs that provide housing to members are exempted from coverage.

There are these methods of enforcement:

1) By complaints to the Secretary of HUD, who would investigate and attempt conciliation. He would first refer the complaint to a state agency if it offered comparable rights and remedies.

2) By individual suits for relief and damages, including punitive damages up to $1,000 in Federal courts (or in state courts if the state has a comparable law).

3) By "pattern or practice" suits brought by the Attorney General.

Civil actions may also be brought in Federal court to enjoin interference with rights protected by this title.

Discrimination by commercial lenders and by real estate boards or multiple listing organizations is also prohibited.

TITLE IX
PREVENTS INTIMIDATION IN FAIR HOUSING CASES

Provides penalties similar to those of Title I to protect the right to housing against intimidation or interference because of race, creed, color or national origin.

TITLE X
CIVIL DISORDERS

Makes it a Federal criminal offense to teach or demonstrate the use of a firearm or explosive for use in a civil disorder, to transport or manufacture a firearm or explosive for such purpose, to obstruct, impede or interfere with a law officer or fireman in a civil disorder.

---Prepared by J. Francis Pohlhaus
Special Consultant

3/19/68

ENCLOSURE NO. 1

Key House Vote Leading to Rights Bill Passage

Associated Press

Following is the key 229-to-195 vote by which the House blocked moves to send the civil rights bill to conference and thereby prepared the way for final enactment without changes:

Democrats for 152:

Adams (Wash.)
Addabbo (N.Y.)
Albert (Okla.)
Annunzio (Ill.)
Ashley (Ohio)
Barrett (Pa.)
Bingham (N.Y.)
Blatnik (Minn.)
Boggs (La.)
Boland (Mass.)
Bolling (Mo.)
Brademas (Ind.)
Brasco (N.Y.)
Brooks (Tex.)
Brown (Calif.)
Burke (Mass.)
Burton (Calif.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Carey (N.Y.)
Celler (N.Y.)
Cohelan (Calif.)
Conyers (Mich.)
Corman (Calif.)
Culver (Iowa)
Daddario (Conn.)
Daniels (N.J.)
Dawson (Ill.)
Dent (Pa.)
Diggs (Mich.)
Donohue (Mass.)
Dow (N.Y.)
Dulski (N.Y.)
Eckhardt (Tex.)
Edwards (Calif.)
Eilberg (Pa.)
Evans (Colo.)
Fallon (Md.)
Farbstein (N.Y.)
Fascell (Fla.)
Feighan (Ohio)
Flood (Pa.)
Foley (Wash.)
Ford, Wm. D. (Mich.)
Fraser (Minn.)
Friedel (Md.)
Fulton (Tenn.)
Gallagher (N.J.)
Garmatz (Md.)
Giaimo (Conn.)
Gilbert (N.Y.)
Gonzalez (Tex.)
Gray (Ill.)
Green (Ore.)
Green (Pa.)
Griffiths (Mich.)
Hamilton (Ind.)
Hanley (N.Y.)
Hanna (Calif.)
Hansen (Wash.)
Hathaway (Maine)
Hawkins (Calif.)
Hays (Ohio)
Hechler (W.Va.)
Helstoski (N.J.)
Hicks (Wash.)
Holifield (Calif.)
Holland (Pa.)
Howard (N.J.)
Irwin (Conn.)
Jacobs (Ind.)
Joelson (N.J.)
Johnson (Calif.)
Karth (Minn.)
Kastenmeier (Wis.)
Kazen (Tex.)
Koe (W.Va.)
Kelly (N.Y.)
Kirwan (Ohio)
Kluczynski (Ill.)
Kyros (Maine)
Leggett (Calif.)
Long (Md.)
McCarthy (N.Y.)
McFall (Calif.)
MacDonald (Mass.)
Madden (Ind.)
Matsunaga (Hawaii)
Meeds (Wash.)
Miller (Calif.)
Minish (N.J.)
Mink (Hawaii)
Monagan (Conn.)
Moorhead (Pa.)
Morgan (Pa.)
Morris (N.M.)
Moss (Calif.)
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N.Y.)
Nedzi (Mich.)
Nix (Pa.)
O'Hara (Ill.)
O'Hara (Mich.)
Olsen (Mont.)
O'Neill (Mass.)
Ottinger (N.Y.)
Patten (N.J.)
Pepper (Fla.)
Perkins (Ky.)
Philbin (Mass.)
Pickle (Tex.)
Pike (N.Y.)
Podell (N.Y.)
Price (Ill.)
Rees (Calif.)
Resnick (N.Y.)
Reuss (Wis.)
Rhodes (Pa.)
Rodino (N.J.)
Rogers (Colo.)
Ronan (Ill.)
Rooney (N.Y.)
Rooney (Pa.)
Rosenthal (N.Y.)
St. Germain (R.I.)
St. Onge (Conn.)
Scheuer (N.Y.)
Shipley (Ill.)
Sisk (Calif.)
Slack (W.Va.)
Smith (Iowa)
Staggers (W.Va.)
Stratton (N.Y.)
Sullivan (Mo.)
Tenzer (N.Y.)
Thompson (N.J.)
Tiernan (R.I.)
Tunney (Calif.)
Udall (Ariz.)
Ullman (Ore.)
Van Deerlin (Calif.)
Vanik (Ohio)
Vigorito (Pa.)
Waldie (Calif.)
Wilson, C. H. (Calif.)
Wolff (N.Y.)
Yates (Ill.)
Young (Tex.)
Zablocki (Wis.)

Republicans for 77:

Anderson (Ill.)
Andrews (N.D.)
Ayres (Ohio)
Bates (Mass.)
Bell (Calif.)
Betts (Ohio)
Biester (Pa.)
Broomfield (Mich.)
Brotzman (Colo.)
Brown (Mich.)
Brown (Ohio)
Button (N.Y.)
Cahill (N.J.)
Cleveland (N.H.)
Conable (N.Y.)
Conte (Mass.)
Corbett (Pa.)
Cowger (Ky.)
Cunningham (Neb.)
Dellenback (Ore.)
Dwyer (N.J.)
Erlenborn (Ill.)
Esch (Mich.)
Eshleman (Pa.)
Findley (Ill.)
Frelinghuysen (N.J.)
Fulton (Pa.)
Goodell (N.Y.)
Grover (N.Y.)
Gude (Md.)
Halpern (N.Y.)
Harvey (Mich.)
Heckler (Mass.)
Horton (N.Y.)
Keith (Mass.)
Kleppe (N.D.)
Kupferman (N.Y.)
McGlory (Ill.)
McCloskey (Calif.)
McCulloch (Ohio)
McDade (Pa.)
McDonald (Mich.)
MacGregor (Minn.)
Mailliard (Calif.)
Mathias (Md.)
Meskill (Conn.)
Michel (Ill.)
Mize (Kan.)
Moore (W.Va.)
Morse (Mass.)
Mosher (Ohio)
Nelsen (Minn.)
O'Konski (Wis.)
Pelly (Wash.)
Pirnie (N.Y.)
Quie (Minn.)
Railsback (Ill.)
Reid (N.Y.)
Reifel (S.D.)
Riegle (Mich.)
Robison (N.Y.)
Rumsfeld (Ill.)
Ruppe (Mich.)
Sandman (N.J.)
Schneebeli (Pa.)
Schweiker (Pa.)
Schwengel (Iowa)
Smith (N.Y.)
Stafford (Vt.)
Stanton (Ohio)
Steiger (Wis.)
Taft (Ohio)
Whalen (Ohio)
Widnall (N.J.)
Wyatt (Ore.)
Wydler (N.Y.)
Zwach (Minn.)

Democrats against 89:

Abbitt (Va.)
Abernethy (Miss.)
Anderson (Tenn.)
Andrews (Ala.)
Aspinall (Colo.)
Baring (Nev.)
Bennett (Fla.)
Bevill (Ala.)
Blanton (Tenn.)
Brinkley (Ga.)
Burleson (Tex.)
Cabell (Tex.)
Casey (Tex.)
Clark (Pa.)
Colmer (Miss.)
Davis (Ga.)
de la Garza (Tex.)
Delaney (N.Y.)
Dingell (Mich.)
Dorn (S.C.)
Dowdy (Tex.)
Downing (Va.)
Edmondson (Okla.)
Edwards (La.)
Everett (Tenn.)
Evins (Tenn.)
Fisher (Tex.)
Flynt (Ga.)
Fountain (N.C.)
Fugua (Fla.)
Galifianakis (N.C.)
Gathings (Ark.)
Gettys (S.C.)
Gibbons (Fla.)
Griffin (Miss.)
Hagan (Ga.)
Haley (Fla.)
Hardy (Va.)
Hebert (La.)
Henderson (N.C.)
Herlong (Fla.)
Hull (Mo.)
Hungate (Mo.)
Ichord (Mo.)
Jarman (Okla.)
Jones (Ala.)
Jones (N.C.)
Kornegay (N.C.)
Landrum (Ga.)
Lennon (N.C.)
Long (La.)
McMillan (S.C.)
Machen (Md.)
Mahon (Tex.)
Marsh (Va.)
Mills (Ark.)
Montgomery (Miss.)
Natcher (Ky.)
Nichols (Ala.)
O'Neal (Ga.)
Passman (La.)
Patman (Tex.)
Pool (Tex.)
Pryor (Ark.)
Pucinski (Ill.)
Purcell (Tex.)
Randall (Mo.)
Rarick (La.)
Rivers (S.C.)
Roberts (Tex.)
Rogers (Fla.)
Satterfield (Va.)
Selden (Ala.)
Sikes (Fla.)
Steed (Okla.)
Stephens (Ga.)
Stubblefield (Ky.)
Stuckey (Ga.)
Taylor (N.C.)
Teague (Tex.)
Tuck (Va.)
Waggonenr (La.)
Walker (N.M.)
Watts (Ky.)
White (Tex.)
Whitener (N.C.)
Whitten (Miss.)
Willis (La.)
Wright (Tex.)

Republicans Against--106

Adair (Ind.)
Arends (Ill.)
Ashbrook (Ohio)
Battin (Mont.)
Belcher (Okla.)
Berry (S.D.)
Blackburn (Ga.)
Bolton (Ohio)
Bow (Ohio)
Bray (Ind.)
Brock (Tenn.)
Broyhill (N.C.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Buchanan (Ala.)
Burke (Fla.)
Burton (Utah)
Bush (Tex.)
Byrnes (Wis.)
Carter (Ky.)
Cederberg (Mich.)
Chamberlain (Mich.)
Clancy (Ohio)
Don Clausen (Calif.)
Del Clarson (Calif.)
Collier (Ill.)
Cramer (Fla.)
Curtis (Mo.)
Davis (Wis.)
Denny (Neb.)
Derwinski (Ill.)
Devine (Ohio)
Dickinson (Ala.)
Dole (Kan.)
Duncan (Tenn.)
Edwards (Ala.)
Ford, Gerald R. (Mich.)
Gardner (N.C.)
Goodling (Pa.)
Gross (Iowa)
Gubser (Calif.)
Gurney (Fla.)
Hall (Mo.)
Halleck (Ind.)
Hamitschidt (Ark.)
Hansen (Idaho)
Harrison (Wyo.)
Harsha (Ohio)
Hosmer (Calif.)
Hunt (N.J.)
Hutchinson (Mich.)
Johnson (Pa.)
Jonas (N.C.)
Kuykendall (Tenn.)
Kyl (Iowa)
Laird (Wis.)
Langen (Minn.)
Latta (Ohio)
Lipscomb (Calif.)
Lloyd (Utah)
Lukens (Ohio)
McClure (Idaho)
Martin (Neb.)
Mathias (Calif.)
May (Wash.)
Mayne (Iowa)
Miller (Ohio)
Minshall (Ohio)
Morton (Md.)
Myers (Ind.)
Pettis (Calif.)
Poff (Va.)
Pollock (Alaska)
Price (Tex.)
Quillen (Tenn.)
Reid (Ill.)
Reinecke (Calif.)
Rhodes (Ariz.)
Roudebush (Ind.)
Saylor (Pa.)
Schadeberg (Wis.)
Scherle (Iowa)
Scott (Va.)
Shriver (Kan.)
Skubitz (Kan.)
Smith (Calif.)
Smith (Okla.)
Snyder (Ky.)
Springer (Ill.)
Steiger (Ariz.)
Talcott (Calif.)
Teague (Calif.)
Thompson (Ga.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Utt (Calif.)
Vander Jagt (Mich.)
Wampler (Va.)
Watkins (Pa.)
Watson (S.C.)
Whalley (Pa.)
Wiggins (Calif.)
Williams (Pa.)
Wilson, Bob (Calif.)
Winn (Kan.)
Wylie (Ohio)
Wyman (N.H.)
Zion (Ind.)

Recorded for but not actually voting (paired) 1: King (Calif.) (Dem.).

Recorded against but not actually voting 1: Ashmore (S.C.) (Dem.).

Absent or not voting 8.

Rostenkowski, Dan (Ill.)
Roush, J. Edward (Ind.)
Roybal, Edward R. (Cal.)
Ryan, William F. (N.Y.)

VOTE: 4/10/68

WASHINGTON POST
April 14, 1968

Prime Mover

The real heroes of legislative battles are often unseen and unsung. Too often the kudos and hurrahs go to those who are most visible, while the prime movers go unpraised. A special salute is in order, we think, to Clarence Mitchell for the part he played in bringing the latest civil rights bill to enactment—and for the part he has played in the adoption of every civil rights measure for more than a decade past. Clarence Mitchell is the director of the Washington bureau of the NAACP and the chief lobbyist for the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. It was he who persisted, when others faltered, in conviction that a full-scale civil rights bill with a bona fide open housing provision could be enacted in this session of Congress. It was he whose faith in Congress and the American people steadfastly thwarted and denied failure. All Americans are in debt to him.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office
J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, Special Consultant
YVONNE PRICE, Executive Assistant

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MEMO: No. 13-68
May 3, 1968

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

NEW THREATS TO CIVIL RIGHTS IN "SAFE STREETS" BILL

That measure with the very appealing name, "The Safe Streets and Crime Control Bill," could end up making the country very unsafe for civil rights and civil liberties. Because of the many dangers evident in the legislation, the Executive Committee of the Leadership Conference, at a special meeting on April 30, unanimously agreed it was unacceptable in its present form.

The bill, S. 917, is now being debated on the Senate floor. We must urge our Senators to vote against provisions that could encourage police brutality and denial of constitutional rights and authorize wiretapping on so broad and uncontrolled a basis that it could be used against civil rights and labor groups.

A Bill Distorted From Its Purpose

As originally proposed, the bill was meant to provide federal funds to state and local governments to help them reduce crime by increasing the effectiveness of their law enforcement efforts. It would still authorize $400,111,000 for the start of a five-year program of law enforcement. It would also provide a semblance of gun control. But the Senate Judiciary Committee has so rewritten the four titles of the bill that its defects far outweigh any merits.

Title I: A Boost to Segregation

Title I authorizes funds for the first two years of the program to both state and local law enforcement agencies. However, a provision bars the Federal government from requiring any correction of racial imbalance in local police forces before making the money available.

The provision on racial imbalance replaced a more extreme proposal which would have explicitly prohibited application of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to any allocation of funds. This is the provision that authorizes a cut-off of Federal funds to state programs administered in a racially discriminatory manner. The new provision would frustrate Federal efforts to compel desegregation of local police.

There will be an attempt to substitute a "bloc grant" system for allocating funds. This would give exclusive control to state agencies -- which are generally insensitive to the law enforcement needs of the cities. This move must be resisted.

Title II: An Invitation to Police Brutality

Title II of the bill has been correctly characterized by the Washington Post and the Justice Department as "an abomination." It would overturn several key Supreme Court decisions on confessions and eye witness testimony. It would prevent the Supreme Court and other Federal courts from reviewing the voluntariness of confessions even if they were extracted by force. Nor could a confession be ruled out solely because of delay between the arrest and arraignment of a defendant even though months intervened. The history of justice for the poor and for members of minority groups is notorious for its extraction of "voluntary" confessions and for confessions obtained after persons have been held incommunicado for unconscionable periods of time.

The title would also, unbelievably, bar Federal courts from hearing habeas corpus petitions of individuals in state prisons. This section is practically an open invitation to police in some parts of this country to return to the third degree and lawless enforcement of the law.

Title III: A Sanction For Eavesdropping

Title III would authorize wiretapping and bugging by states in a range of crimes so broad, and under such loose control, it may well prove an irresistable inducement to local police to "listen in" on anyone. They could, for instance, in an undefined "emergency situation", wiretap for 48 hours without a court order to do so.

It seems reasonable that police will engage in exploratory taps as a matter of practice.

Court orders to tap the phones of civil rights organizations or labor unions could be obtained by the police on the mere say so that planned demonstrations might lead to civil disorder.

Title IV: Limited Gun Control

Title IV would establish Federal control over the sale and licensing of handguns -- pistols and revolvers. It would not regulate traffic in rifles and

shotguns. In short, it does nothing to deny guns to the likes of Lee Harvey Oswald or the murderer of Martin Luther King.

What Organizations Can Do

Leadership Conference Organizations can help stop the abuses of law the Safe Streets and Crime Control bill could stimulate by wiring their Senators today urging them to: oppose Title I provisions that bar correcting racial imbalance in local police agencies and resist "bloc grant" proposals; delete the anti-Supreme Court provisions of Title II; and strike Title III on wiretapping and bugging; and to extend the controls of Title IV to shotguns and rifles. We must act quickly, though. Debate may be ended shortly and voting may start next week. We need to do what we can to block a law so fraught with danger to fundamental rights and so contrary to democratic principle.

HOUSE TO VOTE ON MODEL CITIES FUNDS

This Wednesday, May 8, the House is scheduled to vote on funds for model cities, rent supplements and other vital housing programs. It will be considering the fiscal 1969 appropriations for the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Attempts may be made to trim funds for individual programs but the most dangerous threat to HUD's activities, given a budget-conscious Congress, will be a move to adopt an "across-the-board" cut in the entire appropriation.

Organizations can help save these HUD programs by wiring House members urging them to resist all attempts to cut back on funding levels approved by the House Appropriations Committee.

BILL TO STRENGTHEN EEOC MOVES FORWARD

The Senate Judiciary Committee has approved and reported out the last of the key civil rights bills before this Congress -- S. 1308, the bill to strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission mainly by giving it authority to issue cease-and-desist orders. An attempt will be made to bring it to the floor shortly and we will report on the date when we know it.

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LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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MEMO: No. 14-68
May 15, 1968

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

RE: Jobs, Housing, Welfare, Education, Funds

THE UNFINISHED WORK BEFORE THE 90th CONGRESS: A LEGISLATIVE AGENDA FOR THE REST OF THIS TERM

Now that the President has signed the Civil Rights Act of 1968 into law, what are the major legislative issues before the Leadership Conference? This MEMO addresses itself to that question.

At its meeting last month, the Executive Committee of the Conference in a statement endorsing the Kerner Commission report, set forth its priorities for the remainder of this session. This MEMO updates that statement. It is hard to establish priorities among the bills listed here. All of them are important. But the creation of jobs for the hardcore unemployed surely deserves to be first on the list of what must be done to achieve our goals of full civil and economic rights. Housing, welfare, education, unfinished work in civil rights and civil liberties are other matters high on our list. And involved in everything is the issue of adequate funds for the programs outlined here. This, at a time when powerful members of Congress are calling for a $6 billion budget cut that the President has said will produce "chaos" in Federal programs, may yet become the overriding issue as Congress quickens its pace in order to adjourn in time for the national conventions in August.

JOBS

1. "Emergency Employment and Training Act of 1968" (S. 3063) - To relieve hardcore unemployment and underemployment in urban and rural areas by providing meaningful public and private employment opportunities in the community services field; and to provide incentives to private industry to undertake the hiring and training of low-income and unemployed persons. The bill

would seek to assure employment in public services for at least 3,300,000 persons over a four-year period, starting on or before June 30, 1969, and continuing through the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972. It would also authorize sufficient funds to create 2,250,000 jobs in the private sector during the same four-year period. The bill was introduced by Senator Joseph Clark (D-Pa.) and 11 co-sponsors.

Situation - Hearings are presently going on before the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee and are expected to continue through May.

2. Guaranteed Employment Act of 1968 (H. R. 12280) - A bill sponsored by Rep. James O'Hara (D-Mich.) and some 75 others. Similar to the Clark bill in that it would make the government "employer of last resort." It would generate one million jobs upon passage in the community services sector. It also provides for training.

Situation - Hearings continue before the Select Subcommittee on Labor of the House Education and Labor Committee.

Action - Senate and House members should be urged to support and vote for the legislation as a keystone measure in ending poverty.

3. Farm Labor (H. R. 16014 and S. 8) - A bill to bring farm workers under the protection of the National Labor Relations Act as a way of helping them organize. Under the House bill, no farm would be covered unless the employer paid more than $10,000 in labor costs during the previous calendar year and had more than 12 employees at any one time during the same period. It also permits a seven-day union shop clause and preferential hiring based on seniority or place of residence.

Situation and Action - The full House Education and Labor Committee has ordered H. R. 16014 reported out, and it now awaits a rule by the Rules Committee. In the Senate, S. 8, the companion bill, has been reported by the Senate Migratory Labor Subcommittee and awaits action by the full Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. The House Rules Committee and the full Senate Committee need to be urged to act.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

1. Safe Streets and Crime Control Bill (S. 917) - The Senate is presently debating a bill that would authorize some $400 million for the improvement of the law enforcement agencies -- a goal the Leadership Conference readily supports -- but also includes provisions that the Executive Committee, at a special meeting on April 30, concluded were unacceptable. These are provisions that would: bar the Federal government from raising the issue of racial imbalance in police forces at the time it makes grants; overturn key U. S. Supreme Court rulings on confessions and use of line-up identifications

and have the effect of returning law enforcement back to the notorious third degree police practices of 30 years ago; greatly restrict the power of Federal courts to grant time-honored writs of habeas corpus to persons in state custody; authorize wiretapping on so broad a scale it could lead to indiscriminate eavesdropping; and regulate interstate sales of handguns but not of rifles and shotguns. (See MEMO 13-68 for more details.)

Situation and Action - Voting on amendments to the bill has already begun. What is needed is a flood of messages to Senators urging them to delete Titles II (the anti-Supreme Court provisions) and Title III (Wiretapping); delete the language on racial imbalance (Section 518 (b)); and extend gun control in Title IV to include rifles and shotguns.

2. Strengthening the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission - The bill (S. 3465) to strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission mainly by giving it authority to issue cease and desist orders, was approved by the full Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee on April 25. It has just been reported out and will need all the support we can muster when it reaches the Senate floor.

3. State Jury Reform - The bill (S. 1318) to end discrimination in the selection of state court juries -- the last of bills from the omnibus civil rights package President Johnson introduced in this Congress -- is still bottled up in the Senate Judiciary Committee and no further action is expected on it in this session.

4. Congressional Representation for the District of Columbia - Resolutions to amend the Constitution so that the nation's capital may have Congressional representation are now pending in House and Senate. In the Senate, S. J. Res. 80, to provide one representative, is still pending before the Constitutional Amendments Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee. In the House, H. J. Res. 396, to give the District two Senators and as many representatives as its population allows, has cleared the House Judiciary Committee and it is now awaiting action by the House Rules Committee to bring it to the floor.

HOUSING

Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 (S. 3029 and H. R. 15624)

1. Provision for homeownership contemplated in constructing about 1,175,000 units of low and moderate income housing for homeownership through fiscal 1971. Total funds authorized over five years is $300 million. Generally speaking, families with incomes from $3,000 to $7,000 would be assisted. The homeowner would pay mortgage payments of 20 percent of income. Depending on his income, the Federal government would subsidize the homeowner's interest rate and make payments to the mortgagee in an amount necessary that would make up the difference between 20 percent of the family's monthly income

and the required monthly payment. The interest rate would be subsidized from between one percent and the market rate.

2. Federal assistance is also applied for rental housing for low and moderate income families, through fiscal 1971. The only difference is that the tenant has to pay 25 percent of his income for rent before the subsidy applies. Contemplated is the construction of about 1,175,000 housing units and an authorization of $300 million.

3. The rent supplement program is expanded and is funded over two years at a $240 million level through fiscal 1972. Contemplated is the subsidy of 140,000 units.

4. Various traditional programs, such as low rent public housing, urban renewal, basic water and sewer facilities, are extended and expanded.

5. Model cities program is funded for fiscal 1970 at $1 million each year. This includes the urban renewal add-on.

6. The development of new communities is aided by authorizing the Secretary of HUD to guarantee bonds, debentures, notes and other obligations to help finance up to ten new community development projects.

The issues appear to be the following:

a. Need to adopt fully proposed authorization without any cuts. Conservatives will make efforts to cut funds.

b. Acceptance of some of the new proposals, such as subsidizing interest rates down to one percent. The greater the interest rate subsidy, the more low income families will be aided.

c. Adoption of the new communities proposal.

d. Need to oppose artifical income limits to exclude moderate income families and thereby promote low-income ghettoes.

Situation - In the Senate, floor action is expected after consideration of the Safe Streets and Crime Control Bill. Hearings on the House bill should be completed this month by the House Banking and Currency Committee, and efforts will be made to increase funding.

HEALTH AND WELFARE

Welfare Payments - One of the worst actions of the first session of the 90th Congress was to add to the social security laws several punitive restrictions on welfare payments. The Senate partially redressed these wrongs by writing into the excise tax bill, which the House had already passed, (H. R. 15414) provisions repealing two of the restrictions: (1) the "freeze"

on aid to families with dependent children and (2) the requirement that unemployed fathers must have had a record of previous employment in order to receive aid.

Situation - The bill went to a House-Senate Conference. There in the course of working out a compromise -- which incidentally endorses President Johnson's ten percent surcharge on income taxes in exchange for a $6 billion cut in Federal spending -- the conferees undid much of the Senate's good work. They simply delayed the "freeze" on aid one year to July 1, 1969. And they knocked out the Senate repealer on welfare payments to unemployed fathers.

The conferees, however, did leave in a Senate amendment giving states two more years in which to opt for the voluntary part of Medicare for welfare recipients.

There has been no Congressional action in regard to last year's provision requiring mothers of pre-school children to take part in work-training programs or face the prospect of having their welfare cut off. However, the repeal of this cruel provision is embodied in several bills introduced in the House and Senate and still pending.

APPROPRIATIONS

That familiar tactic of Congressional opponents of civil rights and social welfare legislation -- to starve programs they don't like by denying them the funds they need -- was never more in evidence than now. Since the Leadership Conference has long worked for adequate funding for model cities and rent supplement programs, it was greatly heartening when the House, on May 8, resisted attempts to cut back on both these programs and approved $25 million for rent supplements and $500 million for model cities in fiscal year 1969.

But that victory may be shortlived in light of the action by House-Senate conferees who, the very next day, called for a $6 billion cut in Federal spending as the price for approving the ten percent income tax surcharge needed to curb inflation. Here Congress seems to give with one hand and take away with the other. For at least $2 billion of that $6 billion would probably have to come from the less than $40 billion budgeted for domestic programs designed to meet the nation's needs in education, employment, health, housing and anti-poverty. Model cities and rent supplements may yet be cut back.

Labor-HEW - Endangered by threatened budget cut are many of the key programs whose funding is presently under consideration by the House Appropriations Committee. The fiscal 1969 appropriations for the Departments of Labor, Health, Education and Welfare and independent offices include $2,180,000,000 for the anti-poverty program; $1,562,000,000 for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act; more than $2 billion for other programs; plus funds for Head Start, summer jobs and bi-lingual education.

The full committee is considering the Labor-HEW appropriation and is expected to report it out by May 24. All of these appropriations are essential and the task of the Leadership Conference groups should be to see that at least the budgeted amounts are approved by the full committee. Two programs deserve special attention:

1. Head Start and Summer Jobs - The $75 million for summer jobs and the $25 million for Head Start, funds included in the Urgent Supplemental Appropriations bill for 1968 (H. R. 15399) appear to be hopelessly tied up in a House-Senate conference. An attempt can and must be made to include these funds in the regular supplemental appropriations bill now being considered by House Appropriations along with the money for Labor-HEW.

Recommended Action - Telegrams urging inclusion of the $100 million for summer jobs and Head Start should be sent at once to: George H. Mahon (D-Tex.), chairman of the full House Appropriations Committee and to Daniel J. Flood (D-Pa.), chairman of the Labor-HEW Subcommittee and these other subcommittee members: Neal Smith (D-Iowa), W. R. Hull, Jr., (D-Mo.), Bob Casey (D-Tex.), Melvin R. Laird (R-Wisc.), Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.), Garner E. Shriver (R-Kans.); also a wire to Speaker of the House John W. McCormack (D-Mass.)

2. Bi-Lingual Education - Having approved a program to provide education mainly to Spanish-speaking children, the Administration is now starving the program. Although $30 million was authorized when the program was approved, the Administration is seeking only $5 million for fiscal 1969. Of the three million children who need help under the bi-lingual education program, only about 142,000 are getting it. Even the full $30 million will help only 215,000 more. This much should be approved.

CONSUMER LEGISLATION

1. "Truth-in-Lending" bill - S. 5 - Both House and Senate have passed different versions of the bill. Both bills let the buyer know how much he must pay for credit in simple annual interest rates; however, the House bill is the better one and provides for full disclosure. The Senate bill exempts revolving credit, and small purchases with finance service charges of less than $10 (purchases up to $100). It is silent on advertising. The House bill has no exemptions. It covers revolving credit, all credit purchases and advertising. It also establishes a Federal standard regulating garnishment: at a minimum the first $30 of wages are free of garnishment, just 10 percent of wages may be garnished above that, and an employee may not be dismissed on the first garnishment. Labor considers the garnishment provision the critical item in conference.

Situation - The bill is still in conference as this is written.

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LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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MEMO: No. 15-68
May 28, 1968

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

WE MUST BLOCK THE NEW ATTACKS ON THE WAR ON POVERTY

The following telegram has been sent to the heads of our participating organizations:

> THE PROPOSED $6 BILLION BUDGET CUT COULD WRECK THE WAR ON POVERTY WHEN IT NEEDS TO BE EXPANDED. OUR MAJOR HEALTH, EDUCATION, WELFARE AND ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS WILL ALL SUFFER. REP. JAMES BURKE (D-MASS.) WILL TRY THIS WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, TO AT LEAST SAVE THE PRESENT PROGRAMS. HE WILL OFFER A RESOLUTION INSTRUCTING HOUSE CONFEREES TO NEGOTIATE A $4 BILLION CUT IN THE HOUSE-SENATE CONFERENCE. WE ASK YOU TO ACT IN YOUR OWN NAME AND MOBILIZE YOUR CONSTITUTENTS AND FLOOD HOUSE MEMBERS WITH WIRES URGING THEM TO VOTE FOR THE BURKE RESOLUTION INSTRUCTING HOUSE CONFEREES TO INSIST ON THE SMALLER CUT. PLEASE ACT AT ONCE. THE VOTE COMES WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON. PLEASE ADVISE US OF ANY ACTION YOU TAKE.

In President Johnson's own words, the $6 billion budget cut proposed by the House-Senate conferees would bring "chaos" to those domestic programs meant to deal with poverty and the urban crisis. A $4 billion cut would at least keep these programs operating at present levels.

Your own telegrams urging House members to support the Burke resolution can help save the funds so desperately needed to keep the nation from falling backward in the war on poverty. Please act today!

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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MEMO: No. 16-68
June 5, 1968

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

GAINS AND SETBACKS AS CONGRESS GETS BACK TO WORK

Legislative developments have come so thick and fast these last two weeks, it has been hard to do a MEMO that would still be up to date after it was issued. The Memorial Day recess, however, has slowed things up long enough to allow an examination of what has happened to legislation of vital concern to the Leadership Conference and what still needs to be done now that Congress is back and ready to begin to push for adjournment before the August conventions.

Two Victories: "Truth-in-Lending" and Housing

At least two Congressional actions before the recess were strongly positive ones. Both House and Senate approved and sent to the White House the "truth-in-lending" bill, requiring retailers and others who sell on time to provide their customers with full and honest information on how much credit costs. The final version, which President Johnson has already signed into law, has other provisions that will be helpful to all consumers, rich and poor.

Perhaps the most important of these provisions is the one that establishes the first federal limit on the amount of money a creditor can garnish from a worker's paycheck. The garnishment formula will tend to help the poorest consumers and give them some badly needed protection against predatory creditors. Almost for this reason, any compilation of what this Congress has done for the poor should include this new law.

Other provisions require disclosure of the true annual interest rate on revolving credit accounts; help protect homeowners from fraud in home improvement plans, especially in regard to deceptions involving second mortgages; and make "loan-sharking" a federal crime.

Housing received a big boost when the Senate overwhelmingly approved a $5 billion housing bill establishing a pace that, if maintained, would provide six million new and rehabilitated housing units for families with low and moderate incomes over the next ten years. The measure now awaits House action. The House Banking Committee is expected to act shortly on a $6 billion program similar to the one the Senate approved. The bill is expected to reach the House floor by June 25 or 26. It is expected to have much rougher going than it did in the Senate and our organizations ought to begin getting ready now to fight for the bill.

Dark Side: "Safe Streets and Crime Control"

Infected by the current hysteria over rising crime, the Senate approved, 72 to 4, a Safe Streets and Crime Control bill (now numbered H. R. 5037) that still contains many provisions the Leadership Conference Executive Committee has pronounced unacceptable.

Although some of the provisions limiting the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court were knocked out, others were adopted that would overturn U. S. Supreme Court decisions meant to protect suspects from being railroaded into jail through the use of extorted confessions or loaded police line-ups. It also includes, according to an American Civil Liberties Union analysis, virtually uncontrolled authorization for wiretapping and a rider barring from federal employment for five years any person convicted of a riot-related felony.

Still in the bill is that terrible provision /518(b)/ that would bar the federal government from requiring local law enforcement agencies to do something about racial imbalance in their ranks before making funds available to them.

The bill now goes to conference. It passed the House without the anti-Supreme Court and wiretapping features and Rep. Emanual Celler (D-N.Y.), who, as chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, will lead the House conferees, has already announced he means to block the provisions that would upset the Court rulings.

Course of Action: Under the circumstances, House members should be urged by letters, wires and phone calls to insist on their version and to fight to eliminate the Senate's additions.

EEOC's Problems

1. Appropriations - The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission which has been shortchanged on funds and personnel since it first began operating in 1965 suffered another blow. Instead of granting the $13,093,000 budget it requested for fiscal 1969, the House Appropriations Committee cut its funds almost in half, to $6.9 million. An attempt to restore some of the cut and provide a budget of $11.8 million failed on the House floor by a narrow vote of 121 to 113.

EEOC, which already has a mounting backlog of cases, faces the new fiscal year in serious difficulty. On July 1, when the year begins, its jurisdiction automatically reaches fullest coverage. It is then required to police discrimination in businesses and unions with 25 or more employees. The number of businesses alone that it must watch will be increased by 250 percent. The agency, already understaffed, is certain to be swamped. It is under Congressional mandate to complete each case in two months. Without sufficient funds, EEOC estimates cases will take two years.

Recommended Action - The Senate Appropriations Committee will now consider the agency's request. Efforts must be made first to persuade the members of that committee and then the entire Senate to give EEOC enough funds to carry out the obligations Congress has placed upon it.

Senate Appropriations Committee:

Democrats: Carl Hayden (Ariz.), Chairman, Richard B. Russell (Ga.), Allen J. Ellender (La.), Lister Hill (Ala.), John L. McClellan (Ark.), Warren G. Magnuson (Wash.), Spessard L. Holland (Fla.), John Stennis, (Miss), John O. Pastore (R.I.), A. S. Mike Monroney (Okla.), Alan Bible (Nev.), Robert C. Byrd (W.Va.), Gale W. McGee (Wyo.), Mike Mansfield (Mont.), E. L. Bartlett (Alaska), William Proxmire (Wisc.), Ralph W. Yarborough (Texas).

Republicans: Milton R. Young (N.D.), Karl E. Mundt (S.D.), Margaret Chase Smith (Maine), Thomas H. Kuchel (Calif.), Roman L. Hruska (Neb.), Gordon Allott (Colo.), Norris Cotton (N.H.), Clifford P. Case (N.J.), Jacob K. Javits (N.Y.).

2. EEOC's Enforcement Power - Still awaiting floor action in the Senate is S. 3465, a bill to strengthen the EEOC by giving it the authority most regulatory agencies have to issue judicially enforceable cease and desist orders. The bill was supposed to be considered by the Senate after it finished with the Housing measure. Now it is unclear when it will be brought up.

The Budget Cut

In spite of strong Administration efforts and a most encouraging response from Leadership Conference groups to our urgent MEMO (No. 15-68), the attempt to reduce the budget cut from $6 billion to $4 billion failed last week. The resolution by Rep. James Burke (D-Mass.) to instruct House conferees to attempt to negotiate the smaller cut was beaten 137 to 259. The cut is the price House-Senate conferees are exacting in return for giving the President the 10 percent surtax increase he claims he needs to halt inflation.

The President announced after the action in the House failed that he will accept the $6 billion cut in order to get the increase even though earlier he had said it would hurt domestic programs.

Rep. Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.), head of the House conferees, is expected to file the conference report shortly and the issue should reach the House floor by June 12.

Farm Workers Bill Needs Help

The campaign in support of a bill (H.R. 16014 in the House, S.8 in the Senate) to extend the protection of the National Labor Relations Act to farm workers in order to help them organize, can use our fullest support.

In the House, the bill is waiting to be cleared for floor action by the House Rules Committee. In the Senate, it is expected to be reported out by the Senate Labor Committee.

Action - Both House and Senate members need to hear from everyone urging them to support the bills and act on them quickly.

QUICK GLIMPSES AT SOME SLOW-MOVING BILLS

Still in about the same stage when we last reported on them (see MEMO: No. 14-68) are : the guaranteed job bills (S. 3063 in the Senate, H.R. 12280 in the House), both still in the hearing stage; the provisions to repeal restrictions on welfare aid; funds for bilingual education ($30 million needed, only $5 million being considered); and funds for emergency summer jobs ($75 million) and Head Start ($25 million). Efforts are underway to add the funds for Head Start and summer jobs to the 1968 supplemental appropriations and to increase the funds for bilingual education as part of the Labor-HEW appropriations for fiscal 1969. This appropriation was expected to be reported out May 24. Action has now been postponed to sometime in June.

A POSSIBLE VICTORY FOR THE HUNGRY

On the same day that the House rejected the Burke move to reduce the budget cut, Senator Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) succeeded in getting the Senate to adopt an amendment that may mean more funds to feed starving Americans. During the debate on the Agriculture Appropriations Bill, the Senator succeeded in getting knocked out of the appropriations act a section (Section 32) that Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman says so restricts his use of funds that he is forced to return $227 million to the Treasury this year instead of using it for food programs.

The Javits amendment was adopted by a single vote, 30 to 31. The Appropriations bill now goes to conference and the fight we face is the difficult one of persuading conferees to accept the Senate's action.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

file

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MEMO: No. 17-68
June 14, 1968

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

RE: Crime Control, EEOC, Funds

LCCR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE CALLS FOR VETO OF CRIME CONTROL BILL

Aroused by Senator Robert Kennedy's tragic death and the impulse to do something about crime and violence, the House, on June 6, by an overwhelming vote (368 to 17) agreed to the Senate version of the "Omnibus Safe Streets and Crime Control" bill and sent it on to the White House.

It is still a terrible bill. There is terrible irony in the fact that Senator Kennedy's memory was constantly invoked in support of legislation he would have been the first to fight. It is, as one member termed it, "a cruel hoax" offering the illusion of a law that would control crime and traffic in guns when the awful reality is it will strip citizens of constitutional protections, countenance broad invasions of privacy, and block Congressional action on meaningful gun controls.

The Executive Committee of the Leadership Conference was promptly polled by wire and agreed unanimously that we should urge the President to veto the bill. Our statement to the President setting forth the reasons why he should reject the measure and an editorial from the New York Times urging the same course upon him are included with this MEMO.

What You Can Do

We urge our participating organizations to send their own messages and wires to the President urging him to veto the bill. The President has until June 19 to decide whether or not to sign the bill. You can help persuade him not to sign by sending your own wires at once.

FUNDS FOR JOBS, HEAD START, ANTI-BIAS WORK STILL IN THE BALANCE

There is still time to urge Congress to act on several bills immediately before it, that would provide funds for such vital activities as policing job discrimination, summer employment, and Head Start. Here's a quick glance at these bills.

1. EEOC's Budget - The budget for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission for the fiscal year starting July 1, is still before the Senate Appropriations Committee. As we reported last time (MEMO No. 16-68), the House rejected the Administration's request for a budget of $13,093,000 and cut it in half to $6.9 million. This at a time when the Commission's jurisdiction is being expanded by law and its workload will increase by some 250 percent. If you have not done so, please write all members of the Senate Appropriations Committee and urge them to restore full funds to an agency with too little money to do what Congress has required of it.

Senate Appropriations Committee:

Democrats: Carl Hayden (Ariz.), Chairman, Richard B. Russell (Ga.), Allen J. Ellender (La.), Lister Hill (Ala.), John L. McClellan (Ark.), Warren G. Magnuson (Wash.), Spessard L. Holland (Fla.), John Stennis (Miss.), John O. Pastore (R.I.), A. S. Mike Monroney (Okla.), Alan Bible (Nev.), Robert C. Byrd (W. Va.), Gale W. McGee (Wyo.), Mike Mansfield (Mont.), E. L. Bartlett (Alaska), William Proxmire (Wisc.), Ralph W. Yarborough (Texas).

Republicans: Milton R. Young (N. D.), Karl E. Mundt (S. D.), Margaret Chase Smith (Maine), Thomas H. Kuchel (Calif.), Roman L. Hruska (Neb.), Gordon Allott (Colo.), Norris Cotton (N.H.), Clifford P. Case (N.J.), Jacob K. Javits (N. Y.).

2. Summer Jobs and Head Start - Supplemental Bill (H.R. 17734) - Another bill before the Senate Appropriations Committee provides an opportunity for getting Congress to allocate $75 million for emergency summer jobs and $25 million for Head Start. This is the second supplemental appropriations bill for 1968 (H. R. 17734). The House already made one improvement when it passed the bill on June 11 by adding $90 million for impacted school areas. The Senate, which added the $100 million for jobs and Head Start to another appropriations measure, only to see it get stalled in conference, can be expected to add the funds again. Letters to members of the Appropriations Committee should ask them to add the funds in committee. But failing that, the whole Senate needs to be urged to see that these vital funds are restored.

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Statement of the Executive Committee of the
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Calling for the Veto of the Omnibus Crime Control Bill
June 13, 1968

Although we recognize the urgent need for legislation to help this country combat crime, the "Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets" bill is legislation of so ill-conceived and destructive a nature, we have no recourse except to urge you to veto it.

The very name of this bill could become a cause for cynicism. Under the guise of protecting us against criminal attacks, the bill, by upsetting key Supreme Court rulings, strips citizens of their constitutional rights.

Suspects would run the terrible risks of coerced confessions, rigged police lineups, and unconscionable delays between arrests and arraignments.

Under the guise of combatting organized crime and protecting the privacy of citizens against electronic surveillance, the bill offers police an invitation to invade privacy on an unprecedented scale. Because of the wide-ranging nature of this bill, thousands of innocent citizens would face the prospect of having an ear on the line every time they make a phone call and an ear against the wall every-time they speak.

We are particularly sensitive to the fact that the bill still contains a provision prohibiting the Federal government from raising questions about racial imbalance in local police forces as a condition for making authorized funds available. We feel this section is a deliberate attempt to undermine Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Even one of the few features of the bill with any redeeming merits, the gun control section, is as you yourself acknowledge, totally inadequate -- a "watered-down" version of the law we need, a "half-way measure" that does

little to close "the brutal loophole in our nation's laws." Its vice is in its inadequacy. Enactment of this section would obstruct any attempt to get meaningful gun control by giving Congress an excuse for refusing to consider stronger legislation.

At this terrible moment in our nation's history, we understand how much courage it takes to speak out above the babble of malicious rumor and the cries of fear. We fully recognize the difficult decision that confronts you in this bill. Nevertheless, we believe it will help restore some balance of sanity in this country if you veto H. R. 5037 and call upon Congress to enact legislation that will control crime and violence and not restrict our rights.

NEW YORK TIMES June 7, 1968

'Cruel Hoax': Veto Called For

A spectator listening to the debate in the House of Representatives on the so-called "crime-control" bill during the last two days prior to its final passage would have reason to doubt whether the Bill of Rights could get fifty votes if it were up for consideration. The tone and quality of the debate would have dismayed Thomas Jefferson and James Madison if they had had the misfortune to hear it.

Members of the House were more intent on demagoging against crime and putting themselves on record in favor of law and order than they were in analyzing the grave defects of this bill. One of the worst failures in the bill is it feeble provision on gun control. Rifles were used to shoot down President Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. But this bill permits the murderous mail-order traffic in rifles and shotguns to continue. The bill does ban mail-order sale of pistols and revolvers, but it does not even require registration of the ownership of these dangerous weapons with the police.

Registration of weapons is no more of an inconvenience than registering an automobile or obtaining a prescription for a drug. In arguing against registration, the gun lobby constantly points to the Constitution's protection of the right to bear arms. But the Constitution also assures the right to vote; yet to exercise that right every citizen must register. Why should owning a gun be more sacrosanct than the right to vote?

Title II of this bill is an attempt to overrule recent Supreme Court decisions on the admissibility of confessions in Federal courts, methods of arraignment of suspects, and police procedures in the questioning of suspects. Many members of Congress talk as if suspects are presumed to be guilty. Most of Title II is undoubtedly unconstitutional because two of the major decisions Congress attempts to overturn were founded upon provisions of the Bill of Rights and cannot be reversed by a mere statute. In short, this Congressional vaporing will promote confusion and help no one.

Title III would permit the sweeping use of wiretapping and electronic devices for comparatively minor suspected crimes and with inadequate court supervision. Only legislators who have forgotten the history of the long struggle for human liberty could sanction this reckless invasion by the Government of the privacy of the individual.

Except for the financial assistance for local police forces, virtually nothing in this measure is going to assist in combating crime on the streets. Representative Celler of New York has accurately described it as "an illusory bill which was a cruel hoax on people whose fear of crime is a fact of life."

After the House approved it yesterday, President Johnson sent a letter renewing his request for tighter gun controls. We trust the letter is not an indication that the President intends to become a party to this hoax on the crime issue. We urge him to return this monstrous bill to Congress with the veto it deserves.

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MEMO: No. 18-68
June 21, 1968

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

RE: Gun Control, Housing, Food & Welfare

WE MUST SUPPORT THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE GUN CONTROL BILL

The public outcry over Senator Kennedy's death has brought Congress to the point of action it should have taken years ago. It appears ready to approve gun control legislation stronger than the weak curbs it wrote into the phony Safe Streets and Crime Control Bill* earlier this session. The Administration's gun control bill ought to be stronger than it is, and those of us appalled by the murder of both the Senator and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., should certainly join in urging that the bill be improved by the addition of gun registration and licensing provisions.

The Administration measure (S. 3633) being cleared for Senate floor consideration as this MEMO is written, would meet some of the Leadership Conference objections to the gun control title of the Safe Streets bill. It would go beyond the bill's prohibitions on the interstate mail order sales of handguns to cover mail order sales of "long guns" -- rifles and shotguns. It would ban over-the-counter sales of such guns to out-of-state residents and prohibit sales of long guns to persons under 18. It places similar restrictions on the sale of ammunition and prohibits the sale of such "destructive devices" as bazookas, hand grenades, machine guns and sawed-off shotguns.

How The Bill Progresses Now

Once the bill is cleared by Senate Judiciary, it must go to the Senate Commerce Committee. That committee will probably report it out before the end of June. It may be ready for Senate floor action by the week of July 8.

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*We note with great regret that the Safe Streets and Crime Control Bill, whose veto we urged in our last MEMO (No. 17-68), has been signed into law, even though the President called provisions in it "unwise" as he affixed his signature.

There Should Be Gun Registration

Meanwhile, the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency has scheduled three days of hearings on registration and licensing bills, for June 26, 27, 28. The principal measure, Senator Joseph Tydings' bill (S. 3634) would require the Federal registration of all firearms and the obtainment of a license from the Secretary of the Treasury or a designated official to possess any firearms or ammunition.

It is expected that licensing and registration provisions will be offered as amendments to the Administration bill once it reaches the floor.

What We Can Do

The organizations in the Leadership Conference can help make this legislation the proper monument to the memories of Dr. King and the Kennedys by urging Congress to enact the strongest possible bill, one that not only controls sales of guns and ammunition but requires, too, their registration and licensing. For awhile the mail in support of control legislation was pouring into Congress. Its flow has begun to slacken and now, spurred on by the National Rifle Association, mail against controls is beginning to come in. We must redress the balance. Letters, wires, convention resolutions, all calling for the strongest possible controls are needed as soon as you can get them in.

THE HOUSING BILLS NEARS THE FLOOR

The Omnibus Housing Bill, a $5.5 billion measure that could provide a possible six million new and rehabilitated housing units for low and moderate income families over the next ten years, is moving closer to final action.

Already approved overwhelmingly by the Senate, 67 to 4 on May 28, the bill (H. R. 17989) has just been approved by the House Banking and Currency Committee. Unfortunately, the provisions for the development of ten new towns has been dropped. But, fortunately, the attempt to wreck the provision for subsidized monthly mortgage payments to help poor families buy homes, by having the government pay interest above one percent, failed by one vote.

New attacks on this provision and on other features of the bill can be expected when it reaches the House floor -- probably during the week of July 8.

What We Can Do

Leadership Conference organizations can help win passage of an effective Housing bill by writing House members urging them to be present, to support the Banking Committee bill and to oppose all further cuts in the legislation.

A QUICK LOOK AT OTHER ITEMS ON THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE AGENDA

1. Food

A House attempt is underway to shake loose some of the money the Department of Agriculture has been turning back to the Treasury and use it to feed the poor. The House Education and Labor Committee approved a bill (H. R. 17873) that would allocate $100 million a year for three years to be used to provide free school lunches to some four million hungry youngsters. The funds would come from money Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman said he was restricted by law from using for food programs. He planned to turn back about $224 million unused in fiscal 1968.

The bill now goes to House Rules and, if cleared there, to the House floor.

2. Welfare

The cruel restrictions on welfare payments that the first session of this Congress added to the social security law last year are still far from being eliminated.

The ten percent surcharge and $6 billion budget cut that the House approved today included a sop -- a delay of one year, to July 1, 1969, of the "freeze" on aid to families with dependent children. The freeze should be lifted completely. And Congress should repeal at least two other restrictions: the requirement that unemployed fathers must have a record of previous employment in order to receive aid; and the provision requiring that mothers of pre-school children take part in work-training programs or face having their welfare payments cut off. The repeal of these provisions will be attempted by amendments to pending tax bills.

3. Jobs

In the Senate, hearings on the Emergency Employment and Training Act (S. 3063), a bill to create 2.4 million jobs for the hardcore unemployed, half in the public and half in the private sectors, have been completed by the Employment, Manpower and Poverty Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Subcommittee markup should come soon.

In the House, subcommittee hearings have been completed on a similar bill, the Guaranteed Employment Act (H. R. 12280), which would create one million community service jobs. This, too, should be moving on to the full committee shortly.

4. Farm Labor

Bills to bring farm workers under the protection of the National Labor Relations Act (H. R. 16014 in the House, S. 8 in the Senate) are still hung up. In the House, the bill is still awaiting a rule by the House Rules Committee,

which has said it will clear no more legislation for the House floor after July 9. In the Senate, the bill awaits action by the full Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. Both House Rules and Senate Labor should be urged to act on these bills at once.

5. EEOC

The fight to give the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission more money and more power is still going on in the Senate. The agency's budget for fiscal 1969, the year in which its workload is expected to increase by 250 percent as its obligations increase, was cut in half by the House, from $13 million to $6.9 million. Attempts will be made in the Senate Appropriations Committee to give the agency the full $13 million, so that it can carry out its responsibilities to end discrimination in employment. The bill (S. 8469) to give EEOC the authority other regulatory agencies have, to issue cease-and-desist orders against employers and unions it finds guilty of discrimination, is cleared and ready for Senate floor action. The job is to persuade Senate leadership to take up the bill.

file

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MEMO: No. 20-68
July 18, 1968

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

TWO CRUCIAL WEEKS TO PRESS OUR GOALS

By August 3, Congress will either adjourn for the Presidential conventions or recess and come back perhaps after Labor Day. In either case, that leaves us only the next two weeks in which to press for the immediate legislative programs so essential to any realization of the goals of full equality.

The past week was marked by a significant House victory -- passage of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 in a form that still preserves the main features of a $5.2 billion program to provide six million units for low and moderate income families over the next ten years. The bill is now in a House-Senate conference.

Still before us, though, are the bills meant to do something about employment, education and hunger in America and the control of guns.

We recognize how many things this puts before participating organizations all at once. But every day in the next two weeks can present us with fresh crises. Congress will be meeting long and late and even on Saturdays in an attempt to finish up. Even if it doesn't finish, anything it may put over for a post-convention session delays by a full month programs we ought to have today. And these hectic weeks are usually the time when attempts are made to rush bad bills through.

Here are the major items we anticipate will be coming up and need your support and vigilant attention.

Food Stamps in the House

An important fight against hunger in America will be waged in the House within the next two weeks.* The food stamp bill (H.R. 18249) will be brought upon the floor. As it comes from the Agriculture Committee, it has several bad features. It would raise the limit of authorization from $225 million to only $245 million for the next fiscal year and would deny stamps to workers on strike and to students in institutions of higher learning.

Rep. Leonor K. Sullivan (D-Mo.) will attempt to correct these grave weaknesses by offering a substitute bill that would contain an open end authorization -- no limits on the amount of authorization for the next four years and without restrictions on aid to workers and students.

What You Can Do

Please ask your members to write or wire their Congressmen urging them to be there and to vote for the Sullivan substitute when it comes up.

Labor-HEW and Anti-Civil Rights

The Senate Appropriations Committee, or at least a subcommittee of it, may already be starting to mark up the money bill (H.R. 18037) providing funds for the Departments of Labor-HEW for fiscal 1969.

As we have urged in previous MEMOs, members of that committee and all Senators should be urged to restore the cuts in funds for programs to provide better education for disadvantaged children (Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act), for bi-lingual education, the Teacher Corps and the anti-poverty program.

Most important -- urge them to vote to strike the Whitten anti-civil rights riders, the amendments to the appropriations bill that would circumvent the Supreme Court ruling on freedom of choice plans and hamper HEW in its efforts to carry out the obligations Congress has placed upon it to achieve school desegregation.

EEOC's Funds

Another subcommittee of Senate Appropriations will be meeting shortly to begin mark up of funds for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (H.R. 17522). Members of the State-Justice Subcommittee should be

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*NOTE: In another attempt to force reforms in the food stamp program, about 80 Washington representatives to the Leadership Conference, led by Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., counsel, met on Friday, July 12, with Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman to press the demands of the Poor People's Campaign for 1) free stamps and for scaled-down price on stamps; and 2) to add to the list of food distributed directly items that would create a more balanced diet. While discussing these matters freely, the Secretary did not appear prepared to make concessions. However, he agreed to let Agriculture attorneys meet with Leadership Conference attorneys to discuss how these matters can be handled legislatively.

urged to give EEOC the money it badly needs to carry out its responsibilities -- $13 million the administration originally asked for instead of the $6.9 million the House approved.

Guaranteed Jobs

Both in the Senate and House, the Emergency Employment bills (S. 3063 in the Senate and H.R. 12280 in the House) are still tied up in labor committees. Other ways of bringing this legislation to the floor are being explored. In any case, House and Senate members should continue to be urged, in all letters to them and in all visits, to support these essential bills.

Other Issues Still Before This Session

Organizations should still continue to press for repeal of the restrictions on welfare written into social security laws last year; extension of the protections of the National Labor Relations Act to include farm workers; and for adequate gun control legislation, that will not only restrict the interstate mail order sale of guns but require Federal registration of all firearms and licenses for all owners of guns.

Attendance Still A Problem

In all letters and approaches to members of Congress, be sure to urge them to be on the floor for votes during these next two crucial weeks. Attendance has been a very serious problem.

During the House consideration of the Labor-HEW appropriations, for instance, the attempt to restore $5 million for bi-lingual education, the program that would mean so much to Spanish-speaking youngsters, lost by a single vote -- 95 to 96. Other amendments we favored lost by small margins, too. Be sure to tell your Congressmen nothing is more important than being present when their names are called when the crucial votes are cast.

SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE
* Carl Hayden (D-Ariz.), Chairman

Democrats	Democrats (Cont'd)	Republicans
Richard B. Russell (Ga.)	Alan Bible (Nev.)	* Milton R. Young (N. D.)
* Allen J. Ellender (La.)	Robert C. Byrd (W. Va.)	Karl E. Mundt (S. D.)
Lister Hill (Ala.)	* Gale W. McGee (Wyo.)	* Margaret C. Smith (Me.)
* John L. McClellan (Ark.)	* Mike Mansfield (Mont.)	Thomas H. Kuchel (Cal.)
Warren G. Magnuson (Wash.)	* E. L. Bartlett (Alaska)	* Roman L. Hruska (Neb.)
* Spessard L. Holland (Fla.)	William Proxmire (Wisc.)	Gordon Allott (Colo.)
John Stennis (Miss.)	Ralph W. Yarborough (Tex.)	* Norris Cotton (N. H.)
* John O. Pastore (R. I.)		* Clifford P. Case (N. J.)
A. S. Mike Monroney (Okla.)		* Jacob K. Javits (N. Y.)

* To urge an adequate budget for EEOC, write first to these Senators, members of the subcommittee considering the appropriations.

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League of Women Voters of Georgia
220 Collier Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LEGISLATIVE LETTER
January 3, 1949

To: League Members

From: Frances Blackmon, Director

Subject: Pre-view of 1949 Legislature

Election Laws

Our election machinery is enmeshed in a confusion of laws which do, however, protect many fundamental rights. Therefore, we should urge our representatives to take every care--examine and re-examine--any measures introduced which concern our election machinery. It is entirely possible that the Georgia citizen might awake some 1949 (or 1950) morning to find himself deprived, through new technicalities, of some fundamental right or rights.

The greatest safeguards of democracy are two in number. One, a large number of citizens of voting age registered and voting. Two, a secret ballot so these citizens may vote their convictions without fear of reprisal--economic or otherwise.

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Indications are that legislation will be introduced which, if passed, will wipe more than a million voters from the voting lists. And this legislation will make it difficult for large numbers of them to get back on the voting list. A "registration fee" and biennial registration will be required of Georgia voters by these measures, it is feared.

When your December GEORGIA VOTER--which urged that the voters' lists be protected--went to press, the League thought the issues of the registration fee and biennial registration (opposed by the League in the 1947 session and killed in the House) would not come up again. But it now seems they will. A registration fee and/or biennial registration would result in a smaller and therefore more easily controlled voters' list.

An attempt will probably be made, as in 1947, to change the Georgia Constitution so registrars can test citizens trying to qualify to vote (if the attempt to wipe out the voters' lists is successful, this would be everybody who wished to vote) on their understanding of "the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government". In addition citizens would be required to be of good moral character and able to read or write any paragraph of the United States or Georgia constitutions in order to vote.

The League does not know now whether a citizen who wanted to challenge the registrars' decision as to whether he "understood the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government" would have recourse

to the courts.

Neither is it known whether the registrars in one place would have a different interpretation of what these "obligations of citizenship" are from the registrars in another.

Representative Charles Smith of Haralson County has stated he will introduce a bill including a plank on the League's emphasis program--primaries paid for from public funds and candidates' fees set by law. Too, he plans to provide that the democratic executive committees be elected by the people. In the past the people have, by party rule, elected members of these committees but the party rules adopted in July, 1948, failed to include this provision.

It is entirely in the hands of political party leaders as to whether or not these committeemen who handle the primary elections are elected by the people.

Another important feature of the Smith bill will be the abolition of the rotation system for election of state senators. Under this rotation system voters (in all counties except Fulton, Effingham, and Chatham) have no choice in the selection of the person who represents them in the Senate four years out of six.

Home Rule

Representative Charles Gowen of Glynn County is preparing legislation to repair the damage done his 1947 Municipal Home Bill through amendments by its opponents. Care will be taken it is believed to protect the seven municipalities which have voted home rule under the 1947 law.

As far as we know, no one is preparing a measure to secure county home rule--i. e., local county affairs handled by county rather than the state legislature.

The League is preparing a pamphlet on Home Rule which should be available in the near future.

Penal System

The Board of Corrections is asking for additional funds for 1) a building program which would include an institute for incorrigibles, an institute for juveniles, and a prison for women; and 2) an adequate industrial program for prisoners.

The League is heartily in favor of a state-wide probation system. We understand Representative Pierre Howard of DeKalb County is working on a bill in this connection. However, the League does not indorse or support a bill until after it has studied the measure and we have not as yet seen a copy of this bill.

For your convenience, items on the League's emphasis program which receive priority on our efforts are listed:

1) An election system made modern, integrated and enforceable and including:

   (a) Secret ballot (voting machines where population warrants);

   (b) Protection of citizens' access to the ballot;

   (c) Expense of primaries paid from public funds and candidates' fees fixed by law;

   (d) Protection of the permanent registration law.

2) Home rule extended to all cities and counties.

3) A penal system built with emphasis on rehabilitation and including an adequate probation and juvenile court system.

Jury Service for Women

The Association of Women Lawyers is sponsoring a measure for jury service to women. It is our understanding that the bill this time is mandatory--that is, a woman is required to serve on a jury as a man is required to serve except for a good reason. The League endorses the principle of such legislation. Jury Service for Women is an item on the League's platform but emphasis-program items have priority.

Appropriation Bill

The State Auditor is pleading that the legislature pass an appropriation bill in 1949. Under the law, if no appropriations bill is passed, the State continues to operate under the appropriation bill last passed. Georgia is now operating under the 1943 appropriations bill (plus appropriation of some extra revenue in 1946.)

Education

The Georgia Education Association is spearheading a movement for legislation for the "Minimum Foundation Program". The League did not take a stand on this but asked those candidates in the 1948 primary who favored the "Program" how they proposed to finance the additional 30 to 40 million dollars which would be required of state funds. According to newspaper reports, Roy Harris has been retained as counsel for the Minimum Foundation Program. Mr. Harris is a former speaker of the House of Representatives of Georgia.

If all its energy is not taken for the Minimum Foundation Program we understand the G.E.A. is interested in the following: a constitutional board for the Teacher Retirement Fund; a law to permit the executive secretary of the Georgia High School Association to come under the provisions of the Teacher Retirement System; some legislation in connection with tenure and hospitalization.

In addition to the above, measures are expected to be introduced by administration leaders which will enable Georgia to participate in the plan for regional schools at the college and graduate levels.

Health

Under the Hill-Burton bill passed by Congress, the Federal government will participate in the cost of constructing hospitals in Georgia up to the sum of 3 million dollars annually. While all except federal aid could be financed locally, it is expected that the appropriation bill will provide that 3 million dollars be made available from state funds, so that only one-third of the cost will need to be financed locally.

A bill to provide for pre-marital examinations of all applicants for marriage licenses, and to require every resident of Georgia who marries outside the State and returns to Georgia to conform to the provisions of the bill, will be introduced. The Junior Chamber of Commerce is sponsoring this bill, we understand.

An enabling act to empower the state departments under a merit system--now Health, Welfare, and Labor--to provide a retirement system will be introduced. We understand this bill will require no special appropriation but each department within its own budget will set it up as it can.

The 1947 legislature repealed part of the vital statistics law providing for the recording of marriages and divorces--nobody seems to know why. An effort will be made to get this part of the law reinstated.

Highways

It is believed that a bill setting up a constitutional highway board will be one of the administration bills. There will probably be some difference of opinion as to whether the legislature or the governor does the appointing of board members if such a board is set up. Representative Knox Gholston may also introduce a bill in this connection.

Judiciary

(See "Jury Service for Women") We understand Holcombe H. Perry of Albany is chairman of a committee of the Georgia Bar Association which is preparing the legislation the Bar Association plans to sponsor in connection with the selection of judges. We have not seen a resume of this but were told it is a combination of the Brunswick plan and the Missouri plan. Charles Bloch of Macon heads a committee working to further perfect the new supreme court rules.

Labor

It is generally believed that Labor will seek to get some modification of the anti-labor laws passed by the 1947 legislature. Today's papers carry an account of Supreme Court decision on anti-closed shop legislation. (One of the 1947 laws was against the closed shop).

Safety

It is believed that the bill passed to prevent a repetition of the Winecoff tragedy by the 1947 legislature will be changed.

Taxes

Up to this date, there has been an undercurrent of talk about the sales tax. The Farm Bureau group has openly advocated this tax. The Governor is committed by campaign promises to refer any tax measure to the people "by direct referendum".

The League had long advocated the setting up of a tax revision committee to get expert knowledge for a revision of Georgia's tax laws. Such a committee was set up in 1947. All of the tax laws of the state were compiled into one volume by this committee and several pieces of research done. The Act setting up the committee provided that the committee

> "...study and suggest a program for the revision of the tax structure of the State government and...propose to the General Assembly amendments to the tax laws which would strengthen, equalize, clarify, simplify, and promote efficiency in the operation of the laws by which the State of Georgia can realize the tax income necessary to render the services that the people desire" and "...submit its report in the form of bills, amending, abolishing, or establishing tax laws and their method of operation."

This committee held its first meeting with the new Governor in early December at which time it voted to continue to do research until after the General Assembly could meet and submit a referendum to the people. It seems, therefore, that the people will be asked to vote on tax measures (or at least a type of tax) without any advice or guidance from the committee. The reason given for this was that at the time the committee was set up, there was no talk or knowledge of the additional money which the Minimum Foundation Program and other expanded services would require.

Welfare

The Welfare director stated that that department might have a legislative program later but did not have one at the present time. Indications are, however, that more funds will be asked for the Milledgeville Hospital.

Veterans

Other than the statements published that the Governor would try to get legislation for free lifetime drivers' licenses for all honorably discharged veterans of World Wars I and II, we do not know of any specific measures at this time which will be introduced for veterans.

Masked Parades

We understand that legislation will be proposed to prohibit public parades by masked groups.

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LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF GEORGIA

220 COLLIER BLDG. (PEACHTREE AT ELLIS), ATLANTA 3, GA.

Affiliated with the
League of Women Voters of the United States

URGENT MESSAGE!

We assume you are as concerned as we over the dangers latent in the registration bill now before the Georgia legislature. For within the next few days our entire election system may be re-cast for years to come. An analysis of the bill is attached.

As you probably know, the bill is being rushed through the House. It will reach the Senate most any day now. A public hearing before the Senate committee to which it will be referred has been requested. Watch the papers for it. Better still ask your Senator to keep you posted.

We trust you will leave no stone unturned in getting people to attend the hearing and speak out in defense of their ballot.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF GEORGIA

Johnnie Hilbun

21 January 1949

(Miss Johnnie Hilbun)
President

"Too much blood has been shed in the upward struggle for the franchise to regard lightly the right to vote."

35- Suffrage, Georgia

STATEMENT OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF GEORGIA BEFORE SENATE COMMITTEE ON STATE OF THE REPUBLIC, FEBRUARY 2, 1949, ISSUED BY ITS BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND PRESENTED BY ITS PRESIDENT, MISS JOHNNIE HILBUN OF AUGUSTA.

For more than a quarter of a century, now, we have been among those working to perfect the machinery through which Georgia citizens exercise the democratic right of self-government. During these years we have seen many such safeguards enacted into law.

Still, the state today is confronted with glaring need for further improvement in its voting procedures. And in recognition of this the League of Women Voters has placed the election system in top position on its program of work. The organization advocates that the system be "made modern, integrated and enforceable" and that it include: 1) the secret ballot and the use of voting machines where the population warrants; 2) protection of the citizens' access to the ballot; 3) expenses of primaries paid from public funds and candidates' fees fixed by law; and 4) protection of the state's permanent registration law.

While we realize the need for improving the state's election machinery, we are deeply concerned, Gentlemen, over certain legislation now before the Georgia General Assembly which we contend would in effect wipe out many of the gains Georgia has made in this direction. We refer particularly to the bill under consideration this afternoon, House Bill 2.

We are glad to see, however, that the House struck out the provision for a $1 registration fee, and removed certain other features of the bill before sending it over to you.

One of the announced purposes of this legislation is to keep the voters' lists up to date by a system of re-registration. But let us call to your attention, Gentlemen, that there are laws already on our statute books for

automatically and effectively purging these lists with a minimum of work.

Let us review these provisions. The tax collector in each county is charged by law to suspend, between January 1 and March 1 of each year, any voter who has not voted in two years and to mail him a notice of this suspension. If by April 1 the voter has not asked to be continued on the voters' list, the tax collector is required to remove that voter's name from the list. Hence present law demands that the voters' lists be thus revised every year. This statute was enacted in 1945 and became effective in 1947.

Then there is the further provision for keeping these lists up to date which has been carried over into the bill before you. Under it the tax collector, the ordinary, and the superior court clerk, all elected officials, are required by law to search the records of the county before April 20 of each "general election year" (which means every year since the law now provides a general election in August of odd-numbered years and in November of even-numbered years) and to furnish the county registrars with a list of persons who have died and those apparently disqualified under the State Constitution for reason of idiocy, insanity, or crime. The registrars are then charged by law to leave such names off the final lists given to election managers (unless legal proof is furnished that any such person is not disqualified).

So we maintain, Gentlemen, that with these provisions, already on the statute books, we are adequately prepared for keeping the voters' lists up to date and do not need the enactment of periodic re-registration for that purpose. We have watched this system of automatic purging in several Georgia counties, of various size, and know it operates efficiently, economically, and with a minimum of effort. What we need is ENFORCEMENT.

In addition, we trust you will look well into the enormous cost entailed in a complete re-registration of the voters of this state. And we refer not

alone to the public funds involved. We refer as well to the cost in time and money to the individual citizen and also to business firms as a result of the interruption of the work of their employees.

The bill before you provides that this enormous re-registration operation shall be undertaken every four years. True, quadrennial re-registration is more convenient to the voter and less expensive to all concerned than biennial re-registration, as the bill provided before it was amended in the House. But, if we are to adopt such a system for keeping our voters' lists up to date, is not four years too long to leave these lists unrevised?

Gentlemen, we urge your serious consideration of the wisdom and value in retaining the permanent registration and automatic purging provisions of our present law. Why go to the expense and trouble of continuous re-registration for purging these lists when we have adequate and automatic provisions for doing this now?

We realize that the registration forms and other procedures set out in House Bill 2 are designed to give a degree of uniformity throughout the state to our voter qualification tests and thereby endeavor to meet the uniform principle laid down by the recent decision of a U. S. District Court on Alabama's Boswell Amendment. However, we raise the question whether one can actually expect to meet the principles set forth in this decision with tests, as prescribed in House Bill 2, which leave such wide room for personal judgment as is afforded in whether something is done "intelligibly" or "unintelligibly", "legibly" or "illegibly", and "satisfactorily" or unsatisfactorily.

Regarding the bill's procedure for qualifying voters, we note that the time set for a hearing before a Board of Registrars shall not be less than one day

nor more than ten days from the date of the notice of that hearing. We further note that failure to appear shall constitute cause for dismissing an applicant's application and that he shall not be permitted to apply anew during the four-year period set up in the bill unless he can prove the notice was not received.

We call this to your attention for we believe you, too, will consider one day insufficient time between the date of a notice and the holding of a hearing, particularly since such notices may be mailed.

Further, we would like to see a time limit set for Registrars to complete their tests of applicants who have registered in time to qualify for a coming election, so as to afford a rejected applicant time to test the denial in the courts before that election; and requirement made that any such appeal to the courts which has been filed by a given time be passed on judicially prior to the election. An exception should of course allow continuous purging of persons who have died or have become disqualified for other causes specified in the State Constitution.

Finally, let us speak to the provision in House Bill 2 that would annul the registration of all those now qualified as electors.

To vote is undeniably the most elemental right of a citizen in a democracy and the most elemental responsibility as well. The state has reason for pride in the fact that today Georgians are showing greater interest and participating more in their government than ever before. Witness the election just past, when this administration, and you, Gentlemen, were elected by one of the largest popular votes ever cast in this state.

The bill before you would withdraw the right to vote from the more than a million Georgians who are now so qualified and require each to re-apply before he could be re-enfranchised. You know what the result will be. It has been predicted by responsible authorities that the voters' lists will be cut at least in half.

You will agree, we believe, that a large vote is democracy's greatest safeguard; that the smaller the number of voters the easier it is for a controlled minority to hold the balance of power. Accordingly, the duties of citizenship should not be made difficult.

We earnestly urge that the present voters' lists be left intact, that the state's permanent registration law be not destroyed. In other words, we urge that the qualification tests proposed in House Bill 2 not be made in effect retroactive.

In summary, Gentlemen, 1) we ask you to preserve our present voters' lists and not require each would-be elector to go through the ramifications of presenting himself again for re-registration. 2) We ask that if the procedure for qualifying voters as proposed in the bill is adopted, it be made to apply to future applicants only. 3) We call your attention to the scant notice of hearing before Boards of Registrars permitted under the bill and to the fact that a rejected applicant is not assured time for appealing to the courts before an election denied him is held. And 4) we call your attention to the laws now on our statute books that provide an accurate and efficient method for automatically purging the voters' lists with a minimum of cost and effort to both state and public. And we ask you to consider well before destroying this method of keeping the voters' lists up to date and replacing it with a system of periodic re-registration that would be costly and would place a heavy and unnecessary burden upon the citizens of this state who take seriously their duties of citizenship.

But above all, Gentlemen, it is our earnest hope that you will see fit to report House Bill 2 with the recommendation that it do not pass.

Mrs. Frederick
Florence Roben (Legal Defense Fund)
9 Clovelly Road
~~Washington, D.C.~~
Pikesville, Md. 21208

f,

~~PA - any~~ ~~signature?~~
~~ES~~

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF THE UNITED STATES

1200 SEVENTEENTH STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036 TEL. 296-1770
Mrs. Robert J. Stuart, President

June 27, 1967

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

We are seeking a professional person to fill a vacancy on our national executive staff. The person must be willing to live in the Washington Metropolitan Area.

The position which we are seeking to fill is titled national program specialist. As one of the 15-member professional staff for the League of Women Voters of the United States, this particular program specialist would be primarily responsible for all phases of the Washington headquarters work of the League's program item -- the "development of human resources," i.e., the political and governmental issues in the area of "equality of opportunity in education and employment." This item roughly covers the broad area of human resources development, including national poverty programs, manpower programs, education, civil rights in education and employment, and regional economic development. The specific duties include analyzing in depth national legislation and policies which the League expects to support or oppose; briefing the national Board of Directors of the League on such legislation and policies; following closely the status of bills in Congress; working with representatives of other nongovernmental organizations interested in legislative goals similar to the League's; helping to draft and edit letters and statements of members of the national Board of Directors about the League's position; writing detailed background information (pamphlets and articles) designed for the general League membership and the outside public.

The job also calls for keeping abreast of the general subject matter relating to the areas of human resources as well as what the local Leagues are doing and what their opinions are in the field of human resources and briefing the national Board of Directors on these matters.

A great deal of the staff person's time is devoted to research and writing -- pamphlets, leaders' guides, articles for periodicals, etc. It is therefore essential that the person be proficient in background research and writing for a lay public and have a knowledge in depth of the broad program areas.

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First Vice President
Mrs. William M. Christopherson
Louisville, Kentucky
Second Vice President
Mrs. Bruce B. Benson
Amherst, Massachusetts
Secretary
Mrs. K. E. Montgomery
Eugene, Oregon
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Bladensburg, Maryland
Mrs. Robert Zurbach
Pasadena, California

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Miss Dixie Drake

The position also requires the ability to work with volunteers (i.e. members of the national Board of Directors as well as state and local leaders and the general member) and to execute plans that have been made by the Board of Directors and the program committee made up of Board members with particular proficiency or interest in the field. The staff person must be disciplined enough to plan and execute a great deal of her own work without detailed guidance. We believe at least five years of professional experience is a must.

The starting salary for this position would be from $9,000.00 to $11,000.00, depending on the ability and experience of the person involved.

Should you know of anyone who might be interested, we would be pleased to have her name or if you wish you might ask the person to get in touch with me.

Your cooperation in this matter will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Dixie Drake

Dixie Drake
Executive Director

DD:etw

The League of Women Voters

As a Public Service

is pleased to present to you

This Information

Suffrage. Ga.

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

is a non-partisan organization established in 1920 to encourage citizen participation in government.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS, 1958

Jan. 24, 1958 - E. Celler introduced civil rights bill embodying Part III, stricken from Civil Rights Act of 1957.

Feb. 10, 1958 - S3257 (to effectuate and enforce constitutional right to equal protection of the laws, and for other purposes, introduced by Douglas with Humphry, Ives, Hennings, Case, Morse, Allott, Newberger, Dirksen, McNamara, Javits, Clark, Pastore, Beall, Carroll, Proxmire) See Congressional Record blip for complete bill and discussion.

March 1, 1958 - Rep. Wm. L. Dawson introduced civil rights bill to protect constitutional rights of people (rest of clip missing)

~~April 18, 1958~~ -
May 6, 1958 - Move to begin hearings on civil rights legislation nipped in bud by Judiciary subcommittee by motion to postpone until majority subcommittee approved. Carried 3-2; similar vote defeated proposed hearing on May 13.

May 24, 1963 - Senator H. H. Humphrey recently introduced proposed Civil Rights Act of 1958, a revised version of old Part III of 1957 bill. Emphasized his introduction of new measure in no way modified his enthusiasm for S3257, introduced Feb. 12 by 16 senators (including Humphrey).

May 22, 1958 - Rept Adam Clayton Powell introduced in House four civil rights bills
1 - Omnibus
   a. Make Civil Rights Commission a permanent agency
   b. require Atty-Gen. to increase personnel of FBI to investigate CR cases and provide for training of agents for effetive CR investigation
   c. create Joint Committee on CR composed of 7 Senators appointed by VP and 7 Reps appointed by Speaker to make a study of CR and advise congressional committees. It would be authorized to hold hearings and would have subpoena powers
   d. amend existing Federal criminal civil rights laws and laws against peonage
   e. Create "Equality of Opportunity in Employmant Commissions" composed of 7 members appointed by President with power to investigate complaints
   f. anti-lynching act
2. Prohibit use of Fed funds for loans, grants or aid to provide housing that is discriminatory
3. Prohibit racial discrimination or seg regation in interstate travel
4. Protect uniformed members of Armed Forces ggainst bodily attack

June 9, 1958 - Javit introduced two bills: 1) to extend CRC thru June 1950
2) to make a Federal crime of conspiricies crossing state lines in cases of violence such as bombings of synagogues, churches, community buildings, schools, and homes. Similar bill offered in House by Rep. Keating.

Aug.9, 1958 - Senate Resolution 17, a resolution establishing majority rule in Senate

CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS - 1959

1-15-59 - Dawson introduced civil rights bill
1. affirming federal court decisions
2. stating resistance or evasion is denial of constitutional rights
3. several states have not made "prompt and reasonable start" in school deseg.
4. denial of rights imposes second class citizenship
5. action by government needed to protect rights, rather than citizens
6. federal government has responsibility to protect rights
8. Secretary of H. E. & W. should provide technical assistance to aid local boards
7. appropriation of $50,000,000 to aid changeover from segregated to unsegregated schools

1-20-59 - Lyndon Johnson introduced civil rights bill
S499
1. extend Civil Rights Commission
2. Atty-Gen subpoena powers in voting rights cases
3. conciliation service to aid in solution of C.R. issues
4. make bombings a federal offense

1-23-59 - Compromise cloture bill: 2/3 of Senators "present and voting" instead of 2/3 of Senators (old rule)

1-29-63 - Douglas-Javits-Celler bill introduced (11 Democrats and 4 Republicans)
S810
would expand federal power to enforce school integration

2-5-63 - Administration bill introduced by Pres. Eisenhower in speech to Congress
S958 7-point civil rights message, followed by 7 bills
1. make it federal crime to use force or threats to obstruct court orders in school desegregation
2. make it a federal offense to bomb schools, churches or similar institutions across state lines
3. provide financial and technical help for states and communities to make changeover from segregated to integrated schools. Est. $4,895,000 to be matched by states for extra professional people.
4. government take over schools built with aid of federal funds (paying rental) for education of children of military personal who had been attending public schools closed in integration disputes
5. require preservation of federal election records and authorize Justice Dept. to inspect them
6. Give a basis of law rather than presidential executive order to gov. comm. which polices non-discrimination clauses in government contracts; also authority to hold hearings
7. continue Civil Rights Commission for two years beyond Sept. expiration date

SEE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD FOR COMPARISON OF THREE BILLS

2-6-59 - H. Talmadge (with Byrd, Robertson, Olin Johnson, Lister Hill, J.J. Sparkman, Eastland, Stennis) offered proposed constitutional amendment which would vest exclusive administration of public schools in the states and their political divisions.

May 20, 1959 - Humphrey introduced omnibus human rights bill in Senate designed to enforce integration in interstate transportation, prohibit discrimination in employment, outlaw poll tax, strengthen criminal provisions of existing civil rights laws, and strengthen laws relating to peonage, slavery, and involuntary servitude.

June 18, 1959 - House Judiciary Committee approved omnibus Civil Rights bill including all of administrations proposals PLUS authority for Atty-Gen. to seek injunctions on behalf of individuals whose civil rights are threatened (broader than Part III).

Members of Senate sub-committee voted 5-3 against injunction proposal

July 3, 1959 - Southern senators won modification of civil rights legislature in House Judiciary Committee when they broadened an anti-bombing provision to include all types of structures. (would include labor disputes)

July 28 - Republicans joined Southern Democrats in rejecting House Committee (vote 18-13) Part III which would empower Atty-Gen. to seek fed court injunctions to enforce civil rights. The Senate Judiciary Committee has already stricken this provision from a civil rights bill in Senate.

Aug. 18, 1959 - Sen. Hennings filed a series of civil rights amendments to a pending Senate bill dealing with the jurisdiction of Federal Courts. The amendments go beyond Pres. Eisenhower's recommendations.

Aug. 14, 1959 - Javits called for prompt action on civil rights legislation lodged in Senate Judiciary Committee.

Aug. 25, 1959 - Javits and Case offered motion to discharge Judiciary Comm. from further consideration of rights bill cleared by subcommittee in order to get it out of committee where it has been stalled for weeks.

Sept. 8, 1959 - Rep. Celler filed a petition to bypass a rules committee roadblock holding up action on civil rights legislation.

Senator Keating introduced bill to establish a commission on equal job opportunity under government contracts

HEARINGS ON CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS - 1959

March 4, 1959 - House Judiciary Subcommittee heard appeal from South for moratorium on new civil rights legislation. Subcommittee had 30 c. r. bills; hearings continue through next week.

Senate Constitutional Rgihts Subcommittee to begin hearings March 18.

First day's witnesses of House committee heard Celler and Lindsay for; Poff against
3-18, Vandiver told committee that possible Communist origins of pending cifil rights legislation ought to be investigated.
Apr. 24, Boyd Campbell of Jackson Miss. read to committee and editorial from Jackson Advocate. House.
Apr. 26 - abduction of Negro prisoner from Poplarville, Miss. jail could strengthen demands for tougher civil rights legislation. (Mack Parker)
April 28 - efforts to wind up hearings ran into snag; subcommittee failed to mustor quorum. Senate.
June 18 - House subcommittee approved omnibus civil rights bill: 5-3

Aug. 4, 1959 - Senate Judiciary Committee voted 10-5 to take up subcommittee measurr and open it to amendments.

July 29 - House Judiciary Committee voted 18-13 to eliminate Part 3 proposal

Aug. 15, liberals plan strategy to by-pass Senate committee, where bill is hopelessly stalled

Aug. 18, Hennings filed series of civil rights amendment to pending Senate bill

Aug. 26 - Javits and Case try new amneuver to force civil rights legislation onto Senate floor; they filed a discharge motion to try to pry the bill out of the Judiciary Committee.

This maneuver continued during recess with Celler reportedly having half of 219 signatures needed by Dec. 21, 1959. The House bill now does not contain Part III, registrars and anti-lynching provisions.

Nov. 18 - Atty-Gen Rogers said the administration may ask Congress for federal anti-lynching law.

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION - 1960

Jan. 6 - In an almost unprecedented action, Speaker Sam Rayburn invited House members to step up and sign a "discharge" petition as the quickest way to get a civil rights bill before the House. This action would by-pass the House Rules Committee, which has blocked such legislation. A petition to discharge the stalled bill has been on the House desk since last Summer; it hav 106 signatures, 219 are needed.

Jan.11 - Sen. Javits introduced 5 new civil rights bills:

1. recommendation for appointment of federal registrars to insure Negro voting rights.
2. permit Atty-Gen. to represent in lawsuits individuals who charge civil rights violations (Modification of Part III)
3. federal anti-lynching bill
4. require preservation of voting records and availability for federal inspection, require state voter registrars to fulfil their duties

Janl 14
(Eisenhower reaction to federal voting registrars at news conference: I don't even know whether it is constitutional. He prefers the c. r. bill he suggested last year.

Jan. 19 - First day of Senate Rules Committee Hearing: Sen. Ervin and Charles Bloch among those testifying.

Jan. 24 - Senate Rules Committee resumed hearings on voting rights legislation; set Feb. 5 as closing date.

Jan. 25 - N. Y. Times published list of 146 Democrats and 30 Republicans signing discharge petition; total 176.

House Republicans explained they were against discharge petitions "in principle" because they do not believe in circumventing House rules.

Jan. 26 - Atty-Gen Rogers proposed (news conference and draft Bill), for Administration, federal court "referees" instead of "registrars". Two advantages:
1. buttress right to vote in state as well as national elections
2. not only register voters where courts find pattern of discrimination, but also, at request of court, follow up cases to make certain that referee-registered voters are allowed to vote and have votes properly counted.

Jan. 38 - Sen. L. Johnson said toady changing the Constitution was the "proper" way to abolish the poll tax. Urged Senate to approve pending amendment "by overwhelming vote"

Jan. 29. House Rules Committee called to meeting for Monday, Feb. 1, by chairman to discuss civil rights bill lodged there since last August.
Hearings opened Feb. 4.

Jan. 31 - Administrations proposal for court appointed referees endorsed by Javits. discharge petition now has 190 of necessary 219 sigs.

Feb. 2 - Senate approved, 70-18, omnibus amendment that would affect five states, by outlawing poll tax (72-16, Holland of Fla.)

2. grant suffrage to District of Columbia to vote for President, Vice president, and delegates to House, as many as it would have as state, and to have such power as Congress conferred on them. (Keating)

3. permit Governors to appoint members of House of Representatives if majority of House killed in a nuclear attack. (Kefauver)

This poll tax amendment was approved after the Senate rejected Javits proposal to substitute a statute for the Amendment (50-37)

Feb. 11 - CCR staff director Tiffany said today the Commission is not opposing Justice Department's plan for Federal court appointed referees.

Feb. 16 - Senate majority leader Lyndon Johnson laid before Senate a minor bill affecting an Army post in Missouri and said it would be the vehicle on which civil rights amendments would be considered.

Sen. Russell moved to postpone consideration and debate until Feb. 23. Defeated 61-28. Senate filibuster begins.

Civil rights Amendment proposed as "riders" to House bill in Senate (Dirksen Amendments).

2/18 Justice Dept. sent to Congress new version of its voting referee bill. House Judiciary Committee member, McCullough of Ohio, said he would offer this draft as the official administration plan.

Signatures now: 209

Feb. 18 - House Rules Committee formally cleared civil rights legislation for floor action by vote of 7-4. Debate expected to begin around March 10.

Feb. 23 - Three major voting rights bills before Senate:

1. Humphrey-- federal voting registrars
2. 7-point administration bill, with federal court-appointed referees
3. compromise bill by Hennings, Senate Rules Comm. cham., with federal enrollment offices.

The Dirkson bill for the Administration omits two proposals of Humphrey"s bill:
1. limited federal funds in technical aid for school districts that end deseg.
2. statutory authority to President's Committee on Government Contracts.

Feb. 25 - Sen. Russell invoked Senate rule to restrict immediate civil rights consideration to an anti-bombing proposal.

Feb. 26 - Senate roll call vote defeated motion to adjourn Feb. 29 session at 5 p.m. and thus backed Senate Leader's plans for round-the-clock sessions in civil rights fight. (67--10) 24 hour sesssions began at noon on Feb. 29.

March 2 - Senate killed vivil rights bill amendment (Long of La.) to uphold right to advocate legal resistance to forcible integration. (64-34).
To table: D - 34, R - 30; Against D - 8, R - 26

Bills before Senate:

1. Dirksen Amendment--7 parts (6 part Eisenhower 1959 bill with new section on voting rights.

2. Celler bill--4 parts (House Judiciary Committee rewrite); biparticon move to add 5th section to it on voting rights

Dirksen	Celler
Sec. 1 - provides for new criminal penalties for interfering with court-ordered or court approved school integration. $10,000 fine and/or maximum prison sentence of two years	same, except limits penalties to fine $1,000 and/or 60 days.
Sec. 2--make it federal crime($5,000 & 5 yrs.) for hate bombers or arsonists to flee from one state to another to avoid prosecution for incendiarism against school or church bldgs.	broadens to include attacks on "any building, structure, facility, vehicle, dwelling house, synagogue, church, religious center or educational institution, public or private.
Sec. 3--provides Federal election recoreds be preserved for three years and Justice Dept. be empowered to inspect them. $5,000 fine and/or 5 yrs.	same, except smaller penalties and records preserved for only two years. $1,000 fine and/or one yr.
Sec. 4--empowers Fed. Gov. to provide assistance to communities undertaking school desegregation endoreses Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation ruling.	omits
Sec. 5--provides for fed. assistance to continue education of servicemen's children in areas where public schools are closed.	about same
Sec. 6--~~authorizes~~ gives statutory authority to President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.	omits
Sec. 7--provides for Fed. Dist Court appointment of voting referees, empowered to register qualified Negroes and to see they are permitted to vote and votes are counted. Local obstruction punishible by comtempt of court.	about same, but in more detail

March 3 - Sen. W. Morse placed cloture petition, just before 11 p. m. on clerk's desk for necessary petition; Sen. Thruston M rton stepped up and ripped it to pieces; Morse had another copy typed and put it on clerk's desk.

March 9 — Senate agreed to vote on March 10 to invoke cloture and thus limit civil rights filibuster (after nearly 4 weeks of talk) this would limit to one hour, or over-all limit of 99 hours. Cloture defeated 53-42
For--D - ~~125~~ 18, R - 12; Against D.- 33, ~~&~~ R - 20.

House opens consideration of civil rights bill by vote of 311-93
For-- D - 175, R - 137; Against D - 84, R - 9

House Judiciary 4-point bill reinforced by Atty-Gen. Rogers fifth point on voting

March 10 - Sen. Humphrey introduced bill to ban job discrimination in nation's capitol. Also bill to create Commission on Equal Job Opportunity under Gov. Contracts.

March 11 - Cloture vote defeated 53-42
Part III proposal tabled by vote of 55-38 (rejected by Senate in 1957 and now opposed by Administration)

March 11 - House considered question of adoption of conditions for debate on voting rights. Vote 312 to 93 for accepting House Rules Committee ground rules. House bill shorn of school and job discrimination clauses.

Lausche amendment to broaden violence bill to include labor unions adopted 65-19.

Senate (Morse motion) voted to table, thus deleting violence and mob action section of Administration's civil rights bill, as organized labor intervened against new provisions. 49-35. D - 48, R.-1; D - 6, R - 29.

March 14 - Atty. Gen Rogers appeals for provision dealing with force or threat to hinder desegregation.

Sen. Goldwater offered amendment boradening anti-bombing section to include schools, churches, buildings, and vehicles. Vote 85-1 (Dirksen against)

House ruled not germane two of Eisenhower's c. r. proposals (gov. contracts employment; grants and technical assistant to deseg. schools) for its more limited five-point bill. Celler appealed ruling on employment measure, defeated 157-67.

March 15 - Kevauver Amendment (in committee) to require Negro applicants for the vote to face state and local registration officials at public voting referee proceedings.

March 16 - Senate approved 14 of Judiciary Committee's 15 amendments to c. r. bill.

House tightened administration voting referee plan to insure legal delaying tactics cannot be used to keep Negroes from voting. 188-120 (compromise)

March 17 - O'Hara in House Amendment to provide Negroes to vote provisionally if voting applications still unsettlee on election day. Votes to be impounded, pending final determination. 188-120 passed.

House voteddown 192-121 Southern amendment that would have wrecked c. r. bill's voting provisions.

March 17 - Edwin R. Willis proposed Amendment re voting discrimination; would require additional proof that Negroes discriminated against because of race. Defeated, standing vote 161 - 113; later teller vote 149 - 121 HOUSE

March 17 - Senate approves civil rights bill first section after 5 weeks of debate. vote 86 - 1. Expeanded by three more provisions (Keating)

1. make fed. crime to transport or help transport explosives for purposes of criminal bombing. Penalty $10,000 fine and/or 10 years.
2. authorize death penalty, on jury recommendation, in bombings where someone killed
3. make it fed crime to make threats or spread false information about bombings. fine $1,000 and/or 1 yr.

March 18 - House rejected a move to make Administration's voting-referee plan applicable only to voting for federal offices. Vote 137 - 134.

Senate tabled Douglas' voting registration plan. 53 - 24.
(President empowered to appoint federal registrars to enroll Negroes, after petition and investigation.

March 21 - House again defeated 157 - 137 plan to make voting legislature applicable only to federal elections.

March 22 - House approved voting referee measure (section removed providing school facilities for children of servicemen when schools closed by integration) 199-104.

Celler moved to abolish poll tax as voting requisite, and then sought to revive Title III. Chair ruled neither proposal germane.

March 23 - After amendment to extend anti-bombing penalties to threats of bombing or burning, whether false or genuine, and refusal to testify, House approved 295 - 124 in roll call vote voting referee section . In final form:

1. makes it fed crime to obstruct court desegregation orders
2. provides broadened fed penalties for hate bombings
3. requires preservation of state voting records
4. provides schooling for children of service personnel when scholls closed
5. provides voting referee guarantees

March 23 - Senate Amendment by Clark & Javits combining voting referee plan with alternate use of fed enrollment offices. Morse moved to table to force vote; Sen. Johnson moved to recess.

March 24 - House passed 311 - 109 civil rights bill and sent to Senate.

March 24 - Senate referred House bill to its Judiciary Committee, with instructions to report in five days. Eastland entered motion that bill be submitted without instructions—defeated 72-19. Vote 86-5 for five day consideration
Stella (MO.) school bill wmet back on Senate calendar.

March 28 - After hearings held behind closed doors, an almost unprecedented procedure with Eastland presiding, the Senate Judiciary Committee amended (7-6) the House bill to require Negroes to face opposing lawyers in public procedings if they want to register to vote (Kefauver proposal) One among several adopted; others non-controversial technical changes.

March 30 - Senate Judiciary Committee amendments to civil rights bill--15 changes, most merely technical:

broadened version of section dealing with obstruction of court orders to include labor union disputes (similar change killed March 11); only one (Kefauver) weakened bill. The broadened section makes it federal crime to transport explosives in interstate commerce for hate bombing, federal crime to flee across state line to avoid prosecution in bomb threat cases, federal election officials required to keep election recores for only 22 months.

April 8 - Senate passed civil rights bill 71-18 (complete bill attached) after 8 weeks of debate, nearly 400 hours of speeches, and 46 roll call votes. Bill contains five of administrations seven basic civil rights recommendations.
Sent back to House for expected agreement on 16 Senate amendments.

AMENDMENTS:

1 3/31 - Kefauver: force referees to give local registrars two days notice before taking registrations and permit them to send lawyers to proceedings; offered to modify so that lawyers could not participate but only take transcripts.

1 4/1 - Senate adopted Carroll substitute amendment, 69 - 22, to require hearings by proposed voting referees to be held at times and places fixed by courts.

1 Javits amendment tabled, 48 - 38, providing for a 15-member anti job discrimination commission.

1 4/4 - Tabled, 61 - 30, administration's federal grants to desegregating schools.

2 4/4 - Javits proposal to permit Atty-Gen. to intervene in school desegregation suits initiated by private citizens, and
MaNamara moved to substitute Part III. Both tabled in one vote, 56 - 34.

1 Hart amendment, to permit Negro applicants to register with court-appointed referee without first going to local registrat. Defeated 52 - 38 (similar to Carroll, below)

1 4/5 - Ervin: amendment to require formal rules of civil procedure in cases where Negro voting applicant had appealed to fed. court. Defeated, 64 - 29.

3 4/6 - Ervin: amendment limiting voting rights provisions to elections for House and Senate. Tabled, 72 - 16.
Johnston amendment ermoving primaries from voting rightsscope of legislation. Tabled, 68 - 18.
Carroll amendment granting fed. courts right to waive any requirement that Negro applicants go before local registration official a second time to try to register. Tabled, 62 - 32.

1 4/5 - Thurmond: amendment to place burden of proof on Negro voting applicant to show he was denied right to register because of race & color. Defeated.

1 4/5 & 4/6 - Ellender offered amendment on 4/5 to kill entire voting referee section (Title 6) and spoke 7½ hours April 5 and two hours 48 minutes April t. Tabled 79-19.

1 4/6 - Adopted, 79 - 12 roll call, change stating provisional voting can be permitted only if Negro under challenge in court "shall be qualified to vote under state law." And had first tried to register under state law.

April 19 - House Rules Committee, 8 - 4, approved proposal that House accept Senate changes in civil rights bill and sent it to the House. (Senate made 23 changes in House bill, many of them technical.

April 21 - Bill passed by House 288 - 95 and sent to President to be signed into law.

May 6 - Civil Rights Bill signed by President.

Aug. 8 - Scott & Keating introduced rights bill embodying Democratic platform.

Aug. 9 - Senate voted 54-28 to table administration civil rights measure, introduced by Dirksen. Bill consisted of two sections deleted from civil rights bill approved in April: 1) fed grants to assist school desegregation, and 2) legislation to make Committee on Gov. Contracts a permanent agency.

Aug. 9 - Javits introduced 4-point bill: 1 and 2 similar to Dirksen bill; 3) make 6th grade education equivalent to literacy for voting purposes in federal elections, and 4) empower U. S. Atty-Gen. to bring actions for desegregation where individuals deprived by economic or physical coercion of their rights to attend desegregated schools. Held over for 2nd reading on 12th.

Aug. 10 - For third day Republicans submitted an anti-discrimination bill in Senate but made no effort to force Democrats to a vote. Sen. Case usged modification of Senate's filibuster Rule XXII (referred to Judiciary Committee).

Aug. 13 - Cooper and Javits called for consideration of Dirksen bill, Tabled Aug. 9.

Aug. 30-31 - Javits tried to introduce resolution to discharge the Judiciary Committee of further consideration of the Dirksen bill on the 30th, and again on 31st. Ruled out of order because did not have necessary unanimous consent.

Sept. 2 - Presidential Nominee Kennedy names committee to prepare comprehensive civil rights bill embodying Democratic platform commitments for introduction at next session of Congress. (Clark and Cellar to write).

Nov. 12 - Plans to purge Colmer (Miss.) from House Rules Committee.

Dec. 25 - Plans to enlarge House Rules Committee to break southern bloc. Other suggestions: 21 day Rule in effect as in 1949 and 1950.

July 5 - Pres. Eisenhower signed Stella, Mo., school bill 7/5. It became famous in the Senate fight over Civil Rights. (bills Stella School Dist for $1,500.00 for temporary use of abandoned Army Barracks at Fort Crawder, Mo., as school. All C R legis. amendments were added to it, to bring on Senate filibuster.

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION: 1961

Jan. 1 - Two battles to change procedures of the House and Senate began Jan. 2 as the 87th Congress met; the Kennedy administration's legislative program is vitally involved.

Democratic liberals have been meeting in caucus. The attitude of Speaker Sam Rayburn is likely to be decisive; so far no commitment.

Both Republican and Democratic platforms in the 1960 election pledged revision of Senate rules. A compromise proposal (Sen. Keating) would permit majority closure, but would grant each side on a pending issue a further 50 hours of speaking time.

Question to be debated is whether Senate is a "continuing body" with rules that carry over.

Proposals given out to press are: 1) enlarging rules committee by two or three; 2) revising 21-day rule; 3) election (rather than appointment) of two powerful committees: the policy and steering committees.

Jan. 2 - Rayburn announced he favors purge of Colmer and perhaps Winstead (Miss.) and Whitten (Miss.) or even all five southern Democrats who openly opposed the Democratic ticket (Williams (Miss.) Passman (La.).

Jan. 3 - 87th Congress convened.
Mansfield elected majority leader; Humphrey asst. leader, Senate Democrats
Dirksen, leader, Kuchel, whip, Republicans

House: McCormack, leader for Democrats; Halleck leader for Republicans

Nixon opinion (not ruling) after three-hour bombardment: Senate has right to adopt or change its rules at the opening of each session if the majority wishes.

SENATE: Anderson (& T. Morton) submitted resolution for reducing 2/3 requirement for cloture to 60%, or 3/5.

Humphrey & Kuchell offered motion to reduce required votes to 51, a constitutional majority, after 15 days. Their proposal insured 100 hours of debate before a filibuster could be forcibly stopped. (Precedent for majority closure: used in Senate before 1808.)

Bill introduced embodying Kennedy's proposals for aiding economically depressed areas.

Jan. 9 - Hearing on President-elect's cabinet appointees scheduled.
Senate filibuster continued through 5th day.

Jan. 10 - Mansfield & Dirksen moved question of rules changes be sent to Rules Committee. No agreement to vote obtained, and Senate adjourned without voting. Motion necessary, leaders said, so Senate could proceed with important business and take up rules change later in session.

k

1961

Jan. 11 - Assignments to Senate committees ratified.

Vote 50 - 46 to send two proposals to Rules Committee. For D - 32; R - 18; Against D - 31, R - 18.

Rayburn announced plan to enlarge House Rules Committee rather than purge Colmer. Three members to be addes to 12 member committee: 2 Ds and 1 R.
Delay assures that Lyndon Johnson will be presiding when issue comes before Senate again.

Russell preferred tabling and killing motion, but feared he did not have necessary 3/5 vote.

Jan. 17 - Javits & Keating introduced 7 bills to

1) S-481, authorize atty-gen to initiate civil rights suits
2) S-484, provide technical & financial assistance to state and local school districts seeking to desegregate
3) S479, establish a statutory commission on equal job opportunity under government contracts
4) S-483, extend life of CCR indefinitely
5) S-480, establish 6th grade education as proof of literacy for voting purposes
6) S-482, make unlawful deprivations of rights under 14th amendment
7) S478, eliminate poll tax

Cooper: a bill authorizing U. S. atty-gen to intervene in school desegregation cases instituted by individuals.

Moss: three bills to
1) extend life of CCR
2) provide that 6th grade edu satisfy literacy requirements for voting
3) abolish poll tax

Jan. 18 - Rayburn in bat tle with Smith won formal endoresment at caucus of House Democrats for enlargement of Rules Committee. Rules Committee instructed to bring legislature to floor; Smith of Va. to introduce it.

Jan. 23 - Republican House minority in joint D-R conference voted against liberalizing Rules Committee

Jan. 24 - Resolution to increase Rules Committee membership reported to floor Committee vote 6 - 2, Smith and Colmer against.

Jan. 28 - Rayburn rejected compromise, fight continues. Smith had proposed guarantee Rules Committee, if retained in present form, would clear for House consideration the five items on Kennedy's priority list of domestic legislation:

1) development of depressed areas
2) expansion of housing programs
3) higher minimum wage with broader coverage
4) health insurance for aged
5) federal aid for public schools

Rayburn wanted guarantee ALL administration bills would be cleared at his request.

1961

Jan. 30 - White House pressure added to battle. Criticism from N.C. re "blackmail" from Interior Dept. re proposed federal saline water conversion plant at Wrightsville, Beach.

Jan. 31 - House Rules Committee enlarged from 12 to 15 members; vote 217 - 212 For: D - 175, R - 22; Against D - 64, R - 148.

Feb. 1 - Southern Democrats who voted against Rules Committee change charged "reprisals" in committee appointments. Committee on Committees denied charge.

Feb. 2 - Sources close to House leadership privately acknowledged charge true; Rayburn denied.

Feb. 4 - Pilcher (Ga.) said fight against enlarging rules committee was sponsored by U. S. Chamber of Commerce, Am. Farm Bureau, and special interests to block Pres. Kennedy's program. Cited other expanded committees in past and said civil rights not issue.

Feb. 6 - Republicans choose 3 conservative members for rules committee. Now 4 conservative southerners and 8 moderate to liberal democrats.

May 9 - Clark-Celler six point proposal to speed school desegregation. (Pres. Kennedy appointed last year to put Democratic platform promises in form of legislation.)

1) require every school board operating segregated public schools to adopt desegregation plan within six months and file with Sec. of Welfare. Provision for court enforcement. Plans to provide compliance no later than start of 1963-64 school year.
2) make CCR permanent agency
3) provide judicial and administrative remedies against discrimination by business or labor unions in hiring, firing, or promotion
4) empower atty-gen to bring civil injunction suits in federal courts to prevent denial of civil rights because of color, race, or creed; authority now to file only to prevent denial of voting rights
5) eliminate poll tax as requirement for voting in federal elections
6) eliminate literacy tests as requirement for voting

May 10 - Salinger said, "The President has made it clear that he does not think it is necessary at this time to enact civil rights legislation." He added the administration was working on what it could accomplish under existing law.

Aug. 29 - Extension of CCR arguments; no vote in absence of quorum

Aug. 22 - attempts to attach civil rights rider to CCR extension bill made. Javits and Keating proposed amendments to 1) eliminate poll tax restriction on voting, and 2) authorize atty-gen to initiate civil rights suits, including school desegregation. Tabled and killed (Mansfield)

Senator Clark, to prove Senate rules archaic, forced 45 minute delay for 1) reading of preceding day's proceedings, 2) quorum call, 3) other delays within his rights. Hopes for change during next session.

Sept. 13 - House and Senate voted a twoyear extension of CCR by approving appropriations bill 300 - 106. Bill gave CCR $888,000 to finance during current fiscal year, same amount as last year.

Bill sent to President for signature

Sept. 18 - Senate defeated by 43 - 37 cloture petition aimed at changing rules and curbing filibusters. Against D - 28, R - 15; For D - 26, R - 11.

Then voted 47 - 35 to table Mansfield resolution on rules changes.

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION: 1962

Jan. 22 - Congressman Ryan spoke to his bill, H.R. 7143, giving CCR authority to issue court enforceable cease and disist order against person or orgnization guilty of civil rights discrimination in fields of employment, insurance, labor relations, housing, and public accommodations.

Jan. 25 - Sen. Mansfield introduced Administaation civil rights legislation (bill drafted by Justice Dept.) to declare completion of 6th grade education is sufficient test of literacy for purpose of voting. One section of the bill states that Spanish-speaking citizens have ample Spanish-language news sources and are well qualified to vote even if they do not speak English. The 6th grade qualification would apply to Puerto Ricans who are now required to pass liberacy test in English.

(Est. 200,000 Puerto Ricans in N. Y. unable to vote last fall because of language requirement)

Jan. 31 - By vote of 61 - 25, literacy test bill sent to Senate Judiciary Committee. VP Johnson's ruling had been challenged by Sen. Javits, who appealed the ruling requesting the bill be sent to Rules Committee. Vote to table Javits' appeal sent bill to Judiciary. (For tabling: D 44, R 17; Against D - 13; R 12)

March 24 - Debate on literacy bill begun in House.
March 14 - Senate opened civil rights debate when Mansfield ~~moved for action on poll tax~~ amendment by attaching it to Hamilton resolution.
March 26 - After 10-day southern filibuster, (6 hours per day), Senate shut off debate 62 - 15 rollcall vote by calling for consideration of minor bill, a resolution to make the New York City home of Alexander Hamilton a national shrine. S.J. Res. 29. Voting against: 14 southern Democrats and Hickey of Wyoming.

Holland, joined by Mansfield and Dirksen, offered as a substitute his proposal for a Constitutional Amendment that would prohibit the imposition of poll taxes as a qualification for voting in federal elections.

A move to outlaw poll tax by simple legislation is also pending. Javits plans to offer similar bill.

March 29 - Vote approving poll tax amendment 77 - 16 after 11-day filibuster.

Sent to House Judiciary Committee.

Five states retain poll tax as requirement for voting: Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia. Arkansas recently supported poll tax in a referendum, as a revenue-producing measure for public schools.

Literacy test was principle administration c. r. bill; Atty-Gen. Robt. Kennedy called literacy tests the principal device for discrimination in voting. The bill was uannimously supported by CCR and endorese by 1960 Republican platform.

April 12 - Completing two weeks of hearings on literacy test bill in Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, the bill was endorsed as "inadequate but small and significant step" by: Roy Wilkins, NAACP; Lawrence Speiser, ACLU; Joseph L. Rauh, jr. ADA.

Now 18,500,000 Negro Americans, about half are living in South - 10% of total population. Under voting rights laws passed in 1957 and 1960, Justice Dept. has brought 23 actions in the South, 14 under Atty-Gen. Kennedy, all instituted in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama.

? Dept. of Urban Affairs bill killed?

April 24 - Mansfield introduced pending bill (private relief refunding $2,001.43 to Texas farmer: Norman) as vehicle for latest civil rights move. The bill had recently been made the Senate's unfinished business. He then planned to offer the literacy bill as an amendment because the original bill is still tied up in the Senate Judiciary Committee. Russell called for quorum and it could not be obtained, so Mansfield adjourned Senate.

April 25 - Mansfield introduced literacy test bill and filibuster began.

19 states require literacy tests (6 are Southern)

Alabama	Georgia	Mississippi	Oregon
Arizona	Louisiana	New Hampshire	Rhode Island
California	Maine	New York	South Carolina
Conn.	Mass.	North Carolina	Washington and Wyoming
Delaware		Oklahoma	

Other essential bills, including appropriations bills which should clear before July 1, are blocked.

"filibuster" is the Spanish equivalent of the Dutch word which literally meant "free booter" and referred to buccaneers who used to raid the Latin American coasts. It has come to mean "talking to death."

April 26 - Dept. of Justice only filed 25 civil rights voting cases to prosecute; Commission on Civil Rights, out of total of 613 complaints only 390 fall in "sworn" category.

April 27 - Sen. Holland offered amendment to narrow scope of literacy bill by making it apply only to literacy requirements. (Bill as written would apply to tests for "literacy or otherwise").

Sen. Dirksen blocked two Senate subcommittees from holding sessions during "debate".

Douglad-Javits proposal tabled

Senate passed Holland amendment

The AFL-CIO in April joined other organizations in urging Congress to defeat the Holland proposal for a Constitutional Amendment to abolish the poll tax and urged substitution of the Douglas-Javits federal statute.

May 7 - ACLU backed literacy test right-to-vote bill.

May 9 - By vote of 53 - 43 (For: D 30, R 13; Against: D 30, R 23) Senate refused to invoke cloture against two-week-long southern filibuster on literacy bill.

Vote to table bill defeated 63 - 33 (Against tabling: D 38, R 26; For: D 23, R 10)

Majority leader asked unanimous consent to limit debate on bill; Russell objected, and this opened filibuster again. Mansfield filed second cloture petition.

May 10 - Sen. Case offered two amendments

1. direct amendment to HR 1361, Norman bill (constitutional amendment to 15th amendment)
   a. 6th grade education qualification to vote
   b. Congress shall have power to enforce

2. Amendment in substitute for Mansfield-Dirksen substitute for that bill

same

May 14 - Spokesman for Justice Dept. estimated that 750,000 Negroes are barred from voting or even registering to vote by unfair literacy tests; the Dept. has 26 court cases pending on this issue.

May 14 - Second attempt to limit debate (cloture) on literacy test bill; rejected by Senate 52 - 42 (D 30, R 22; D 31, R 11). Same margin of loss as last week.

May 15 - On Motion introduced by Mansfield, a vote to formally set aside the literacy bill after three weeks of debate carried 49 - 34 (D 30, R 19; D 22, R 12)

May 16 - Senate resumed consideration of bill HR 1361 for relief of Norman

May 20 - CCR reported last fall that in 129 southern counties where Negroes are a substantial part of population, less than 10% are registered to vote. In 23 counties in five states no Negroes are registered.

May 22 - Amendment to abolish poll tax, in federal elections only, reported out of committee.

May 27 - Under consideration in Congress: two measures approved by House Education & Labor Committee.

1. would deny Federal aid to segregated landgrant colleges (set up under Morrill Act of 1862) $1,600,000 fed funds go to land grant colleges in 16 southern and border states that still maintain segregation.
2. would cut funds to segregated elementary and high schools in impacted areas 17 southern and border states have received $357,393,069 in last 11 years for school construction; more than half has gone to segregated schools.

May 25 - Sen. Humphrey revealed response to enquire of Director of Census requesting population statistics relating to Senate vote on cloture.

46 Senators for (incl pairs)	Pop.	111,121,000
54 Senators against "		67,439,000

(totals to nearest thousandeth)

June 19 - House passed by voice vote and sent to Senate a bill to designate next Jan. 1 as "Emancipation Proclamation Day."

June 21 - House Democrats defeated two Republican attempts to write a civil rights amendment into the Administration's farm bill. Vote 142 - 106. Along party lines; three Negro Democrates voted against the bill too.
(Farm bill would provide federal loans to help farmers create recreation areas to supplement their incomes.)

Similar amendment, presented a few minutes later, defeated by voice vote.

July 27 - Sen. Dodd introduced bill (S 3576) to protect right of citizens to vote in federal election and to facilitate prompt judicial review of alledged denials of such rights, by requiring that literacy tests begiven in writing and meet certain other requirements. Referred to Judiciary Committee.

(Dodd was joined by Beall, Hartke, Metcalf, Scott, Lausche, Fong, Humphry, Randolph, Allott, Long of Miss., Miller, McCarthy, Saltonstall, Muskie, Douglas)

Other bills in this area: S 430, S 2750, S 2979)

Aug. 14 - Vote for cloture passed 63 - 27. to curtail debate on Kennedy's communnications's satellite bill. (Cloture approved only 4 previous times out of 27 attempts, the last occasion in 1927 on a matter concerning prohibition.) Only 15 of 25 southern senators voted to resist cloture; 5 were absent.

Aug. 17 - Vot of 54 - 37 to table Morse-Clark antidiscrimination bill to prevent racial discrimination in employment practices of private corporation created by satellite bill. (Am. tel and tel, part owners with 4 subsidiaries now subject to 18 to 20 complaints to equal job opportunities committee.) (For tabling D - 3, R 24; Against D 28, R 9(

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION: 1963

Jan. 9 - 88th Congress opened.

In return for keeping the membership of the ~~Senate~~ Rules Committee at 15, the liberal bloc capitulated on the return of the 21-day rule for release of bills favorably reported by House Committees and a seven-day rule for bills returned from House-Senate conference.

Vote on membership of House Rules Committee 235 - 136 (50 of 98 Dixicrats in House voted with majority for retaining 15 members).

A Republican amendment to increase Republican membership from five to six was defeated 249 - 183.

Senate postponed action on antifilibuster moves until after Jan. 14.

Jan. 14 - Sen. Anderson offered middle-of-road (S Res. 9) resolution that would allow three-fifths of senators voting to put time limit on debates.

Sen. Humphrey offered substitute motion to let Senate impose debate limitation by vote of majority (51 of 100 members).

Sen. Miller introduced identical amendments to both proposals to require that cloture could not be invoked unless the approving vote included a majority of members of each party.

Russell objected, which postponed bills for one day.

Jan. 15 - Southern senators began filibuster; Senate in session less than 6 hours.

Jan. 30 - Sen. Mansfield submitted a preposed agreement for a vote on Jan. 31 on a motion to table the liberal bloc's pending constitutional claim that they have a right to alter rules by a straight majority. (Humphrey's substitute motion). (Mansfield's original porposal, modified because of southern opposition, would have permitted a straight vote on constitutional question itself.)

Jan. 31 - Senate voted to table Humphrey motion 53 - 42. Senate adjourned until 2/4.

Sen. Anderson's proposal now comes up for discussion (three-fifths); technically the filiguster continues

Feb. 5 - Humphrey sent to Senate desk a round-robin petition signed by 51 Senators favoring some strengthening change in rules (Rule 22). The petition avoided commitment to any specific antifilibuster rule. (signers listed, attached)

Feb. 6 - By vote of 92 - 5 motion to table antifilibuster proposals was defeated by unlikely combination of northern liberals and southerners.

Feb. 7 - On petition to invoke cloture (debate on Anderson proposal) Vote of 54 - 42 against, after 4 weeks of filibuster (18 days last session) Senate adjourned until Feb. 11. Liberals forced roll call on adjournment, losing 64 - 33. 18 Democrats and 1 Republican were able to kill rules change, and thus civil rights legislature.

Feb. 28 - President Kennedy's Civil Rights message to Congress. He urged Congress to pass legislation

1 - Voting: to ~~xxxxx~~ expedite voting suits in Federal courts and to let temporary referees register Negroes while suits pending, and
(to apply to federal elections only)
to prohibit use of different tests or procedures in registering voters, such as discrimination in administering tests or qualifying examinations or disqualifying for minor errors; specify that a 6th grade education constitutes "presumption of literacy".

2. Schools: to provide Federal financial and technical aid to school districts that are desegregating; delete "separate but equal" phrase from law governing land grant colleges.

3 -CCR: to extend life of CCR for "at least 4 more years and to expand its role by statute so it could serve as "a national civil rights clearing house providing information, advice, and technical assistance to any requesting agency, private or public.

He promised strong executive action in all civil rights fields: antidiscrimination provisions in government contracts, civil service employment; full equality in use of national parks and recreational areas. Noted that 13 states have ratified anti-poll tax constitutional amendment and urged other states "to take prompt action on this matter."

Aftermath of filibuster bitterness:

charges that V.P. Johnson responsible for failure of liberals to win rules change; Southern Democrats in cahoots with western Democrats in a deal to block civil rights bills in exchange for protection of 27½ per cent oal depletion allowance; ~~Be~~ Democratic leadership may have used committee assignments to punish Democrats who fought change of rules.

March 28 - Republicans Javits (plus Keating, Case, Fong, Scott, Kuchel, Beall -- and Saltonstall on CR Commission portion only) introduced civil rights bills:

1. make CCR permanent
2. to prohibit public accommodations discrimination by hotels, motels, or other public places engaged in lodging and interstate commerce
3. authorization for damage suits and for Atty-Gen to initiate injunction suits
Javitts 4. eliminate "separate but equal" from Hill-Burton hospital construction act.
Kuchel 5. school desegregation bill to require all public schools adopt within 180 days a desegregation plan and put at least first step into effect in next school year.
Case 6. Three bills aimed at eliminating discrimination in employment
Keating 7. voting rights bill
Scott 8. Two housing bills
(Javits principal sponsor of the above bills on justice)
~~Muller~~

Rept. Muller proposed two bills in House:
HR 543--to prevent discrimination in public places and public transportation against members of Armed Fordes; HR 548--to protect right to vote in federal elections.

(See Joan Grant article and quotes from Dist. Court Judge J. Skelly Wright, attached)

May 14 - Sen. Javits abandoned effort to tack on to pending feed grains bill a rider to give Atty-Gen. right to sue in civil rights cases.

May 3 - Rep. Fitts proposed five House bills to: empower Civil Rights Commission or Atty-Gen. to eliminate discrimination in schools, housing, boting procedured, banking and insurance, public accommodations, employment and unions; permit Justicd Dept. to protect persons endangered or harassed because of their participation in civil rights movement; make CCR a permanent agency with power to investigate discriminatory practices and obtain court order to stop discrimination.

May 24 - Committees of House and Senate at work on variety of civil rights measures. MORE THAN 90 civil rights bills have been introduced in House. Hearing in progress before Judiciary Committee.

Celler, chm. of committee, said confident of House passage of bill to: 1) extend CCR for four years; 2) establish 6th grade education as base for literacy test in voting; 3) appointment of federal registrars in any community showing 15% of eligible Negro voters prevented from registering.

Also, considering old 1957 Section III giving Atty-Gen. authority to initiate injunctive proceedings to prevent civil rights deprivations in voting, housing, employment, and use of public accommocations--and any other areas.

SENATE: two principal bills being considered in Senate C. R. Subcommittee are: 1) sixth grade literacy test; 2) extension of CCR

May 23 - Dodd and Cooper sponsored two civil rights bills:
1) granting initiative to Atty-Gen to sue to prevent discrimination in school attendance and in use of public accommodation.

Celler said he will close current hearings on C. R. legislation on June 13.

Feb. Equal Employment Opportunity Act (H.R. 405) now before subcommittee of House Education and Labor Committee.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT:

Proposals for Corrective Action

Notre Dame Conference

February 8-11, 1963

January, 1963

Daniel H. Pollitt
Professor of Law
University of North
Carolina

I.

INTRODUCTION

Item. In 1946 Jackie Robinson broke the color-bar in organized baseball and became the idol and inspiration of athletic-minded Negro youth. By 1962, eight of the top ten batters in the National League were members of the Negro race.

Item. On the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation, Governor Terry Sanford announced the formation of the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council with a two-fold mission: (1) to encourage merit employment without regard to race, and (2) to urge youth to become better trained and qualified for employment. The Governor stated that "Reluctance to accept the Negro in employment is the greatest single block to his continued progress and to the full use of the human potential of the Nation and its States".[1]

Item. The R. J. Reynolds tobacco company recently integrated its modern $32,000,000 Winston-Salem plant. Negro forewomen supervise the work of white employees, and the only signs of segregation are the rest rooms, still kept separate under North Carolina law. Officials report that the workers at the 115-acre industrial complex "responded well to desegregation," and this comment is borne out by the remarks of white and Negro employees who work side by side on the same machine, share the cafeteria line "like salt and pepper," but generally, though not always, tend to segregate at the tables.[2]

Item. Negroes Step Up Use of Boycotts to Back Drive for Better Jobs. A & P Is Hit in Philadelphia; Campaigns Start in Detroit, Baltimore and New York. So reads the headline to an article summarizing the "selective patronage" technique originated by the Philadelphia Negro clergy nearly three years ago.[3] A & P is the twentieth company directly affected by the Philadelphia program, all of whom ultimately have met the Negro demands. Some concede that in retrospect

they are not entirely unhappy. An oil company reports that prior to the boycott there were few if any Negro job applicants because "No intelligent Negro will apply to a lily-white company because he doesn't want to get turned down. Since the boycott," continued the spokesman, "we're now getting some crackerjack Negro salesman" and sales have been stronger. One Negro minister commented in explanation that "The Negro community speaks with its dollars to show it has no resentment."

Item. Discrimination in Cook County (Chicago) can be conservatively computed to cost $70 million per year. So testified the Director of the Cook County Department of Public Aid. This is the amount spent for the Aid to Dependent Children program, one designed to take care of children whose mothers have been deserted by their fathers. Almost all the recipients of the aid program in Chicago are Negro women who came to Chicago from the South some 15 or so years earlier, and who remain on the program for an average time of between two and three years. The director of the program testified to a Congressional Committee that the principal reason for this was the unavailability of employment for Negro girls and women:

> The white woman whose husband dies or disappears usually finds work; the Negro woman in the same predicament is denied work; she has one and only one job possibility available and that is day-work -- the dismal, grinding drudgery of finding, not one, but five or six different jobs, then accommodating herself to the diverse personalities of five or six different employers, and then dragging herself home with one of the lowest wages being paid in today's market. In addition, even before she considers the bleak prospect of day-work, she must contrive to make suitable arrangements for the care of her children.[4]

Item. Mayor Stan R. Brookshire of Charlotte, North Carolina recently called upon the business community to help the Negro help himself by providing better employment opportunities. "Second-class citizens," he said, "are a liability and a drain upon the resources of the community. Because of them our per capita income is low and our governmental and

welfare costs are high." The Raleigh News and Observer editorialized favorably upon this call for action with the comment that "second-class citizens mean a second-class South for everybody in it."[5]

The above random-selected items illustrate the tragic waste of Negro potential, the community burden of job discrimination, the growing unrest within the Negro community, and a determination by thoughtful political and industrial leaders to rid America of its "second-class" heritage.

Despite encouraging but isolated "break-throughs"[6] the Negro remains at the bottom of the economic pyramid. Used to the run-around, fearing rebuff, lacking incentive, denied fair union representation, closed from job and training opportunities, his is the job with the broom and shovel, with pay approximately half that of the white.[7] The johnny-come-lately in most industries, he is the first to be fired and he is the victim of every cyclical, seasonal, residual, technological, ethnic, and economic maladjustment of the economy.[8] Moreover, his prospects are worsening, not getting better. Factory "automation" has resulted in one white man with a machine doing the work done a few years back by twenty, thirty, or forty blue-jeaned Negroes.[9] Changes in working conditions have denied the Negro jobs which were once his exclusive province. The locomotive fireman that once shoveled coal was Negro; the fireman that now tends the diesel engine is usually white. Changes in social customs have also adversely hit the Negro. The Negro artisan once had a near monopoly in the Southern building trades, but more and more he is relegated to work in the "Negro" community. Census reports for ten Southern states reveal that from 1920 to 1950 Negro carpenters declined from 23% to 10% of the total; painters, from 25% to 13%; bricklayers, from 54% to 37%; and plasterers, from 66% to 57%.[10] And the decline is accentuating with the decrease in apprenticeship opportunities.

The employment problem is not confined to any one region. In North Carolina, over 90% of all Negroes (but less than 30% of all whites) employed through the State Employment Security Commission in 1959 were placed in "service" or "unskilled" jobs.[11]

In California, a Congressional Committee received undisputed testimony that Negroes were virtually excluded from all jobs as bellboys in Los Angeles and San Francisco hotels, from jobs as waiters, from the San Francisco bottling industry (except as strikebreakers), from all but the most menial jobs on the railroads, from the maritime industry (except in the "stewards department"), among the longshoremen, from the white-collar and craft jobs in the movie industry, from the printing, building and construction trades industries, from the petroleum industry (with few exceptions), from white-collar positions in the retail stores, and even from the better paying jobs in agriculture.[12]

Similar testimony was made about job discrimination in Illinois. William Karp, chairman of the Committee on Merit Employment in the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, testified that a study of over 100,000 job orders for white collar jobs showed that 98% of them were "restricted" as to race.[13] He further testified that top representatives of the Meat Packing Industry denied "pen" jobs to Negroes on the theory that they "laugh, sing, and dance and distrub the cattle."[14] N.A.A.C.P. representatives cited job discrimination in Illinois by chapter and verse. The following typifies the testimony of Dr. Lucien H. Holman, State President of the Illinois Conference of the N.A.A.C.P.: "In Aurora a few manufacturing plants under UAW and other union contracts hire Negroes on a generally fair basis... On the other hand, there are a number of companies that do not hire qualified Negroes. They are Richard-Wilcox Manufacturing Co., the National Brush Co., Sears, Roebuck & Co., ...and Thor Equipment Co. The Aurora Chamber of Commerce has passed the following resolution... "Resolved, that the Board of Directors...

declare it to be a policy that all members are encouraged to voluntarily maintain merit employment practices..."[15]

The situation in New York is not much better. Professor Eli Ginzberg of Columbia University testified that the big employment opportunities for Negroes since 1940 have been in the semiskilled industrial jobs, the jobs hardest hit by automation.[16] Representatives of the N.A.A.C.P. cited the specifics of job discrimination, for example: "In the city of New York, the major industry, as a matter of fact, the basic source of manufacturing in this city, is the garment industry. Negroes still work here on the lowest economic levels, unskilled jobs and the lowest paid jobs."[17] Otis E. Finley, Jr., of the National Urban League, told of a survey in a slum area of 125,000 people, mostly Negro, where a sampling of the youth population showed that roughly 70% of the boys and girls aged 16 to 21 were out of school and unemployed. "Too many of these young people are able but frustrated In other cases, the spark of ambition has been all but snuffed out."[18]

II.
PROPOSALS FOR ACTION

This mass betrayal of the American Dream, the national denial of the individual's right to be, has been condemned from many a rostrum[19] and pulpit,[20] from street-corners[21] and from national political conventions.[22] Remedial proposals have come to us from the city hall,[23] state houses,[24] and from the White House in Washington, D. C.[25] The national problem of racial job discrimination has been particularized, and the current situation in the various areas of racial discrimination are discussed below.

A. Federal Employment.

The federal government maintains the nation's largest payroll, employing approximately 2.3 million civilian

employees.[26] Since 1940 the appropriate Congressional statutes have mandated merit employment without regard to race, creed, or color,[27] and Negroes, denied private employment, have flocked to the government in disproportionate number. They are found, again in disproportionate number, clustered in the lower grades of the civil service. For example, in Los Angeles approximately 14% of the total population, but over 55% of the Postal employees, are Negro. The explanation given for this is simple: "Most of the Negroes come to the Post Office because it is hard for them to get employment anywhere else."[28]

Yet only 14% of the supervisors in the Los Angeles Post Office are Negro (generally found in "Negro" sections of the city) and there are many complaints of discrimination in up-grading and promotion, viz: "There is the case of a clerk of Japanese extraction who bid on the position of general clerk, foreign records unit, airport mail facility, a level 5 position. Placed No. 2 on the list according to the specifications of the job, and seniority, Clerk Tsukahira did not receive the courtesy of an interview. The No. 4 man was selected.[29]

There is no question but that much remains to be done if the theory of "merit" employment is to become an everyday fact of governmental operation. The United States Commission on Civil Rights reported in 1961 that "patterns of Federal employment...do not differ significantly from local employment patterns," and further stated that recent improvements in the federal employment situation were paralleled by similar improvements in the private employment situation.[30]

Under the personal leadership of President Kennedy,[31] the top governmental officials have made a determined effort to stamp out discrimination in federal employment.

All agencies made a survey of their own employment patterns to (1) spot discriminatory practices, and (2) serve as a bench-mark for future surveys.[32] Each agency appointed a Deputy Employment Policy Officer with the fixed obligation to concern himself with minority employment problems.[33] A complaint procedure has been strengthened, and those complaining of job discrimination are sometimes provided with counsel from the Department's legal staff.[34] The Civil Service Commission and many of the agencies have sent high-ranking representatives to "sell" federal employment to the graduates of leading Negro colleges.[35] The agencies have barred discrimination in agency-sponsored recreational programs, and some of

the agencies (Post Office and Veteran's Administration) have notified all field stations that management will not deal with employee unions maintaining segregated locals or which practice any other form of discrimination.[36] The Treasury Department appointed the first Negro professor at the Coast Guard Academy.[37] All agencies have made progress reports to the President's Committee, thereby ensuring that some action will be taken to further the President's Executive Order. The report of the Department of Justice, briefer than most, is representative of them all:

> "Shortly after taking office, the Attorney General reviewed the numbers of minority personnel employed by the Department. The statistics showed that a very small number of Negro lawyers had been employed by the Department in responsible positions.
>
> "Mr. Kennedy directed that a study be made to determine the causes. This disclosed that at least one major cause was a lack of applications particularly from qualified Negro lawyers.
>
> "In May 1961 the Attorney General wrote letters to the deans of approximately 50 leading law schools asking for the names of qualified Negro lawyers of their acquaintance, and of qualified Negro law students who would be interested in a career in the Department. The letter stated that the Department did not employ on the basis of race but was seeking lawyers of ability to serve in it particularly as career employees; that the Attorney General was anxious to take some steps to break down the race barrier which had apparently existed...
>
> "Affirmative steps were also taken with respect to the field offices of the United States Attorneys.... Two Negro United States Attorneys were appointed and

a substantial number of Assistant United States Attorneys and Deputy Marshals who were Negroes.

"...In early 1962 Maceo Hubbard, a career lawyer in the Department, was appointed as Employment Policy Officer....

"A new complaints procedure was recently instituted...."[38]

The big problem lies in transmitting the spirit of Washington to the field offices. Within some areas of Government employment "racial discrimination is deeply entrenched and widely practiced."[39] Moreover, even a conscientious field director, especially one policing a statute--such as the minimum wage law or the National Labor Relations Act--unpopular with the vested community interests, might hesitate to risk the effectuation of his program by hiring Negroes to positions where they deal with the outside public.[40]

Those who would resist the desegregation of federal employment find a handy justification in the "rule of three." Appropriate statutes require that the Civil Service Commission maintain a roster of eligible employees (resulting from an open examination) and that federal agencies fill their vacancies from among the highest three persons on this roster.[41] An illustrative abuse of the "rule of three" was recently presented to a Congressional Committee:

"In California, Negroes are discriminated against in civil service employment. One Negro female, after passing the test for clerk-stenographer, in San Francisco, with scores above 90 in shorthand, typing, and general clerical aptitude, was called in by nine different agencies for interviews and each time the job was given to another one of the 'top three names' on the roster. The applicant had prior civil service

experience and some 7 years of secretarial experience.

"Several of the interviewers told the applicant that she was 'over-qualified' for the job, inasmuch as she had a college degree in secretarial science. In one case the interviewers told applicant, 'I just don't feel you would be happy in this job.'"[42]

Discretion in employment, especially at high levels, is undoubtedly required when job efficiency demands an intense and intimate interchange of ideas, which interchange may be dammed by personality difficulties. It is doubtful that the "rule of three" provides this necessary discretion. In any event, the necessity for a "rule of three" is dubious when the job effectuation does not require continued intimacy of intellectual exchange. Most federal employees can and do dictate a memo to anyone sent from the secretarial "pool," regardless of a potential personality conflict. Similiarly, most federal employees can and do work in harmony, office-to-office or desk-to-desk, with persons they choose not to see after office hours.

It follows that there is much to commend in legislative action abolishing the "rule of three," the device which makes discriminatory employment practices possible. Lacking such legislative action, the Civil Service Commission could minimize its harmful potential by giving less weight to the "oral," as contrasted with the written, examination. Or, additionally, the Civil Service Commission could require a written explanation of why the agency selected the second or third person, rather than the applicant first on the list.

Recent innovations requiring only administrative determination--a periodic head count of minority group employees, the addition of Employment Policy Officers to look for trouble spots, an expedited complaint procedure, the permeation of a spirit from on high to make progress in this area--may make the Congressional mandate of "merit employ-

ment" a felt reality.

The United States Civil Rights Commission has recommended, in line with the 1960 Republican Party platform,[43] that "Congress grant statutory authority to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity."[44]

B. Federal Contract Employment.

The United States government is the world's largest purchaser. It contracts with mines for the purchase of metals; with manufacturers for the fabrication of airplanes, missiles, ships, clothing, shoes, and other munitions of war; with farmers for the food set before the soldiers, the patients in the Veterans' Administration Hospitals, the school children who receive "hot lunches"; with universities for the supply of knowledge and skills; with utilities for the service of electric energy; and so on, almost infinitum. Lightbulbs, ink, books, automobiles, desks, new buildings, maintenance and repair services, telephones, radios, pocket knives, candy, chewing gum, and entertainment services, all are purchased in sizeable quantities by the federal government. In fiscal 1961 between $25 and $30 billions were expended for federal contracts; and ten million persons were employed by the 100 largest defense contractors and subcontractors alone.[45]

Anxious that the money it spends not be utilized to perpetuate racial job discrimination, the federal government has, since 1941, adhered to a "fair employment" policy. In that year, President Roosevelt established a Fair Employment Practices Committee, with its initial assignment being to ensure "merit" employment in the "defense" industries.[46] The FEPC came under Congressional fire, and in 1944 an amendment offered by Georgia's Senator Russell was tacked on to the annual Independent Offices Appropriation Act, providing that no appropriation could be allotted to any agency established by executive order and in existence for more than one year "if the Congress has not appropriated any money specifically for such agency...or specifically authorized the expenditure of funds by it."[47] The next day, the FEPC was granted a specific appropriation for the current fiscal year, but in the following year, 1945, it was told to liquidate its affairs. It issued its final report and went out of business on June 28, 1946.[48]

In 1951, following the outbreak of hostilities in Korea, President Truman issued a series of Executive Orders directing certain government agencies to include non-discrimination clauses in their procurement contracts. Truman also established a Committee on Government Contract Compliance, whose primary duty was to study and assess the effectiveness of the existing program. This committee began operations in April, 1952 and issued a report the following January with the change in administration. It noted that the "non-discrimination" clause was "almost forgotten, dead and buried under thousands of words of standard legal and technical language in government procurement contracts."[49]

President Eisenhower, on August 13, 1953 declared the public policy to be one of promoting "equal employment opportunity for all qualified persons employed or entitled to employment on government contracts." He established a Committee on Government Contracts under the leadership of Vice President Nixon to keep an overall eye on the program operation. The committee concerned itself primarily with education and persuasion, and not much was achieved. A survey of representative cities in 1961 by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights disclosed that "in most industries studied, patterns of Negro employment by federal contractors conformed to local industrial employment patterns... In Atlanta, the two automobile assembly plants contacted employed no Negroes in assembly operations. Except for one driver of an inside power truck, all Negro employees observed were engaged in janitorial work -- sweeping, mopping, or carrying away trash."[50] No company was ever placed on an "ineligible" list, or denied a contract, on the basis of its employment policies, no matter how flagrant the violation of the "non-discrimination" contractual provision. At times, there was outright defiance. Some public utility companies flatly refused to furnish the government with necessary services rather than adopt a policy of non-discriminatory employment. The government backed away from this challenge by "waiving" the non-discriminatory

requirement. Similarly, in some industries, such as textile, where the percentage of government contract business is not large, the management would rather forego this business than change longstanding employment practices. Thus, shortly after the announcement of the new Kennedy executive order, the Wall Street Journal reported that "textile manufacturers have practically stopped bidding on military contracts for the past few weeks."[52] It is ironic, and almost unbelievable, that public utilities, monopolies chartered by the public and regulated by the state, and the textile industry, hard hit and seeking additional tariff protection, should be able to defy an important government policy.

On March 6, 1961, President Kennedy issued Executive Order 10925 designed, like its predecessors, "to promote and ensure equal opportunity for all qualified persons, without regard to race...employed or seeking employment with the federal government and on government contracts."[53] The standard non-discrimination clause now requires all contractors to "take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and the employees are treated...without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin." The "affirmative action" contemplates, as a minimal, that all "want ads" must specify that all qualified applicants will be considered without regard to race.[54] The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, under the leadership of Vice President Johnson, was established to monitor this program and given authority to enforce the program by use of these sanctions, some of which were denied its predecessors:

1. conference, conciliation, mediation, or persuasion;
2. publicizing the names of contractors or unions which have either complied, or failed to comply;
3. recommending action by the Department of Justice, including injunctions against individuals or groups interferring with compliance and criminal proceedings against those furnishing false information;

4. terminating all or part of any contract for failure of the contractor to comply; and
5. requiring that contracting agencies of the government refrain from entering into new contracts with any non-complying contractor until he complies.[55]

The Johnson Committee has entered into a "Plans For Progress" program with many of the top industrial concerns of the nation. Typically, the ten point plan for progress initiated in the case of Lockheed Aircraft Co. binds the employer to:

1. provide all management levels with an up-to-date statement of its non-discrimination policy;
2. "aggressively seek out more qualified minority group candidates" for many job categories, including engineering, technical, administrative and clerical positions, and factory operatives;
3. instruct State Employment Officers and other recruitment sources that job applicants are to be referred irrespective of race, creed, color or national origin;
4. re-analyze its available salaried jobs to be certain that all eligible minority group employees have been considered for placement and upgrading;
5. re-examine personnel records of minority group employees to determine whether those qualified and eligible can be used for filling job openings;
6. institute a program of familiarizing universities with employment needs and opportunities, to include hiring teachers who are members of minority groups for summer work and arranging plant tours for teachers and student counselors;
7. support the inclusion of minority group members in all its apprenticeship and other training programs including supervisory and pre-supervisory training classes;

8. encourage the establishment of vocational training programs and the participation of minority group employees in such programs;
9. maintaining eating facilities, rest rooms, and recreational facilities on a nonsegregated basis; and
10. institute periodic checks to insure that the policies and objectives of the plan are being carried out.

How well is the Kennedy program functioning? A study of North Carolina federal contractors, issued six months after the Kennedy program was initiated, indicates that the program got off to a very slow start indeed.[56] The survey concerned the recruitment, the employment, the promotion, the on-the-job training, and other personnel practices of 262 North Carolina firms holding government contracts. In essence, the employment patterns in these government-contract firms paralleled those in firms without government contracts. This is how the survey summarized its findings:

> There appears to be a significant under utilization of Negro manpower in North Carolina firms holding contracts with the federal government. The patterns of under utilization are reflected in the significant number of firms that hire no Negroes, in the occupational levels at which Negroes are hired, in the narrow and limited representation of Negroes in white-collar positions, in the upgrading patterns, and in the use of Negro female resources.[57]

The almost uniform refusal of North Carolina federal contractors to utilize Negro manpower, either at all or at a level above the menial job, is significant for these reasons: (1) firms hiring Negroes reported in overwhelming number (77%) that their Negro employees were as efficient or better than their white employees; (2) those companies which utilized Negroes reported in overwhelming number (90%) that they had no difficulty because of this;[58] and (3) the largest proportion of firms indicated that they have no minimum educational requirement for hiring in the lower occupational categories, so the extent to which Negroes are wholly excluded is not a reflection on the lack of qualifica-

tions on the part of Negroes. Probably the most significant disclosure for present purposes is the following:

> Twenty-one of the 22 firms without Negro employees indicated that they have never discussed the matter of employing Negroes with any federal agency. Eighty-seven of the 100 responding firms that do employ Negroes indicated that they had never discussed the problem with any federal agency.[59]

Thus it would appear that six months after the Kennedy program was launched in Washington, it still remained a dead letter in North Carolina.

It is not fair to place all the blame on management. Unions must take the onus of sharing in and even initiating racial discrimination. Numerous unions have denied Negro employees a right to union membership, and thereby deprived them a voice and a vote in the policy decisions which affect their wages, their hours, and other conditions of employment.[60] Many other unions have established separate and segregated locals for Negro employees where they have scant more voice than if totally excluded, and still others have negotiated contracts wherein Negro employees were relegated, as a class, to unskilled and unpromotable positions. These separate racial seniority lines in collective bargaining agreements are especially galling. Negroes are hired in classifications designated as "common laborer," or "yard labor," or "non-operating department," or "maintenance department," and limited to promotion within the departments. Thus, a Negro with 20 years seniority can look forward to being promoted from "toilet attendant" to "sweeper."[61]

These union practices violate the Supreme Court's requirement that unions represent <u>all</u> employees "without hostile discrimination, fairly, impartially, and in good faith."[62]

These union practices have been recently condemned by the AFL-CIO Executive Council: "Resolved, That racially segregated local unions be eliminated by national and international unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO";[63] and by the 1961 AFL-CIO Constitutional Convention: "We welcome the nationwide agreements

entered into by the Bricklayers...the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and other unions with respective national contractors' associations, to make non-discrimination on account of race, creed, color and national origin a standard to be observed in all apprenticeship training programs. Many of the major industrial unions have adopted "Plans for Progress to eliminate these practices."[64]

The National Labor Relations Board, which has original jurisdiction over these practices, recently indicated that it would countenance them no longer. Denying a discriminating union the normal protection against the necessity of participating in a representation election during a reasonable contractual period, the Labor Board, citing the Supreme Court school decision,[65] made this comment:

> Consistent with clear court decisions in other contexts which condemn governmental sanctioning of racially separate groupings as inherently discriminatory, the Board will not permit its contract bar rules to be utilized to shield contracts such as those here involved from challenge or otherwise appropriate election petitions. We therefore hold that, where the bargaining representative of employees in an appropriate unit executes separate contracts, or even a single contract, discriminating between Negro and white employees on racial lines, the Board will not deem such contracts as a bar to an election.
>
> We are not confronted in this proceeding with any attack on the validity of the Intervenor's (discriminating union's) outstanding certification in consequence of the separate contracts which it executed on the basis of race. Although the execution of such contracts is in patent derogation of the certification and would warrant revocation of the certification, we deem it unnecessary to take such action at this time in view of the impending election which we here direct.[66]

In short, union discrimination in industrial employment opportunities seems on the wane. "It is unfair and inaccurate to leave the impression that President Kennedy's Committee has not made progress," Duane Greathouse, a vice president of the United Auto Workers, testified to a Congressional Committee.

> Through the work of the Committee in these few months there are Negroes in technical skills in the oil industry in the St. Louis, Mo. area where there had been none before. There are minority group members now employed as seamstresses in a South Carolina textile plant for the first time. There are Negro tobacco workers in integrated production operations in North Carolina. Government contract facilities in Nashville, Tenn., and in Nevada, are employing integrated work forces because of the Committee's efforts. Negroes are now employed in skilled jobs on electronics in Dallas, Texas--jobs previously closed tight against them. The Committee opened government contract jobs for Negro carpenters in Miami, Fla.[67]

The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity now has the "tools."[68] If it can get the money and the staff, all it needs is determination to get the job done.

The United States Commission on Civil Rights correctly points out that the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, established only by executive action, is necessarily limited in budget and legal authority. Its jurisdiction over labor unions is indirect and tenuous. Therefore, the Commission recommends:

> That Congress grant statutory authority to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity or establish a similar agency to encourage and enforce a policy of equal employment opportunity in all federal employment and all employment created or supported by government contracts and federal grant funds."[69]

C. Federal Grant-in-Aid Employment

Grants-in-aid to state and local government, to public institutions, and to private nonprofit institutions are a method of federal subsidization of employment second in importance only to government contracts. In fiscal 1961 the federal grant-in-aid programs cost the taxpayers (white and Negro alike) some 7.5 billion dollars.[70] The largest expeditures went for the construction of hospitals ($154 million), schools ($63.3 million), public airports ($83.3 million), highways ($2.7 billion), and public housing, slum clearance, and urban redevelopment (over $300 million).[71]

Thousands upon thousands of skilled construction jobs were thereby created, and by and large they were denied to Negroes. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights made a field study of

employment created by these grants-in-aid programs in the cities of Detroit, Baltimore, and Atlanta. The results of this study showed: (1) Negro employment was greatest at the unskilled level, in every case outnumbering white employment at that level on these jobs. (2) As the skill level increased, the percentage of Negro employment decreased. (3) There was little difference in Negro employment patterns among the three cities surveyed; although in Atlanta almost all the skilled Negroes worked in the trowel trades (cement finishers, bricklayers) while in Detroit and Baltimore skilled Negroes were working as carpenters, operating engineers, and labor foremen as well.[72]

During the 1930's, the New Deal "pump-priming" make-work programs--the WPA, the PWA, the NYA, etc.--contained non-discriminatory clauses. The Unemployment Relief Act of 1933, for example, provided that "in employing citizens for the purpose of this Act no discrimination shall be made on account of race, color or creed;"[73] and the Hatch Act of 1939 contained a proviso making it unlawful to deprive any persons of employment or other benefit made possible "by any Act of Congress appropriating funds for work relief or relief purposes, on account of race, creed, color, or any political activity."[74] When Congress failed to ban discriminatory hiring practices, as in the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, those administering the public works program issued regulations designed to end job discrimination, and punished the violators.[75]

During the 1960's, we find no such general governmental policy in grant-in-aid employment. The Housing and Home Finance Agency and its constituent agencies which administer the Low Rent Housing and the Urban Redevelopment programs, construe grant project agreements to be government contracts within the meaning of Executive Order 10925 and accordingly require a "non-discriminatory" clause in all contracts.[76] The Urban Redevelopment Program has three steps: first, the local government, with federal financial assistance, acquires and clears slum areas; second, the local government, without

federal assistance, then improves the site; and third, the cleared land is then sold to private contractors for redevelopment. The non-discriminatory clause applies only in the first process, i.e., acquiring and clearing the land.

The Federal Aviation Agency has, since April 1961, required non-discrimination in employment created by airport grant projects,[77] but due to staff limitations leaves enforcement to the local sponsors.[78]

The Bureau of Public Roads, within the Department of Commerce, which administers grants for highway construction has, since 1941, inserted a "short-form" non-discriminatory clause in all contracts. The Bureau has not adopted the more meaningful provisions of the Kennedy Executive Order "for fear that any change in the clause would call attention to it."[79] There is no machinery for its enforcement.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which administers the hospital and impact-school construction programs, makes no requirement that employment on these projects be non-discriminatory.

The federal grants-in-aid are conditioned upon compliance with specified standards, and certainly for purposes of equal protection have no different standing than the ordinary government contract.[81]

In 1961, Congressman William Fitts Ryan introduced a bill, H.R. 7143, to establish the Civil Rights Commission as a permanent agency with broad powers to end employment discrimination on federal grants-in-aid programs. The Civil Rights Commission has recommended that:

> the President issue an Executive Order making clear that employment supported by federal grant funds is subject to the same non-discrimination policy and the same requirements as those set forth in Executive Order 10925 applicable to employment by government contractors

and that both the "federal contract" and "federal grant-in-aid" anti-discrimination programs be given congressional sanction and approval.[82]

D. The State Employment Services.

A special grant-in-aid program, created by the Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933[83] is the Federally subsidized "national system of public employment offices." The function of these offices is (1) to assist unemployed workers in finding jobs, and (2) to assist employers in securing qualified workers. In fiscal 1961, approximately $107 million in Federal grants were spent for this purpose.[84]

The persons in these local offices man the gates: they can open the door to "merit" employment, or, alternatively, they can bar Negro access to the better paying jobs. Indications are that they do the latter.

The North Carolina Employment Security Commission operated in 1960 on a budget of $5,555,960.00, entirely paid for by the Federal government. The headquarters agency in Raleigh employed a total of 10 Negroes: one maid, two elevator operators, five janitors, and two janitor messengers. Some thirty-nine Negroes (and 681 whites) were employed in a professional capacity throughout the state to serve the Negro applicants for employment. When a job order is received, it is sent to the offices manned by whites if the order specifies white employees. If the order specifies Negro employees, it is handled by the Negro-manned divisional offices. If the order does not specify race, it is sent to either the white or Negro office according to "local knowledge of customary hiring requirements." In case of doubt, the employer is requested to indicate a preference. The result of this system is that in 1960, 95,576 whites were directed to employment, largely in professional, clerical, sales, skilled and semi-skilled jobs; and 73,473 Negroes were placed, largely in service and unskilled positions. By this system, the employer is denied both the opportunity and the responsibility to hire on the basis of merit.[85]

The experience in North Carolina is not unique. "If a known Government contractor insists on a discriminatory job order in Atlanta, it will be honored, as will a discriminatory request from a Federal agency."[86] An employee of the Michigan

Employment Security Commission explains: "I get rated by the number of people I place. If I don't place enough, I get called upstairs. Therefore, I send people to places where I think they will be employed, and this means that I send them by race."[87]

When Secretary Goldberg assumed office, the Department of Labor "determined that one objective in its relationship with state employment services, in line with the President's national policy, would be the making available of equal employment opportunities through the 1800 local employment offices. It therefore set about encouraging the states to review their staffs, giving greater understanding toward the national policy of equal employment opportunity." Additionally, the Department of Labor prohibited the processing of "discriminatory" job orders -- not only from Federal agencies and Federal contractors as was formerly the rule -- but from private employers as well.[88] But the basic cause for racial job assignment, i. e., basing promotions and allocations of funds according to the number of job placements, has not been changed.

A basic policy of the United States Employment Service is to promote employment for all applicants "on the basis of their skills, abilities and job qualifications."[89] This policy would be better effectuated if promotions and the allocation of funds were based, at least in part, according to the number of Negro job applicants placed in "non-traditional" positions. This is one of the recommendations of the United States Commission on Civil Rights:

"Recommendation. 7.--That steps be taken, either by executive or congressional action, to reaffirm and strengthen the Bureau of Employment Security policy, in rendering recruitment and placement services, of encouraging merit employment and assisting minority group members in overcoming obstacles to employment and in obtaining equal job opportunities. In this connection, consideration should be given to changing the method utilized to determine Federal appropriations to State employment offices, presently keyed

primarily to the number of job placements made, to reflect other factors (such as the greater degree of difficulty and time involved in placing qualified minority group workers), so that the budgetary formula used will encourage rather than discourage referral on a nondiscriminatory basis. In addition, regulations and statements of policy with respect to the operation of State employment offices should be reexamined to insure that such regulations and statements conform to the overall USES policy of discouraging employment discrimination and encouraging merit employment.

"Recommendation 8.--That the President direct the Secretary of Labor to grant funds for the operation of State employment offices only to those offices which offer their services to all, on a nonsegregated basis, and which refuse to accept and/or process discriminatory job orders."[90]

E. Apprenticeship Programs.

A skilled trade is a must in today's job market. Technological changes and the replacement of new industries for old have been largely responsible for increased unemployment. But even in a "depressed" area like Detroit, "jobs... are going begging for lack of skilled workers to fill them."[91] The demand for skilled workers will continue to grow. It is estimated that for every 100 skilled workers the nation had in 1955, it will need 122 in 1965, and 145 in 1975: "The New York State Department of Labor indicates, in a survey of jobs in 1960 to 1970, that 46,000 additional craftsmen will be needed annually if the State's needs for skilled workers in the 1960's are to be satisfied."[92] Yet today the apprenticeship training programs are not even producing enough skilled workers to replace those who retire, and Negroes are experiencing "a major crisis in unemployment because it is almost impossible as a result of discrimination for them to make the jump from unskilled jobs being wiped out by automation to the skilled ones that the new technology creates."[93]

1. Discrimination In Building Trade Apprentice Programs.

Uncontradicted testimony bears this out. "Open access to

plumbing and pipe-fitting apprenticeship controlled by the Plumbers Union is a very rare experience for young Negroes in the North as well as in the South ....

"Among the most important of the building trades craft unions is the Carpenters Union which has severely limited the opportunities of colored craftsmen by organizing segregated Negro locals (in those instances where Negroes are permitted to join) and giving them jurisdiction over areas where there was little or no construction....

"A recent study made by the Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco revealed that Negroes are not participating in the electrical, plumbing, and carpentry apprenticeship training programs in that city and that only one Negro served as an apprentice in the metal trades.

"A report made by the Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission indicates the exclusion of Negro youth in the structural steel, sheet metal, lathers, and tile setters apprenticeship programs in Kalamazoo, Grand Rapids, and Muskegon.

"The Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights has published a study which concludes that a similar condition exists in virtually the entire State of Connecticut.

"In a study entitled 'Negro Employment Practices in the Chattanooga Area' it is found that there was an absolute ban on apprenticeship opportunities for Negroes in the building trades.....

"In Newark, N. J., where there are 3,523 apprentices currently participating, not a single Negro apprentice is to be found in electrical installation, plumbing, painting, and other building trades apprenticeship programs....

"An examination of available data makes evident that less than 1 per cent of the apprentices in the building and construction industry throughout the United States are Negro."[94]

The absence of Negroes from the construction crafts is not, as one offical of an electrical union would have it, due to the fact that "Negroes fear electricity."[95] At the end of the Civil War, 100,000 of the 1230 artisans in the South were Negroes.[96] In 1920, in 10 states of the old South, 23 per cent of the carpenters, 25 per cent of the painters, 54 per cent of the bricklayers, and 66 per cent of the plasterers were Negro.[97] Today, Negroes have a hard time getting a toehold in the apprentice programs. The reason for the total absence of Negro plumbers was explained by a Plumbers Union official, who said that the apprenticeship program -- jointly administered by the union and management -- gave priority to the sons and relatives of those in the trade:

Mr. Rhodes (Business Manager of Local No. 4 of the Plumbers Union): It is true our local union favors, gives preference to sons, employees' sons and members' sons, and the like of that, you know, kinfolks....

Congressman Pucinski: What is the reasoning ---

Mr. Rhodes. What is the reason? Well, No. 1, your membership. You have got an 800-man membership. They all have boys that want to become plumbers. And they insist that the apprenticeship committee take care of their people, their own people... After all, how could a committee tell a member that we are going to take somebody else other than his son before we take his son?

Congressman Roosevelt: Will the gentleman yield? What you are saying, though, is that a plumbers' local is the same thing as a private club or a private school ... is it right to be able to make that union into what in essence tends to become pretty much a private club?

Mr. Rhodes: That is not what we are attempting to do, or not what we are doing. We take boys other than plumbers' sons. However, we give plumbers' sons preference.

Congressman Roosevelt: But only when you don't have enough sons?

Mr. Rhodes. Well, that has happened. There were a few years back when there were not enough plumbers' sons....

Congressman Roosevelt. If a Negro did apply, and was qualified, can you tell me honestly that you think he would be given a fair chance to enter the apprenticeship training?

Mr. Rhodes. He would be processed the same as any other candidate.

Congressman Roosevelt. What is the total membership of your union?

Mr. Rhodes. 824.

Congressman Roosevelt. Is this a mixed racial union, or are they all white?

Mr. Rhodes. As far as I know, they are all white."[98]

President George Meany of the AFL-CIO testified that: "There is racial discrimination in apprenticeship and vocational training programs, and we in the AFL-CIO have opposed and do oppose it. We want it ended."[99] J. C. Haggerty, President of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department, testified that "It would be fruitless to deny that discrimination exists in the building and construction industry."[100] Both gentlemen urged the enactment of H. R. 8219, introduced by Congressman Powell, which is designed to bar the Secretary of Labor from fostering discriminatory apprenticeship training programs. The proposed legislation has several facets.

First. The Davis-Bacon and the Walsh-Healy Act require government contractors to pay "prevailing," and the Fair Labor Standards Act requires all employers in interstate commerce to pay "minimum," wages to their employees. Each statute, however, permits the Secretary of Labor to authorize "exemptions" from the wage requirements in the case of apprentices. The proposed legislation would prohibit the Secretary of Labor from "exempting" any apprenticeship program where discrimination is practiced. This proposal would

have limited impact, as only sixty-six exemptions were issued in the United States last year;[101] and in any event, former Secretary of Labor Goldberg announced that "exemptions" will not be granted to apprentice programs that discriminate.[102]

Second. The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U. S. Department of Labor currently "certifies" apprenticeship programs which meet agreed-upon standards. The purpose is to upgrade the programs and assure uniformity of training. Certificates are awarded those graduating from these programs. Approximately half (160,000) the current apprentices are in a "certified" program.[103] The proposed legislation would bar the Secretary of Labor from certifying a program if it discriminates. The Secretary of Labor, by administrative action, has already taken this course.

Third. Most apprenticeship programs involve both on-the-job training and class-room work. The class-room work is supported by federal funds; and the legislative proposal is to withhold these funds from the apprenticeship programs which discriminate. There is a question as to how effective this would be in achieving its objective. Prior to 1954, when Washington, D. C. schools were segregated, most of the major craft unions utilized public schools for the class-room aspects of their apprentice programs. Subsequent to the desegregation of the schools, "many of the unions set up their own separate training facilities,"[104] and this is a trend that is nationwide, "more so where the unions have the resources to do it."[105]

A more direct approach has been taken to the problem of racial discrimination in on-the-job apprenticeship programs. The union, whose membership is closed to Negroes, is not permitted by the Courts to restrict employment opportunities to its members.[106] The Supreme Court has ruled that a union representing a majority of the employees in an appropriate craft or unit may not use its bargaining power to the detriment of minority Negro employees within the craft,[107] or to the detriment of Negro employees in a sister craft or unit. "Bargaining

agents who enjoy the advantages of the Railway Labor Act's provisions must execute their trust without lawless invasion of the rights of other workers."[108] All these decisions concerned job restrictions by unions against Negroes then on the job. However, the National Labor Relations Act requires unions to give "fair representation" to "employees"; job applicants have come within the meaning of the term "employees" in other contexts; and a good case has been made for the proposition that it is an unfair labor practice for a union, controlling job access, to discriminate against job applicants on the basis of race.[109] The issue, however, has not yet been decided, although it is now pending before the National Labor Relations Board.[110] Should the Labor Board deny statutory authority to rectify the situation, federal legislation modeled on the Ohio Code (making it unlawful for any labor organization to discriminate against any person, <u>or limit his employment opportunities</u>, on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry)[111] seems appropriate.

The Civil Rights Commission does not go this far. It recommends only that "Congress amend the Labor-Management and Disclosure Act of 1959 to include in title 1 thereof a provision that no labor organization shall refuse membership to, segregate, or expel any person because of race, color, religion, or national origin."[112]

2. <u>Discrimination in Industrial Apprenticeship Programs</u>. Thus far, the discussion has concerned discrimination in the building craft apprenticeship programs administered (at least jointly) by the craft unions. But an equally invidious type of discrimination is found in the industrial apprenticeship programs administered by management.

"In industrial apprenticeship training programs the opportunities for Negroes appear to be no greater than in the construction crafts."[113] Thus, a study of the auto industry's apprenticeship training program reveals that "Chrysler Corp. had 350 apprentices in its Detroit area plants, not one of

whom was a Negro. General Motors Corp. showed a slight improvement in that they had one Negro apprentice out of the 289 apprentices in training in its Detroit area plants. However, at the General Motors Institute in Flint which enrolls 2,400 students in a five-year work and training program, there is not a single Negro student."[114] "In the apprenticeship training program conducted jointly by the Automotive Tool & Die Manufacturers Association and the UAW, there are approximately 370 apprentices, all white. Only one Negro has ever participated in this program."[115]

Private employers who discriminate in industrial apprenticeship programs can be reached by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity if they have Government contract employment. The typical "Plan for Progress" requires the employer to "support the inclusion of minority group members in all its apprenticeship and other training programs."[116] If the private employer does not have a government program, his discriminatory practices can be curbed only by enactment of a Fair Employment Practices Law.

F. Vocational Education.

The greatest resources of any nation are the skill and know-how of its people. This philosophy has been embedded in federal law for many years. A subsidized program of vocational education was instituted in 1914 with the Smith-Hughes Act with the stated purposes: "To conserve and develop our national resources, to permit a productive and more prosperous agriculture, to prevent waste of human labor, to provide a supplement to apprenticeship; to increase wage earning power; to meet the increasing demand for trained workmen; to offset the increased cost of living; to serve as a wise business investment; and to promote our national security and economy."[117]

The import of vocational education as it relates to the need for highly skilled and technically trained manpower for the space age, has been underscored by the enactment of title

VIII of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 which makes provisions for area vocational educational programs "to train highly skilled technicians in fields necessary for national defense." [118]

The vocational education programs operate in the following manner: states willing to match federal funds and accept federal supervision receive grants from the federal government to help pay "the salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors of agricultural subjects, and teachers of trade, home economics, and insustrial subjects."[119]

The Office of Education within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare administers the programs. The long-time policy of the Office of Education was "to fit persons for useful employment and, hence, training would be offered only when it was evident that those trained could reasonably expect to find employment locally. Since Negroes were denied employment in certain occupations, ... there was no use to train a Negro for an occupation in which he could not find employment; i. e., to train Negroes as electricians in most States would have been a waste of money and the time of the persons so trained."[120] Since 1948, the Office of Education has adopted the policy that "in the administration of federally aided programs of vocational education there shall be no discrimination because of race, creed, or color." However, the present position of the Office of Education is that "the Commissioner does not have the power to withhold funds because schools are segregated."[121] The result of this approach is as may be expected: Negroes are excluded, segregated, and usually placed in training for "Negro" jobs.

"In Louisiana, there are twenty-seven state supported trade and technical schools -- twenty-three for whites -- four for Negroes.... Recently I visited two trade schools in New Orleans, one for Negroes and the other for whites. The Orleans Area Vocational and Technical School, which is for Negroes, offers only seven courses. The other school... offers forty-seven."[122]

In Atlanta, "the use of segregated public schools for vocational training produces a marked difference in the types of programs available to different racial groups... At Carver School, Negroes are trained for 'jobs traditionally open to them'. These are the most menial, requiring the lowest level of skills. They are precisely the ones for which the national economy has less and less need."[123]

In North Carolina, the situation is not so extreme. A survey of nine Industrial Education Centers reveals racial segregation in some: "in at least three this includes separate courses of study."[124] Instruction is available on the basis of job opportunities, and in some instances this is construed to mean job opportunities within the community. Thus, "if it was known not to be the custom for Negroes to be employed as upholsterers in the area served by the Center" then there was not job opportunity for Negroes and they were denied the training unless a "specific job" was assured.[125] Generally, however, the stated admission policy was to exclude race as a factor. The preponderance of white students (over 90 per cent) was explained by the lack of Negro interest and qualifications. One administrator stated that he had "recently shown forty-seven Negro men through the school and invited them to take courses; that only four applied, and of these only one completed the necessary examinations and he did so poorly that he was not admitted."[126]

Lack of motivation and ability, of course, is itself the product of long-suffered discrimination. The vicious circle of discrimination in employment opportunities is clear; the Negro is denied, or fails to apply for training for jobs in which employment opportunities have traditionally been denied him; when jobs do become available, there are consequently few, if any, qualified Negroes available to fill them; and often, because of lack of knowledge of such newly opened opportunities, even the few who are qualified fail to apply.

The United States Civil Rights Commission has recommended that Congress and the President take appropriate measures to meet the manpower needs of the coming years by:

(1) Providing that, as a condition of federal assiatance, all such programs be administered on a nondiscriminatory, nonsegregated basis; and

(2) Amending present regulations regarding admission to vocational classes;to provide that admission be based on present and probable future national occupational needs, rather than, as presently interpreted, on traditional and local needs and opportunities.

Additionally, of a more positive nature, the Commission recommended action:

(3) Expanding and supplementing existing programs of federal assistance to vocational education;

(4) Providing for retraining as well as training and for funds to enable jobless workers to move to areas where jobs are available and their skills in demand; and that Congress enact legislation to provide equality of training and employment opportunities for youths (aged 16 to 21), and particularly minority group youths, to assist them in obtaining employment and completing their education;

(5) Through a system of federally subsidized employment and training made available on a nondiscriminatory basis; and

(6) Through the provision of funds for special placement services in the schools in connection with part-time and cooperative vocational education programs.

Finally, the Commission recommended "That the President direct that appropriate measure be taken for the conduct, on a continuing basis, of an affirmative program of dissemination of information:

(7) To make known the availability on a non-discriminatory basis of jobs in the Federal Government and with Government contractors; and

(8) To encourage all individuals to train for and apply for such jobs, and particularly those jobs where there is currently a shortage of qualified applicants."[127]

G. Private Employment.

All the above programs and proposals have no immediate and only indirect impact on private discriminatory employment practices. A national program--prohibiting discriminatory employment practices by employer and union alike -- is needed. Federal legislation on this score has been introduced in each Congress since the 78th and supported by religious leaders of all persuasions, constitutional authorities, sociologists, economists, businessmen, and leaders of organized labor. Every report that has issued from a House or Senate Committee has recommended the enactment of fair employment legislation.

In the absence of final Congressional action, the states have moved in. New York first, under the leadership of Governor Thomas E. Dewey, next New Jersey, and today some twenty-four of the most populous states in the North, in the North Central, and in the West have enacted some type of fair employment practice legislation.[128] This, however, is not adequate to the occasion. First, there is some doubt that the Constitution permits the application of these state laws to "Interstate Commerce."[129]

Second, these state laws have no applicability in the area of the country where the need for such laws is the greatest. Finally, the problem is national in scope as populations migrate from one section of the country to another.

National legislation is a must. As one witness put it: "FEPC is a workable, sound, tested instrumentality that is good for 110 million people in twenty states; surely, gentlemen, it is good for 180 million people in fifty states."[130] Or, to quote George Meany:

> I could speak at length about the physical loss of good brains and strong bodies we suffer because of those who judge a man by other standards than his abilities. That would be tragic enough in an era when we need every ounce of our strength, and the fullest development of our resources, to secure our nation against attack.
>
> But the greatest loss to America is moral and spiritual. If a citizen of this country finds his way blocked, if he cannot achieve his highest degree of usefulness, only because he is a Negro or a Jew, a Catholic or an Asiatic; because he is an Italian or a Pole; because he is thirty-five or forty or forty-five, those who are responsible for blocking him are betraying the American ideal in the eyes of the world."[131]

III

Summary and Conclusion

Is this, the year of the Emancipation Proclamation, the year for an FEPC? The defeat of those who sought to amend Senate Rule 22 and thereby avert the threat of a filibuster is not a happy harbinger of civil rights legislation. But ours is a rapidly changing world. Six years ago, there was no sputnik, and the word "Astronaut" was unknown. Five years ago Governor Faubus was an obscure southern Governor, and a liberal one to boot. Martin Luther King, Jr., was a young and obscure southern minister, with no particular mark for greatness. Three years ago, the first Negro youth had yet to walk into a white lunch counter and ask for a cup of coffee. Three months ago, no governor of South Carolina had ever asked for the peaceful acceptance of an integrated state university. One month ago, no governor of North Carolina had ever asked for a Good Neighbor Council to end employment discrimination. The segregationist may think he is fighting John Kennedy, Earl Warren, and the NAACP. Actually, he is fighting Marconi, macadam, and Henry Ford -- in short, the Twentieth Century. The outcome of this unequal struggle is not for a moment in doubt. If FEPC legislation comes not this year, it comes soon. But much remains to be done, and on many fronts.

Within the federal civil service there are pockets of racism; aided and abetted by the use and abuse of the "rule of three." Energetic transmission of the Washington spirit to the field offices is necessary if federal employment and employment opportunities are to be based solely on factors of "merit." Periodic "headcounts," the addition of "minority specialists" to employment staffs, good communication, and Congressional approval and ratification of the guiding agency -- the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity -- will keep this program on sound footing.

The "fair and equal employment" clause in the standard government contract has for too long been forgotten, "dead

and buried under thousands of words of standard legal and technical language." President Kennedy has unearthed this provision and appointed a Committee under Vice-President Johnson to enforce it. Sanctions are available, and the Plans for Progress, if implemented, give great hope of progress. The entire program would be strengthened by Congressional authorization, support, and appropriations.

The anti-discrimination clauses contained (and enforced) in the 1930 grant-in-aid programs are not present in today's programs. The consequence is that thousands of Negroes are denied good jobs on projects created by Federal funds. There is no valid Constitutional reason why Federally created job opportunities under grant-in-aid programs should be treated differently from Federally created job opportunities under Federal procurement contract programs. The Civil Rights Commission recommends that the grant-in-aid program be brought within the protection and requirements of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

The United States Government finances the world's largest employment agency; and this agency in turn often stands as a barrier between the Negro and better job opportunities. Operating through segregated offices, the state employment services, at least until lately, processed discriminatory job requests under the federal spurt which based promotion and appropriations on the number of unemployed persons put back to work. The Civil Rights Commission has recommended that (1) consideration should be given to changing the method utilized to determine federal appropriations, presently keyed to the number of job placements made, to reflect other factors (such as the greater degree of difficulty and time involved in placing qualified minority group workers) so that the budgetary formula will encourage, rather than discourage, referral on a nondiscriminatory basis; and (2) that the President direct the Secretary of Labor to grant funds only to state employment

services which offer their services on a non-segregated basis and which refuse to accept and/or process discriminatory job offers.

America suffers from a surplus of unskilled and a dearth of skilled employees. And thousands of youths, age 16 to 21, are out of school, out of work, on the streets headed for trouble, petty crimes, and ultimately to public relief. The federal government seeks to give skills, work, and hope to these citizens by training in federally sponsored apprenticeship programs and federally financed industrial training centers. Yet these programs are not only woefully inadequate in size and number; they also discriminate against the Negro entirely, or at best train him for "traditional" jobs which are rapidly passing from the industrial scene. The Civil Rights Commission recommends corrective action in the federally supported apprenticeship programs by withholding federal aid and support from those which discriminate. It recommends corrective action against federally supported industrial training programs through similar techniques. And it recommends a positive approach to the total problem of creating skills needed in the coming years, of rekindling belief in the sceptical youth, through a program of guidance counseling, making the youth aware of federal and federal contract employment opportunities; through a program of extensive training in useful and challenging skills; and through a program of mass training and retraining akin to that of the Civil Conservation Corps during the 1930s -- a domestic Peace Corps if you will, permitting a simultaneous experience of education, skill gaining, and helping others to help themselves.

We find ourselves at another frontier. Do we retreat, vacillate, or press on? The problem is grave, the challenge a thrill, and the promise of solution a reward without measure.

On to Appomattox.

Footnotes

1. The initial reaction was very favorable. Only five of the first hundred letters were hostile, and three of these came from outside the state. Raleigh News and Observer, Jan. 21, 1963, p. 1, col. 3.

2. New York Times, Oct 15, 1962, p. 1, col. 1.

3. Wall Street Journal, Jan. 8, 1963, p. 1, col. 6.

4. Testimony of Raymond M. Hilliard, Equal Employment Opportunity, Hearings before the Special Subcommittee On Labor, Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 87 Cong., 1st Sess. (1961), pp 10, 13.

5. Jan. 8, 1963, p. 4, col. 2.

6. The State Department now has 35 Negroes in responsible posts and has named Carl T. Rowan, present deputy assistant Secretary of State, as ambassador to Finland. Mr. Rowan will be our third Negro ambassador. The National Observer, Jan. 15, 1963, p. 3, col. 1.

There are now 81,000 Chicago Negroes employed in professional, managerial, sales, and craft positions, up from 50,000 a decade earlier. New York Times, Dec. 8, 1962, p. 25, col. 1.

7. The Economic Situation of Negroes in the United States, Bulletin s-3, U. S. Department of Labor (1960), pp. 5-17.

8. In August, 1962, Bureau of Labor Statistics revealed 11.4 per cent of the Negro work force unemployed as compared with 4.6 per cent of white workers. In Detroit, 60 per cent of the workers currently unemployed are Negroes, although Negroes constitute only 20 per cent of the population. A. Philip Randolph, "The Unfinished Revolution," The Progressive, Dec., 1962, p. 24.

9. "The extent to which the Negro unemployment rate is traceable to automation is suggested in the statistics on chronic unemployment, most of which involves victims of technological displacement. At present, among those unemployed for more than fifteen weeks, 23.8 per cent are non-white." Ibid.

10. Statement of A. Philip Randolph, Equal Opportunity In Apprenticeship Programs, Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Labor, Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 87th Cong., 1st Sess. (1961), p. 121.

11. Operation of the North Carolina Employment Security Commission, Report by the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Dec. 27, 1960, p. 2.

12. Statement of William E. Pollard, Chairman, Labor and Industry Committee, West Coast Region, NAACP. Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4, supra. pp. 389, 392-394.

13. Id. at p. 77.

14. Id. at p. 78.

15. Id. at p. 138.

16. Id. at p. 611.

17. Id. at p. 635.

18. Id. at p. 713.

19. The AFL-CIO Fourth Constitutional Convention in 1961 proclaimed that: "A real democracy has no room for second-class citizenship....When we as trade unionists seek equal opportunity for all Americans in employment, training, education, services and housing, we do so because we believe that America's good neighbor policy begins at home."

20. Representatives of the National Council of Churches of Christ, U. S. A., of the American Jewish Congress, and of the National Catholic Welfare Conference testified in January of 1962 on behalf of a fair employment practices law.

21. The Black Muslim movement makes capital out of the inability of Negro youth to secure suitable employment. "If our Government and the leaders of our communities will not give us the democratic tools to deal with these young people, and deal with them fairly, and honorably, I think the only thing that is left is Elijah Mohammed for them to go to...." Statement of Edwin C. Berry, Executive Director, Chicago Urban League, Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4 supra., p. 178.

22. The Democratic Party platform of 1960 expressly pledged: "The new Democratic administration will support Federal legislation establishing a Fair Employment Practices Commission to secure effectively for everyone the right to equal opportunity for employment."

The Republican Party platform of 1960 promised: "Continued support for legislation to establish a commission on equal job opportunity to make permanent and to expand with legislative backing the excellent work being performed by the President's Committee on Government Contracts."

23. See e.g. the testimony of New York City's Mayor Wagner: "We have established a city contract compliance policy under which all companies doing business with the city must adhere to our anti-discrimination laws...." Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4, supra. at p. 624.

24. A description of state fair employment practices laws is appended hereto.

25. Over twenty years ago President Roosevelt established a Fair Employment Practices Commission. See text at note 46 infra.

26. An additional 2.48 million persons are employed in the Armed Forces. Employment, a Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights (1961), p. 19.

27. Congressman Ramspeck of Georgia fathered this bill. 54 Stat. 1211 (1940), 5 U. S. C. sec. 631(a) (1958).

28. Testimony of Perry C. Parks, Jr., Vice President, 10th District, National Alliance of Postal Employees, Equal Employment Opportunities, note 4 supra., p. 381

29. Id. at p. 373.

30. Employment, note 26 supra. at p. 38.

31. On March 6, 1961, shortly after inauguration, the President issued Executive Order No. 10925 establishing the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, with jurisdiction "to promote and insure equal opportunity for all qualified persons, without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin, employed or seeking employment with the Federal Government and on Government contracts. 26 Fed. Reg. 1977 (1961).

32. The First Nine Months, Report of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity (1962), p. 1.

33. Ibid.

34. This is true, at least, within the Department of Labor. Id. at p. 25.

35. Id. at p. 16.

36. Id. at pp. 27, 31.

37. Id. at p. 29. There is no indication that the Departments of Army, Navy or Air Force have followed suit at their respective academies.

38. Id. at p. 32.

39. Employment, note 26 supra., pp. 177-178.

40. Secretary Goldberg announced that the Department of Labor hired its first Negro employee south of the Potomac River: a Wage and Hour Investigator working in Miami. The First Nine Months, note 32 supra., p. 25.

41. 58 Stat. 389 (1944), 5 U. S. C. sec. 857 (1958).

42. Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4 supra., p. 391.

43. See note 22, supra.

44. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 161.

45. Id. at p. 55.

46. Executive Order No. 8802, 6 Fed. Reg. 3109 (1941).

47. 58 Stat. 387 (1944), 31 U. S. C. sec. 696 (1958).

48. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 12.

49. Id. at p. 56.

50. Id. at p. 65.

51. Id. at p. 59.

52. Apr. 28, 1961, p. 1, col. 1.

53. 26 Fed. Reg. 1977 (1961).

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Equal Protection of The Laws in Employment by Federal Contractors, Report of the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Sept. 23, 1961.

57. Id. at p. 8.

58. Only three firms reported difficulty arising from the refusal of their white employees to accept Negroes as fellow workers. Only three others indicated that their relationships with labor unions had an adverse effect on the utilization of Negro manpower.

59. Id. at pp. 25-26.

60. There is legislative history to support the conclusion that the Taft-Hartley Act intended to permit Negro exclusion from union membership, with the caveat that unions which take this course cannot then require their dismissal from employment pursuant to a "union security" agreement which requires all employees to join the union within 30 days of employment. See sec. 8(a)(3) of the Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947.

The Courts, to date, have accepted this construction of the statute. See e.g., Oliphant v. Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, 262F. 2d359 (6th Cir., 1958), cert. den. 359 U. S. 935 (1958).

61. Statement of Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary of the NAACP, before the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, Jan. 15, 1962.

62. This doctrine was announced in Steele v. Louisville & N. R. R. Co., 323 U. S. 192, 204 (1944) and given further amplification in Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen v. Howard, 343 U. S. 768 (1952); Conley v. Gibson, 355 U. S. 41 (1957); and Syres v. Oil Workers, 350 U. S. 892 (1956).

63. Statement of George Meany, Equal Opportunity in Apprenticeship Programs, note 10 supra., p. 11.

64. The First Nine Months, note 32 supra., p. 62.

65. Brown v. Board of Education, 359 U. S. 294 (1954).

66. Pioneer Bus Company, Inc., 140 NLRB No. 18 (1963).

67. Equal Employment Opportunities, note 4 supra, p. 156.

68. See text at note 55, supra.

69. Employment, note 26 supra., pp. 161-162.

70. Id. at p. 55.

71. Id. at pp. 84-88.

72. Id. at p. 92.

73. 48 Stat. 22. No longer in existence.

74. 58 Stat. 1148 (1939), 18 U. S. C. sec. 601 (1948).

75. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 8,

76. Id. at p. 78.

77. 26 Fed. Reg. 3144 (1961).

78. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 86.

79. Id. at p. 87.

80. Both the Hill-Burton hospital construction program, and the impact-school construction program, contain "nonintervention" provisions, i.e. no Federal official shall exercise "...any direction, supervision, or control over the personnel, curriculum, or program of instruction of any school or school system of any local or state educational agency," but these prohibitions against intervention in "operation" seem to have no bearing on control over the composition of the work force used in construction. Id. at pp. 58-59.

81. In a related context, the Supreme Court announced almost 100 years ago that "It is not doubted that the grant by the United States to the state upon conditions, and the acceptance of the grant by the State, constituted a contract." McGee v. Mathis, 71 U. S. 143, 155 (1866).

82. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 162.

83. 29 U. S. C. sec. 49 (1958).

84. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 115.

85. Operation of the North Carolina Employment Security Commission, Report of the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Dec. 27, 1960.

86. Employment, note 26, supra., p. 117.

87. Id. at pp. 118-119.

88. The First Nine Months, note 32 supra., pp. 57-58.

89. 20 C. F. R. sec. 604.1(b) (1961).

90. Employment, note 26 supra., pp. 163-164.

91. Time, Mar. 10, 1961, p. 90.

92. Statement of A. Philip Randolph, Equal Opportunity in Apprenticeship Programs, note 10, supra., p. 123.

93. New York Times, Oct. 17, 1962, p. 22, col. 1, quoting Herbert Hill, the NAACP's Labor Secretary.

94. Statement of Herbert Hill, Equal Opportunity in

Apprenticeship Programs, note 10 supra., pp. 89-91.

95. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 130.

96. The Unfinished Revolution, note 8 supra., p. 21.

97. See text at note 10, supra.

98. Equal Opportunity in Apprenticeship Programs, note 10 supra., pp. 139 ff.

99. Id. at p. 4.

100. Id. at p. 127.

101. Statement of Assistant Secretary of Labor Jerry R. Holleman, Id. at p. 28.

102. Ibid.

103. Id. at p. 43.

104. Id. at p. 158.

105. Id. at p. 113.

106. James v. Marinship Corp., 25 Cal. 2d 731, 155 P. 2d 329 (1944).

107. Steele v. Louisville & Nashville Railroad Co., 323 U. S. 192.

108. Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen v. Howard, 343 U. S. 768, 774 (1952).

109. See Sovern, The National Labor Relations Act and Racial Discrimination, 62 Col. 1. Rev. 563, 584-587 (1962).

110. New York Times, Oct. 17, 1962, p. 22, col. 1.

111. Sec. 4112.02 of the Ohio Revised Code (1959). Section 1777.6 of the Labor Code of California makes it unlawful "for an employer or a labor union to refuse to accept otherwise qualified employees as indentured apprentices on any public works, solely on the ground of the race, creed, or color of such employee."

112. Employment, note 26 supra. at p. 164.

113. Id. at p. 109.

114. Statement of Horace L. Sheffield, Vice President,

Trade Union Leadership Council, Detroit, Michigan. Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4 supra., p. 218.

115. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 107.

116. See text following fn. 15, supra.

117. Statement of Francis A. Gregory, Assistant Superintendent of Education, Washington, D. C. Equal Opportunity in Apprenticeship Programs, note 10 supra., p. 111.

118. Integration in Public Education Programs, Report of the Subcommittee on Integration in Federally Assisted Public Education Programs of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 87th Cong., 2d Sess. (1962), p. 92.

119. 20 U. S. C. sec. 11 (1958).

120. Integration in Public Education Programs, note 118 supra., p. 94.

121. Ibid.

122. Statement of Clarence A. Laws, Southwest Regional Secretary of the NAACP before the Special Subcommittee on Labor, U. S. House of Representatives, Jan. 16, 1962.

123. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 97.

124. Operation of Industrial Education Centers of North Carolina, Report of the North Carolina Civil Rights Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, May 3, 1962, p. 7.

125. Id. at p. 4.

126. Id. at p. 6.

127. Employment, note 26 supra, pp. 162-163.

128. The various laws, taken from the testimony of AFL-CIO President George Meany, are set forth in the appendix.

129. See, e.g., Colorado Anti-Discrimination Comm. v. Continental Air Lines, __Colo.__, cert. granted, __U. S. __, 31 Law Week 3116 (1962).

130. Statement of Edward Howden, Executive Officer and Chief, California FEPC, Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4, supra., p. 302.

131. Statement before the Special Labor Subcommittee

of the House Committee on Education and Labor on Equality of Employment Opportunity, Jan. 15, 1962.

APPENDIX

STATE FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE LAWS

Key: (Kind of Discrimination Outlawed)
RA = race AN = ancestry
RE = religious creed
CO = color NO = national origin

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Alaska	Alaska Comp. Laws Ann., sec. 43-5-1 (Supp. 1958)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 1 or more; labor organizations, employ. agencies	Non-profit enterprises Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by courts	Commissioner of Labor
California	Cal.Lab.Code sec. 1412	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 5 or more; Labor Organizations Employment agencies The State and its political subdivisions	Non-profit, social, fraternal, charitable, educational or religious associations or corporations. Persons employed by family Domestic servants Agricultural workers residing on farms where employed	By the Courts	Division of Fair Employment Practices
Colorado	Colo. Rev. Stat. Ann., sec. 80-24-1 (1953)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 6 or more Labor Organizations Employment Agencies The State and its political subdivisions	Persons employed by family Domestic servants Educational Institutions and school districts	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission

APPENDIX (continued) (2)

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Connecticut	Conn. Gen. Stat. Rev., Sec. 31-122 (1958)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO, AGE	All enterprises, including charitable and non-profit, employing 5 or more Labor organizations Employment agencies The State and its political subdivisions	None	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Commission on Civil Rights
Delaware	Laws of Delaware ch. 337, Vol.52, 1960	RA, RE, CO NO, AGE	All employers Employment agencies Labor organizations	(By Commission ruling) religious, fraternal, sectarian or charitable association, corporation or society, in re occupational qualifications as to race and creed	By courts: fine and imprisonment	Division Against Discrimination Labor Commission
District of Columbia	Commissioners' policy orders: Nov. 25, 1953 April 9, 1958 Amended: May 9, 1961	RA, RE, CO, NO	District of Columbia government employment Employers holding D.C. contracts On complaint, may investigate discrimination by private employers		Contract Cancellation in case of contractors	D. C. Commissioners' Council on Human Relations

APPENDIX (continued)

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Idaho	Idaho Sess. Laws (1961) Ch. 309	RA, RE, CO, NO (including AN)	"Every person"	Not specified	Misdemeanor No enforcement machinery	No agency
Illinois	S.B. 609 (1961)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	1961-64: Employers of 100 or more 1965 on: Employers of 50 or more Labor organizations Employment agencies	Not specified	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Fair Employment Practices Commission
Indiana	Indiana Ann. Stat., sec. 40-2307 (1956)	RA, RE, CO,	All enterprises conducted for profit, employing 6 or more; Labor organizations, Employment agencies	Non-profit enterprises Persons employed by family Domestic servants Employers of less than 6	Agency has subpoena power but no other enforcement power	Division of Labor
Kansas	Kan. Gen. Stat., Ann., sec. 44-1001 (supp. 1959) Amended, April 14, 1961 Effective July 1, 1961	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 8 or more; All departments of state, county & municipal governments; Persons acting as employers; Employment agencies; Labor organizations	Non-profit, religious, charitable, fraternal, social, educational, sectarian associations or corporations	Cease and desist orders enforceable by courts	Anti-Discrimination Commission

APPENDIX (continued)

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DIS-CRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Kentucky	Laws of 1960, ch.76 (Also, July, 1961)	RA, Ethnic Group or members	"Any discrimination" State employment		None	Commission on Human Rights
Massachu-setts	Mass. Ann. Laws, ch. 151B, sec. 1-10 (1957)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO, AGE	Employers of 6 or more in all enterprises con-ducted for profit: Employment agencies; Labor organizations; The State and its political subdivisions	Non-profit enterprises; Persons employed by family: Domestic servants	By the courts	Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimina-tion
Michigan	Mich. Stat. Ann., sec. 17.458 (1) (1960)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 8 or more; Employment agencies; Labor Organizations; The State and its political subdivisions; Contractors and sub-contractors with the State or its political subdivisions.	Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission
Minnesota	Minn. Laws 1961, Ch. 428	RA, RE, CO, NO	Employers of 8 or more; Employment agencies; Labor organizations; The State and its political subdivisions	Persons employed by family Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Minn. Fair Employment Practices Commission

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Missouri	S.B. 257 (1961)	RA, RE, CO, NO	Employers of 50 or more; Employers holding state contracts: State agencies, Labor Unions, Employment agencies	Corporations & associations owned and operated by religious or sectarian groups	Commission orders, enforceable in the courts	Commission on Human Rights
New Jersey	N.J. Stat. Ann. sec. 18: 25-4 (supp. 1960)	RA, RE, CO, NA, Liability for military service	Employers in all enterprises employing 6 or more. The State and its political subdivisions Labor organizations Employment agencies	Non-profit enterprises; Persons employed by family; Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Division Against Discrimination, N.J. Department of Education
New Mexico	N.M. Stat. Ann., sec. 59-4-1 (supp. 1961)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 4 or more The State and its political subdivisions; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Religious corporations or associations; Non-profit social or fraternal clubs; Persons employed by family; Domestic servants	None	Fair Employment Practice Commission
New York	N.Y. Executive Law, sec. 290	RA, RE, CO, NO, AGE	Employers in all enterprises conducted for profit and employing 6 or more; The State and its political subdivisions; Labor organizations; Employment agencies; Licensing agencies with respect to age qualifications.	Non-profit enterprises; Persons employed by family; Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	N.Y. State Commission Against Discrimination

APPENDIX (continued)

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Ohio	Ohio Rev. Code Ann., Sec. 4112.01 (Page supp. 1959)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 4 or more; The State and its political subdivisions; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Religious, educational & charitable organizations; Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Ohio Civil Rights Commission
Oregon	Ore. Rev. Stat., sec. 659.010 (1959)	RA, RE, CO, NO, AGE	Employers of 6 or more; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Non-profit social, fraternal, charitable, educational or religious associations or corporations; Persons employed by family; Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Civil Rights Division Oregon Bureau of Labor
Pennsylvania	Penna Human Relations Act, Pa. Laws	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO, AGE	Employers of 12 or more; The state and its political subdivisions; Employment agencies; Labor organizations	Religious, fraternal, charitable or sectarian corporations or associations unless supported in whole or in part by public appropriation	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Pa. Fair Employment Practice Commission
Rhode Island	R.I. Gen. Laws, Ann., sec. 28-5-1 (1956)	RA, RE, CO, NO	Employers of 4 or more; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Non-profit religious, charitable, fraternal, social, educational, sectarian	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	R.I. Commission Against Discrimination
Washington	Wash. Rev. Code, sec. 49.60.030 (1959)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 8 or more; The State and its political subdivisions; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Non-profit religious or sectarian organizations; Persons employed by family; Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Washington State Board Against Discrimination

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
WISCONSIN	Wis. Stat. Ann. sec. 111.31 (1957)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO, AGE	All employers; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Non-profit social clubs, fraternal or religious associations. Persons employed by family	Cease and desist order enforceable by the courts	Wisconsin Fair Employment Practices Division, Industrial Commission

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF FLORIDA
JANUARY TERM, A. D. 1956
EN BANC.

A. MAX BREWER and O. L. BURTON, individually and as State Representatives from Brevard County,

Appellants,

-vs-

CASE NO. 27,184

R. A. GRAY, as Secretary of State, RICHARD W. ERVIN, as Attorney General, CHARLES D. STEWART, BERNIE C. PAPY, W. H. CARMINE, JR., and WALTER O. SHEPPARD, as State Representatives,

Appellees.

Opinion filed April 11, 1956

An Appeal from the Circuit Court for Leon County, Hugh M. Taylor, Judge
Butt & Akridge and Crofton, Wilson & Brewer, for Appellants
Richard W. Ervin, Attorney General and Howard S. Bailey, Assistant Attorney General, for Appellees

THORNAL, J.:

Appellants Brewer and Burton who were plaintiffs below appeal from a decree of the Chancellor sustaining the constitutionality of Chapter 31378, Laws of Florida, Extraordinary Session 1955, which reapportioned the membership of the House of Representatives of the Florida Legislature.

The question before us on appeal and which was ruled on by the Chancellor below is whether Chapter 31378, *supra*, which reapportioned the membership of the House of Representatives of the State Legislature is unconstitutional or at least inoperative until the Legislature reapportions the State Senate in accordance with the requirements of Section 3, Article VII, of the Florida Constitution. No Act has yet been passed by the 1955 Legislature reapportioning the State Senate.

By Chapter 31378, *supra*, the ninety-five members of the House of Representatives were apportioned among the several counties in accordance with the mathematical formula governing the House as set forth in Section 3, Article VII, Florida Constitution. The ultimate effect of the Act so far as these parties are concerned was to reduce representation in the House from two members each to one member each for Brevard and Lee Counties and simultaneously to increase representation in the House from one member each to two members each for Monroe and Okaloosa Counties. The apportionment was stated to be based on the 1950 Federal Census.

Appellants Brewer and Burton presently represent Brevard County in the House of Representatives. Appellees Carmine and Sheppard represent Lee County. Appellee Stewart represents Okaloosa County and appellee Papy represents Monroe.

In holding the Act under attack to be constitutional and operative in accordance with its provisions, the Chancellor stated:

> "The existence of two duties (a) to reapportion the Senate and (b) to reapportion the House of Representatives, does not make the performance of one duty ineffectual until the other has been accomplished unless it is clear from the Constitution that this was the intent of the people. I cannot find that intent clear in the Constitution."

We hold that he ruled correctly and his decree must, therefore, be affirmed..

It is appropriate to consider certain basic principles that guide us to our conclusion. We have separated Article VII, Section 3, of the Florida Constitution into its four component sentences for convenience of analysis, and quote the same as follows:

> "The Legislature that shall meet in regular session A. D. 1925, and those that shall meet every ten years thereafter, shall apportion the Representation in the Senate, and shall provide for thirty-eight (38) Senatorial Districts, such Districts to be as nearly equal in population as practicable, but no county shall be divided in making such apportionment, and each District shall have one Senator; and, *at the same time*, the Legislature shall *also* apportion the Representation in the House of Representatives, and shall allow three (3) Representatives to each of the five most populous counties, and two (2) Representatives to each of the next eighteen more populous counties, and one Representative to each of the remaining counties of the State at the time of such apportionment.
>
> "Should the Legislature fail to apportion the Representation in the Senate *and* in the House of Representatives, at any regular session of the Legislature at any of the times herein designated, it shall be the duty of the Legislature or Legislatures succeeding such regular session of the Legislature, either in special or regular session, *to apportion the Representation in the Senate and in the House of Representatives as herein provided.*
>
> "The preceding regular Federal orregular State Census, which ever shall have been taken nearest any apportionment of Representatives in the Senate

and in the House of Representatives, shall control in making any such apportionment.

"In the event the Legislature shall fail to reapportion the representation in the Legislature as required by this amendment, the Governor shall (within thirty days after the adjournment of the regular session), call the Legislature together in extraordinary session to consider the question of reapportionment and such extraordinary session of the Legislature is hereby mandatorily required to reapportion the representation as required by this amendment before its adjournment (and such extraordinary session so called for reapportionment shall not be limited to expire at the end of twenty days or at all, until reapportionment is effected, and shall consider no business other than such reapportionment.)" (Emphasis added.)

Appellants rely upon the language emphasized to support their contention that the effectiveness of the reapportionment of the House of Representatives is contingent upon reapportionment of the Senate.

The statute under attack comes to this court clothed with a presumption of validity. One who challenges the constitutionality of an Act of the Legislature must clearly demonstrate its invalidity. All doubts are resolved in favor of the constitutionality of legislative action and as between two possible theories of interpretation, the courts are bound to adopt the one which results in upholding the Act if such interpretation is consistent with reason. See Ball vs. Branch, 154 Fla. 57, 16 So. 2d 524.

The duty imposed upon the Legislature to apportion representation in the Legislative branch of the government is political and administrative. It involves the exercise of judgment and discretion within the orbit prescribed by the organic law. It is a governmental function in the sense that it is commanded by the Constitution pursuant to the responsibility of providing for the actual structure of the government itself. The Florida Constitution mandatorily places upon the Legislature the duty to take the initiative to apportion representation in both Houses of the Legislature in accordance with the constitutional requirements.

It is clear from an examination of the second and fourth sentences of Article VII, Section 3, quoted above, that this is a continuing duty. See Smith v. Holm, 220 Minn. 486, 19 N.W. 2d 914; Parker v. State, 196 Pa. 396, 46 Atl. 505; and 11 Am. Jur. Constitutional Law, Sec. 70, p. 688.

Under our democratic system equality of representation is essential to the preservation of Democracy itself. The thought is well expressed by the Supreme Court of Oklahoma in Jones v. Freeman, 193 Okla. 554, 146 P. 2d 564, from which we quote as follows:

"*** The principle of equality of representation lies at the very heart of representative government. 18 Am. Jur. 192, §17. This principle was

> enjoined upon the Legislature by the cited constitutional provisions. At the ballot box, in a representative government, each citizen is supposed to be, and should be, the equal of every other citizen, and all are entitled to approximately an equal voice in the enactment of laws through elected Representatives.***"

Despite the importance of this legislative responsibility and despite the fact that the provisions of our Constitution are clearly mandatory, we are nevertheless forced to the conclusion that the responsibility rests with the Legislature and not with this court. The Legislature is a coordinate branch of the government, and even though the performance of a duty is required by the Constitution, the courts, being another coordinate branch of the government, are not authorized to compel the Legislature to exercise a purely legislative prerogative. We are not here intending to hold that once the legislative discretion is exercised and crystallized into a statute, the courts do not have the power to examine the statute and measure its validity by the prescriptions of the organic law.

We here intend to hold, and do so hold, that the Florida Constitution places upon the Legislature two related duties. One is to apportion the membership of the State Senate and the other is to apportion membership in the House of Representatives. The Legislature has performed one of these duties by passing the statute under attack. We cannot read into the Constitution a provision which is not there. There is nothing in the Constitution which provides that reapportionment of the House is contingent upon reapportionment of the Senate, or vice versa. While a casual examination of the quoted constitutional provision might lead one to the thought that both branches of the Legislature should be reapportioned simultaneously or at least within such proximity of time as to be originally effective at the same general election, a more careful analysis will reveal that no such stipulation is written into the organic law and we are without power to provide one.

On the relationship between the Legislature and the courts with reference to reapportionment statutes, see Donovan v. Suffolk County, 225 Mass. 55, 113 N.E. 740, 2 A.L.R. 1334 (note 1337), and also 37 Illinois Law Review 20.

As was stated in Smith v. Holm, 200 Minn. 486, 19 N.W. 2d 914:

> "***The remedy lies in the political conscience of the legislature, where lies the burden of the constitutional mandate. It is not within the province of this court to prompt the action of that conscience. It is usually sensitive enough to promptings from the electorate."

The exceedingly able briefs of counsel for all parties have failed to reveal any really direct precedents that would be considered conclusive. Possibly the most closely analogous decision is Stenson v. Secretary of

State, 308 Mich. 48, 13 N.W. 2d 202. In construing a constitutional provision somewhat similar to our own, the Supreme Court of Michigan held:

> "We are not in accord with the intervening plaintiffs' further contention that since the Constitution, Art. V, Sec. 4, provides for 'rearrangement' of senatorial districts, as well as reapportionment of representative districts once in each ten years, the 1943 reapportionment act as to representative districts should be held invalid as an 'abuse of legislative discretion', because the 1943 legislature did not also rearrange senatorial districts."

Like the court in the case last cited, we are not in a position to conclude that the Florida Legislature has abused its legislative discretion by enacting Chapter 31378, *supra*, without enacting a companion measure for the reapportionment of the Florida Senate. As pointed out above, the courts are without power to order legislative action. A contrary ruling would destroy our system of "checks and balances." We judicially know that pursuant to a gubernatorial call issued in accord with the fourth sentence of Section 3, Article VII, the Legislature of 1955 is still technically in extraordinary session and is scheduled to reconvene on June 4, 1956. We must assume that the Legislature will do its duty as its discretion dictates within the limits of the fundamental law.

What we have heretofore said disposes of the problem before us except as to the contention of appellee Stewart to the effect that by the enactment of Chapter 29615, Laws of Florida 1955, Regular session, which adopted the Florida Statutes of 1955, the Legislature in effect reapportioned the Florida Senate by including Section 10.01, Florida Statutes 1955, in the 1955 Revision. Section 10.01, Florida Statutes, is nothing more than the codification of Chapter 23614, Laws of Florida 1945, reapportioning the State Senate as of November 5, 1946. While we have held the inclusion of a general Act of the Legislature in the statutory revision will cure a defect in the title of the Act, as it originally passed the Legislature (see State v. Lee, 156 Fla. 291, 22 So. 2d 804), we cannot conclude that the Legislature of 1955 can perform the constitutional duty imposed upon it in 1955 by including in the Revision a reapportionment Act enacted in 1945. The third sentence of Article VII, Section 3, of the Florida Constitution, provides that the preceding regular Federal or State Census which shall have been taken nearest any apportionment shall control in the making of any such reapportionment. An examination of Section 10.01, Florida Statutes 1955, will reveal that it became effective at the general election on the 5th day of November, 1946. It could hardly be logically contended that a reapportionment effective in November, 1946, could have been based upon the Federal Census taken in 1950, which we judicially know to be the last preceding regular Federal Census and the one which would control any reapportionment made by the 1955 Legislature. We dispose of this point by adopting the reasoning of the Supreme Court of Alabama in Opinion of the Justices (Ala. 1950), 47 So. 2d 714, where the following conclusion was reached.

> "We judicially know that the population of the various counties of this state has changed during the years which have intervened since the Constitution of 1901 was adopted, so that the representation as provided in Sections 1 and 2 of Title 32, Code 1940, cannot be said to be on a population basis. The contention is without merit that by bringing forward into the Code of 1940 the provisions of previous Codes as to the Division or apportionment of representation in this state constitutes apportionment of the representation of the legislature within the purview of Sections 198-201 of the Constitution of 1901."

Chapter 23614, Laws of Florida 1945, remains the law of Florida until repealed or superseded. However, in and of itself, it cannot be construed as amounting to a compliance with a constitutional requirement that could not be performed until 1955 at the earliest.

All parties are commended for the enlightening and helpful briefs filed in this cause.

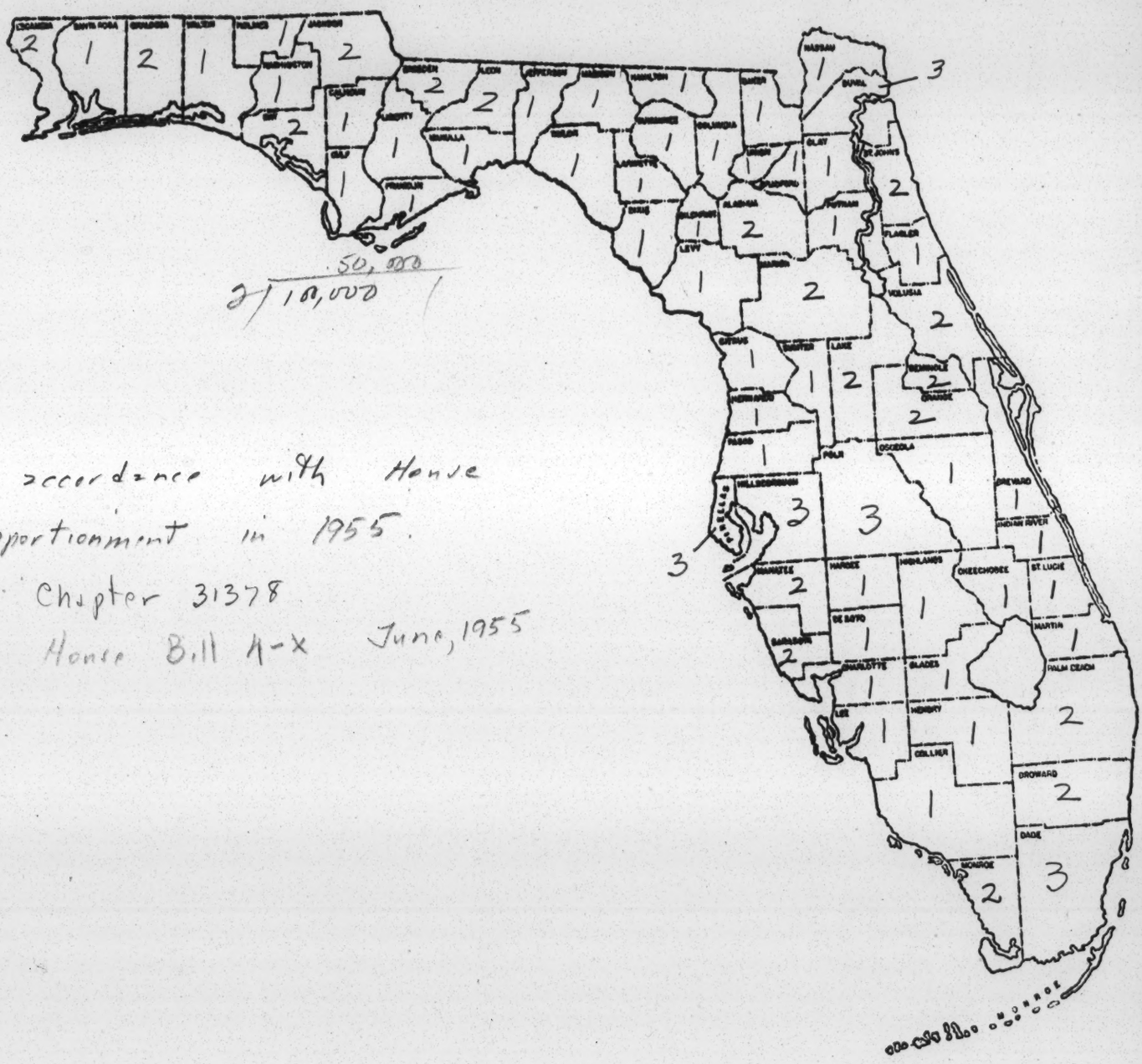
We find no error in the ruling of the Chancellor and his decree is therefore

Affirmed.

DREW, C. J., TERRELL and THOMAS, JJ., and PRUNTY, ASSOCIATE JUSTICE CONCUR

ROBERTS and HOBSON, JJ., AGREE TO CONCLUSION

Representation in the House By Counties



In accordance with House Reapportionment in 1955.

Chapter 31378

House Bill 4-X June, 1955

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
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RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

September 25, 1956

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

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Sincerely,

Florence B. Irving

Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant

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September 27, 1956

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Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Irving:

In response to your letter of September 25, we are enclosing a map of the State of Arkansas which outlines the senatorial districts and indicates the number of senators elected from the respective districts. In addition, we are enclosing a roster of the membership of the 1955 General Assembly. This roster reveals the number of House members elected from the several counties.

The Arkansas Senate is composed of 35 members chosen from 26 senatorial districts. Seats in the Senate are apportioned on a reasonably equal population basis. The Arkansas House of Representatives is composed of 100 members. Each of the 75 counties of the State is entitled to one member of the House and the additional 25 seats are apportioned among the more populous counties.

If we may furnish additional information do not hesitate to write.

Very truly yours,

Marcus Halbrook

Marcus Halbrook,
Director

MH/p
Encls.

ROSTER

SIXTIETH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF ARKANSAS, 1955

Compiled by C. G. "CRIP" HALL, Secretary of State

THE SENATE

DISTRICT	NAME	ADDRESS	AGE	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	NATIVE STATE
President of the Senate	Nathan Gordon	Morrilton	38	Attorney at Law	Methodist	Arkansas
1—Benton, Carroll	Russell Elrod	Siloam Springs	49	Attorney at Law	Presbyterian	Oklahoma
2—Washington, Madison	Clifton "Deacon" Wade	Fayetteville	44	Attorney at Law	Methodist	Arkansas
3—Crawford, Franklin, Johnson	J. O. Porter	Mulberry	63	Merchant	Presbyterian	Arkansas
4—Sebastian	J. E. (Pat) Garner	Fort Smith	61	Radio News Director	Presbyterian	Missouri
5—Logan, Scott, Yell, Montgomery	Boss Mitchell	Danville	39	Service man - Feed Company	Methodist	Arkansas
6—Polk, Howard, Sevier, Little River	Roy L. Riales	Mena	43	Auditor - Burial Asso. Board	Protestant	Arkansas
7—Pike, Hempstead, Nevada	Gene Lee	Prescott	37	Salesman	Protestant	Arkansas
8—Miller, Lafayette	Jack V. Clark	Texarkana	42	Dist. Mgr. Life Insurance	Methodist	Texas
9—Boone, Marion, Baxter, Newton, Searcy	Roy W. Milum	Harrison	71	Auto Dealer	— — —	Arkansas
10—Pope, Conway, Perry	Robert Hays Williams	Russellville	41	Attorney at Law	Methodist	Arkansas
11—Garland, Saline, Hot Spring, Clark	Q. Byrum Hurst	Hot Springs	36	Lawyer & Cattle Rancher	Church of God	Arkansas
	C. Van Hayes	Benton	40	Attorney at Law	Baptist	Arkansas
12—Ouachita, Columbia	Dr. Edward Jones Byrd	Camden	79	Physician & Surgeon	Baptist	Arkansas
13—Union	Marshall Shackleford, Jr.	El Dorado	33	Attorney at Law	Christian	Arkansas
14—Stone, Van Buren, Cleburne, Faulkner	Guy H. Jones	Conway	43	Attorney at Law	Methodist	Arkansas
15—Pulaski	Ellis M. Fagan	Little Rock	50	Contractor	Presbyterian	Arkansas
	Artie Gregory	Little Rock	56	General Contractor	Presbyterian	Missouri
	Max Howell	Little Rock	38	Attorney at Law	Presbyterian	Arkansas
16—Grant, Dallas, Cleveland, Calhoun, Bradley	Oliver R. Williams	Sheridan	54	Lumberman	Methodist	Arkansas
17—Fulton, Randolph, Sharp, Lawrence	Tom Logan	Walnut Ridge	44	Salesman	Methodist	Arkansas
18—Izard, Independence, Jackson	Y. M. (Milton) Mack	Moorefield	61	Farmer-Ginner	Methodist	Arkansas
19—White, Lonoke, Woodruff, Prairie	W. E. (Buck) Fletcher	Scott	57	Planter	Presbyterian	N. C.
	C. E. Yingling	Searcy	67	Attorney at Law	Christian Church	Arkansas
20—Jefferson, Lincoln	Lawrence Blackwell	Pine Bluff	44	Attorney at Law	Methodist	Arkansas
	M. Morrell Gathright	Pine Bluff	35	Mgr. Van & Storage Co.	Baptist	Arkansas
21—Drew, Desha	De Witt Poe	McGehee	61	Attorney at Law	Baptist	Virginia
22—Ashley, Chicot	Gaither C. Johnston	Dermott	54	Banker-Farmer-Real Estate	Methodist	Arkansas
23—Clay, Greene	W. J. Hurst	Rector	43	Farmer	Methodist	Arkansas
24—Craighead, Mississippi, Poinsett	J. Lee Bearden	Leachville	45	Farmer, Banker, Ginner	Methodist	Arkansas
	Marvin Melton	Jonesboro, Rt.	53	Farmer	Methodist	Arkansas
	Fred H. Stafford	Marked Tree	58	Attorney at Law	Methodist	Michigan
25—Cross, Crittenden, St. Francis	Fletcher Long	Forrest City	39	Attorney at Law	Episcopal	Arkansas
	Lamar L. Rodgers	West Memphis	72	Retired Planter	Methodist	Arkansas
26—Monroe, Lee, Phillips, Arkansas	Tom Allen	Brinkley	43	Publisher	Presbyterian	Nebraska
	James P. "Doc" Baker, Jr.	West Helena	41	Attorney at Law	Episcopal	Arkansas

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

COUNTY	NAME	ADDRESS	AGE	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	NATIVE STATE
ARKANSAS	George O. Green	DeWitt	30	Attorney at Law	Baptist	Arkansas
ASHLEY	Glyn E. Sawyer	Hamburg	31	Attorney at Law	Baptist	Arkansas
BAXTER	Hugh Hackler	Mountain Home	47	Automobile Dealer	Methodist	Arkansas
BENTON	Eli Leflar	Rogers	44	Attorney at Law	Methodist	Arkansas
	Clayton N. Little	Bentonville	38	Attorney at Law	Baptist	Texas
BOONE	Vance Hickman	Harrison	46		Baptist	Arkansas
BRADLEY	Carroll C. Hollensworth	Warren	54	Attorney at Law	Presbyterian	Arkansas
CALHOUN	Harrell L. Johnston	Hampton	28	Merchant and Teacher	Methodist	Arkansas
CARROLL	*F. A. Pat Teague	Berryville	50	Produce Dealer and Farmer	Protestant	Nebraska
CHICOT	Ben Bynum	Dermott	34	Insurance and Real Estate	Presbyterian	Arkansas
CLARK	Jimmy Slack	Arkadelphia	42	Salesman	Methodist	Arkansas
CLAY	Bryan J. McCallen	Corning	42	Attorney at Law	Methodist	Illinois
CLEBURNE	Winford "Smudge" Logan	Tumbling Shoals	30	Building Material Dealer	Methodist	Arkansas
CLEVELAND	Raymond L. Mays	Rison	46	Insurance	Methodist	Arkansas
COLUMBIA	Harry B. Colay	Magnolia	46	Attorney at Law	Baptist	Arkansas
CONWAY	Jim Bruton	Morrilton, Rt.	41	Farmer	Methodist	Arkansas
CRAIGHEAD	Norman Wimpy	Jonesboro	35	Farmer	Catholic	Arkansas
	Charlie G. Johnston	Jonesboro	39	Supervisor-Insurance Agency	Methodist	Arkansas
CRAWFORD	Milton Willis	Van Buren	41	Printer	Methodist	Arkansas
CRITTENDEN	Charles F. Smith	West Memphis	42	Attorney at Law	Methodist	Arkansas
	Lucien C. Rogers	Earle	57	Farmer	Methodist	Tennessee
CROSS	James L. Shaver, Jr.	Wynne	26	Attorney at Law	Presbyterian	Arkansas
DALLAS	L. Weems Trussell	Fordyce	46	Attorney at Law	Methodist	Arkansas
DESHA	Frank Ross	McGehee	41	Manager-Chamber of Commerce	Methodist	Arkansas
DREW	Randall L. Williams	Monticello	30	Attorney at Law	Baptist	Louisiana
FAULKNER	Russell C. Roberts	Conway	44	Attorney at Law	Baptist	Arkansas
FRANKLIN	Jack Yates	Ozark	36	Attorney at Law	Methodist	Arkansas
FULTON	Harlin Jackson Perryman	Salem	27	Law Student and School Teacher	Baptist	Arkansas
GARLAND	Ray S. Smith, Jr.	Hot Springs	30	Attorney at Law	Methodist	Arkansas
	Elmer Tackett	Hot Springs	53	Attorney at Law	Baptist	Arkansas
GRANT	Jack Gwin	Sheridan	42	Merchant	Methodist	Arkansas
GREENE	Hayes A. Triplett	Paragould	52	Railroad	Methodist	Arkansas
HEMPSTEAD	Talbot Feild, Jr.	Hope	42	Attorney at Law	Episcopal	Arkansas
HOT SPRING	Dewey D. Stiles	Malvern	30	Metals Company	Baptist	Arkansas
HOWARD	John Howell	Nashville	48	Contractor	Church of Christ	Texas
INDEPENDENCE	Hubert J. Meachum	Batesville	34	Attorney at Law	Presbyterian	Arkansas
IZARD	J. A. Rodman	Melbourne	46	Automobile Dealer	Methodist	Arkansas
JACKSON	Robert Harvey	Swifton	40	Farmer and Lawyer	Methodist	Arkansas
JEFFERSON	E. W. Brockman, Jr.	Pine Bluff	33	Attorney at Law	Presbyterian	Arkansas
	Sam M. Levine	Pine Bluff	64	Attorney at Law	Jewish	Louisiana
	J. P. Walt	Altheimer	27	Farming	Methodist	Arkansas
JOHNSON	Robert C. Temple	Hartman	67	Farmer	Methodist	Arkansas
LAFAYETTE	Pat Robinson	Lewisville	58	Attorney at Law	Baptist	Arkansas
LAWRENCE	Paul M. Graham	Walnut Ridge	51	Real Estate Salesman & Farmer	Church of Christ	Arkansas
LEE	W. L. Ward	Marianna	72	Lawyer and Planter	Baptist	Alabama

FULTON	Harlin Jackson Perryman	Salem	27	Law Student and School Teacher	Baptist	Arkansas
GARLAND	Ray S. Smith, Jr.	Hot Springs	30	Attorney at Law	Methodist	Arkansas
	Elmer Tackett	Hot Springs	53	Attorney at Law	Baptist	Arkansas
GRANT	Jack Gwin	Sheridan	42	Merchant	Methodist	Arkansas
GREENE	Hayes A. Triplett	Paragould	52	Railroad	Methodist	Arkansas
HEMPSTEAD	Talbot Feild, Jr.	Hope	42	Attorney at Law	Episcopal	Arkansas
HOT SPRING	Dewey D. Stiles	Malvern	30	Metals Company	Baptist	Arkansas
HOWARD	John Howell	Nashville	48	Contractor	Church of Christ	Texas
INDEPENDENCE	Hubert J. Meachum	Batesville	34	Attorney at Law	Presbyterian	Arkansas
IZARD	J. A. Rodman	Melbourne	46	Automobile Dealer	Methodist	Arkansas
JACKSON	Robert Harvey	Swifton	40	Farmer and Lawyer	Methodist	Arkansas
JEFFERSON	E. W. Brockman, Jr.	Pine Bluff	33	Attorney at Law	Presbyterian	Arkansas
	Sam M. Levine	Pine Bluff	64	Attorney at Law	Jewish	Louisiana
	J. P. Walt	Altheimer	27	Farming	Methodist	Arkansas
JOHNSON	Robert C. Temple	Hartman	67	Farmer	Methodist	Arkansas
LAFAYETTE	Pat Robinson	Lewisville	58	Attorney at Law	Baptist	Arkansas
LAWRENCE	Paul M. Graham	Walnut Ridge	51	Real Estate Salesman & Farmer	Church of Christ	Arkansas
LEE	W. L. Ward	Marianna	72	Lawyer and Planter	Baptist	Alabama
LINCOLN	R. C. Johnson, Jr.	Grady	34	Farmer	Baptist	Mississippi
LITTLE RIVER	Marion H. Crank	Foreman	39	Merchant	Episcopalian	Arkansas
LOGAN	A. M. McKennon, Jr.	Scranton	30	Farm Operator	Methodist	Arkansas
LONOKE	Joe P. Melton, Jr.	Lonoke	25	Insurance-Real Estate-Finance	Baptist	Arkansas
MADISON	Roy Pettit	Combs, Rt.	45	Mechanic	Christ Church	Arkansas
MARION	Gordon Stanley	Pyatt	46	Farmer	Protestant	Arkansas
MILLER	John W. Goodson	Texarkana	29	Attorney at Law	Methodist	Texas
MISSISSIPPI	James J. (Jimmie) Edwards	Blytheville	41	Owner & Mgr. Furniture Store	Methodist	Arkansas
	E. C. "Gene" Fleeman	Manila	47	Banking and Insurance	Methodist	Arkansas
	L. H. Autry	Burdette	58	Educator	Baptist	Arkansas
	Kenneth S. Sulcer	Joiner	29	Retail Lumber & Hardware	Baptist	Arkansas
MONROE	John W. Kornegay	Clarendon	53	Salesman	Baptist	Arkansas
MONTGOMERY	W. V. (Shorty) Smith	Mt. Ida	43	Service Station		Arkansas
NEVADA	Abner E. McGuire	Prescott	72	Life Insurance Salesman	Church of Christ	Arkansas
NEWTON	*Quinton R. Clark	Jasper	36	Postal Clerk	Protestant	Arkansas
OUACHITA	J. A. Dooley Womack	Camden	30	Insurance and Real Estate	Methodist	Arkansas
	William S. Andrews	Camden	27	Safety Coordinator	Methodist	Arkansas
PERRY	Paul Van Dalsem	Perryville	47	Farmer	Protestant	Arkansas
PHILLIPS	Charles B. Roscopf	West Helena	26	Attorney at Law	Baptist	Arkansas
	Marcus J. Howell	Wabash	52	Life Insurance Agent	Presbyterian	Tennessee
PIKE	Marvin "Pete" Austin	Langley	41	School Teacher	Church of Christ	Arkansas
POINSETT	Guy W. French	Weiner	46	Teacher	Baptist	Arkansas
	W. H. "Bill" Thompson	Marked Tree	39	Seed Business	Methodist	Tennessee
POLK	Roy M. Haynes	Mena	51	Minister-Farmer-Engineer	Baptist	Arkansas
POPE	Clyde Henry Kinslow	Russellville	32	Merchant	Protestant	Arkansas
PRAIRIE	John P. Bethell	Des Arc	47	Cleaning & Pressing-Farming	Protestant	Arkansas
PULASKI	Jim Coates, Jr.	Little Rock	28	Insurance General Agent	Episcopalian	Arkansas
	J. H. Cottrell, Jr.	Little Rock	37	Lawyer-Pres. Loan & Inv. Co.	Church of Christ	Arkansas
	Jack East, Jr.	Little Rock	28	Insurance & Banking	Presbyterian	Arkansas
	Don Jones, Jr.	Little Rock	30	General Contractor	Episcopalian	Oklahoma
	R. W. "Bob" Laster	Little Rock	29	Attorney at Law	Protestant	Arkansas
	Joel Y. Ledbetter	Little Rock	43	Real Estate	Presbyterian	Arkansas
	Glenn F. Walther	Little Rock	46	Attorney at Law	Lutheran	Arkansas
	Dave E. Thompson	Little Rock	36	Railway Brakeman	Protestant	Arkansas
RANDOLPH	Arlo Tyer	Pocahontas	42	Grocery and Market	Baptist	Arkansas
ST. FRANCIS	Knox Kinney	Forrest City	30	Attorney at Law	Methodist	Arkansas
	Harold Wood	Palestine	35	Merchant	Protestant	Arkansas
SALINE	Virgil T. Fletcher	Alexander, Rt.	37	Lumbering	Baptist	Arkansas
SCOTT	J. W. Black	Waldron	68	Insurance	Baptist	Arkansas
SEARCY	Paul Jones	Marshall	31	Lumber Dealer	Protestant	Arkansas
SEBASTIAN	Mel Phillips	Fort Smith	59	Operate Insurance Agency	Methodist	Arkansas
	Dan White	Fort Smith	38	Attorney at Law	Baptist	Arkansas
	James S. Yarbrough	Fort Smith	46	Sales Engineer	Protestant	Arkansas
SEVIER	Winfred Lake	De Queen	57	Attorney at Law	Presbyterian	Arkansas
SHARP	A. M. "Dick" Metcalf	Hardy	34	Bus Agent & Appliance Dealer	Methodist	Arkansas
STONE	Gerald V. Partee	Marcella	32	Farmer	Protestant	Arkansas
UNION	Chadd L. Durrett	Strong	43	Lawyer-Farmer	Baptist	Arkansas
	Melvin E. Mayfield	El Dorado	34	Attorney at Law	Baptist	Texas
VAN BUREN	Carl S. Whillock	Clinton	28	Merchant	Methodist	Arkansas
WASHINGTON	Fred Starr	Fayetteville, Rt.	58	Teaching	Methodist	Georgia
	Charles W. Stewart, Jr.	Fayetteville	26	Lawyer-Businessman	Baptist	Arkansas
WHITE	John S. Ferguson	Beebe	64	Attorney at Law	Methodist	Arkansas
	J. H. Moody	Bald Knob	47	Attorney at Law	Methodist	Arkansas
WOODRUFF	Jack S. Oakes	Augusta	41	Merchant	Methodist	Arkansas
YELL	W. C. Blackwell	Belleville	71	Insurance-Writer	Baptist	Arkansas

* Republicans

ARKANSAS

STATE SENATORIAL DISTRICTS

REVISION MADE BY

SUPREME COURT OF ARKANSAS

FEBRUARY 25, 1952

PUBLISHED BY

C. G. "CRIP" HALL

Secretary of State

DEPARTMENT OF LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE
CARL N. EVERSTINE, DIRECTOR

CITY HALL
BALTIMORE 2, MARYLAND

September 28, 1956.

Miss Florence B. Irving,
Research Assistant, Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta-3, Georgia.

Dear Miss Irving:

In your letter of September 25, you asked for a list of the Senatorial and Delegate Districts in the State of Maryland.

We do not follow the plan here which is used in many States whereby a number of the counties will be comprised in one Senatorial District. In Maryland, each of the twenty-three counties is a separate Senatorial District and, in addition, Baltimore City is divided into six Districts, so that we have a total of twenty-nine members in the Senate of Maryland. Each of these Districts also serves as the District from which the members of the House of Delegates are elected. There are from two to six members from each District. Up until several years ago, the exact number of Delegates depended upon population but, at that time, we froze the membership at the existing levels.

The names of the Counties in Maryland are as follows:

Allegany County
Anne Arundel County
Baltimore County
Calvert County
Caroline County
Carroll County
Cecil County
Charles County
Dorchester County
Frederick County
Garrett County
Harford County
Howard County
Kent County
Montgomery County
Prince George's County
Queen Anne's County
St. Mary's County
Somerset County
Talbot County
Washington County
Wicomico County
Worcester County

Sincerely,

Carl N. Everstine

Director.

STATE OF FLORIDA

LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE BUREAU

TALLAHASSEE

S. SHERMAN WEISS
DIRECTOR
310 KNOTT BUILDING

October 5, 1956

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

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PALATKA

REPRESENTATIVE JAMES S. MOODY
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SENATE MEMBERS

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MADISON

MERRILL P. BARBER
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MIAMI

PAUL KICKLITER
TAMPA

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FLETCHER MORGAN
JACKSONVILLE

GEORGE G. TAPPER
PORT ST. JOE

HOUSE MEMBERS

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SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE
HOLLYWOOD

J. A. "TAR" BOYD
LEESBURG

DOYLE E. CONNER
STARKE

LACY MAHON, JR.
JACKSONVILLE

GEORGE S. OKELL, SR.
MIAMI

JOHN S. PITTMAN
JAY

SHERMAN N. SMITH, JR.
VERO BEACH

ROY SURLES
LAKELAND

Miss Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Irving:

Enclosed are two maps indicating representation in the Florida Senate and Florida House of Representatives by district and county, together with a copy of opinion of the Supreme Court on the validity of the reapportionment of the House of Representatives in 1955.

Trusting that this is the information you requested, I am,

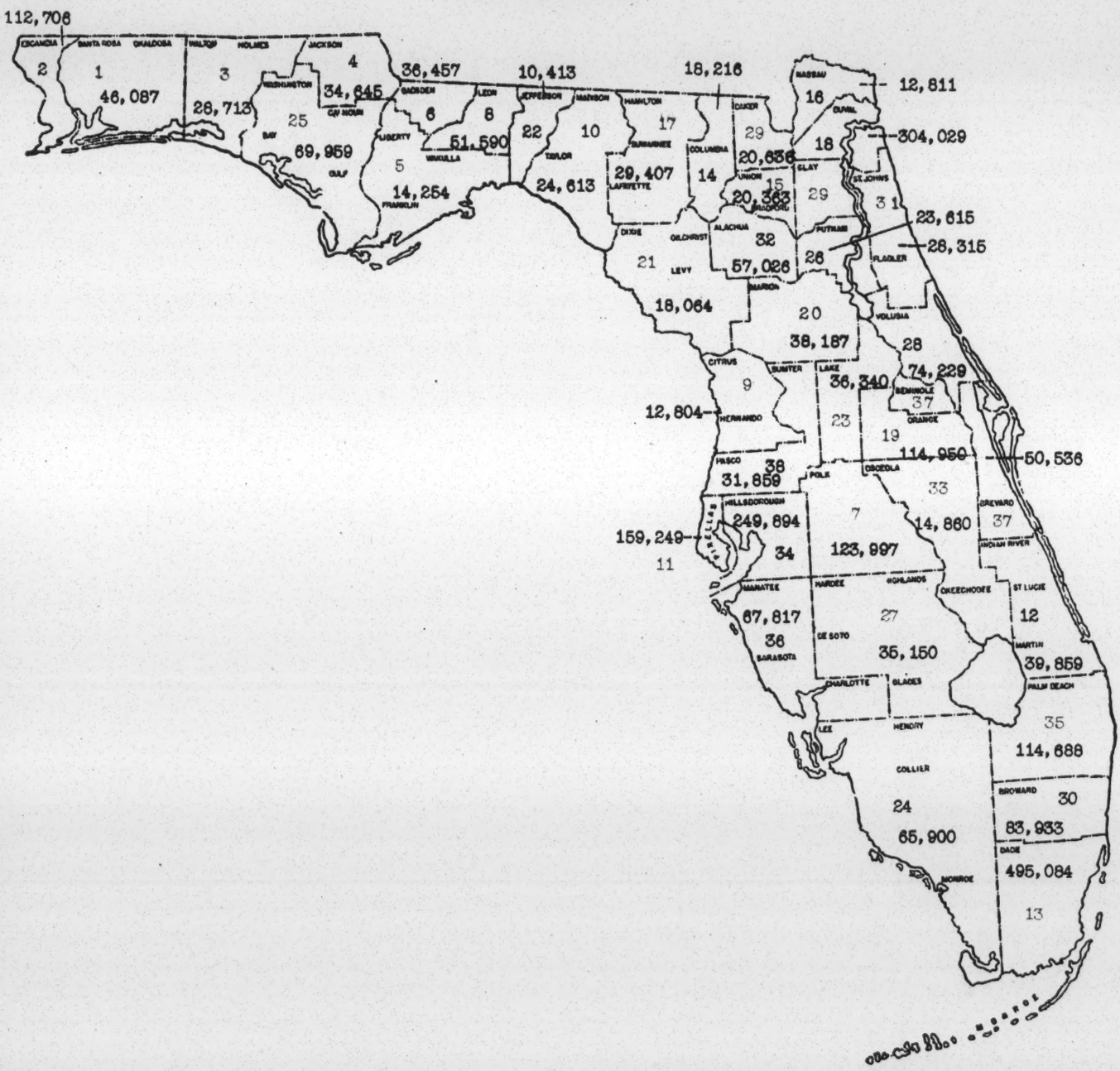
Yours very truly,

S. Sherman Weiss

S. Sherman Weiss
Director

SSW:ek
Enc. 3

FLORIDA SENATORIAL DISTRICTS* AND 1950 POPULATION



Chapter 23614, Laws of Florida, Acts of 1945.

1 Subject to election in 1956.

Legislative Council & Reference Bureau

WILLIAM R. NELSON
DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

SENATORS:
JOHN W. NOBLE
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MDCCCXX

COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATIVE RESEARCH
STATE OF MISSOURI
STATE CAPITOL
JEFFERSON CITY, MISSOURI

EDW. D. SUMMERS
REVISOR OF STATUTES

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CHAIRMAN
EARL S. COOK
CHARLES W. FOLEY
ELROY C. KEHR
WALLACE M. PEARSON
CHARLES H. PULIS
HARRY W. SMITH
JOE TAYLOR
J. S. WALLACE
EUGENE P. WALSH

October 5, 1956

Miss Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Irving:

I am sending you a map of the state senatorial districts in Missouri. There are thirty-four districts, each district having one senator. You will see that some of these districts have several counties within their borders, and I also call your attention to the fact that Jackson County (Kansas City) has four senators, St. Louis County (Districts 13, 14 and 15) has three, and St. Louis City, seven.

There are 157 members of the House of Representatives, each county is entitled to at least one representative. St. Louis City which is a county for this purpose has eighteen, St. Louis County 7, Jackson County 9, Greene, Buchanan and Jasper Counties three each. All other counties have one.

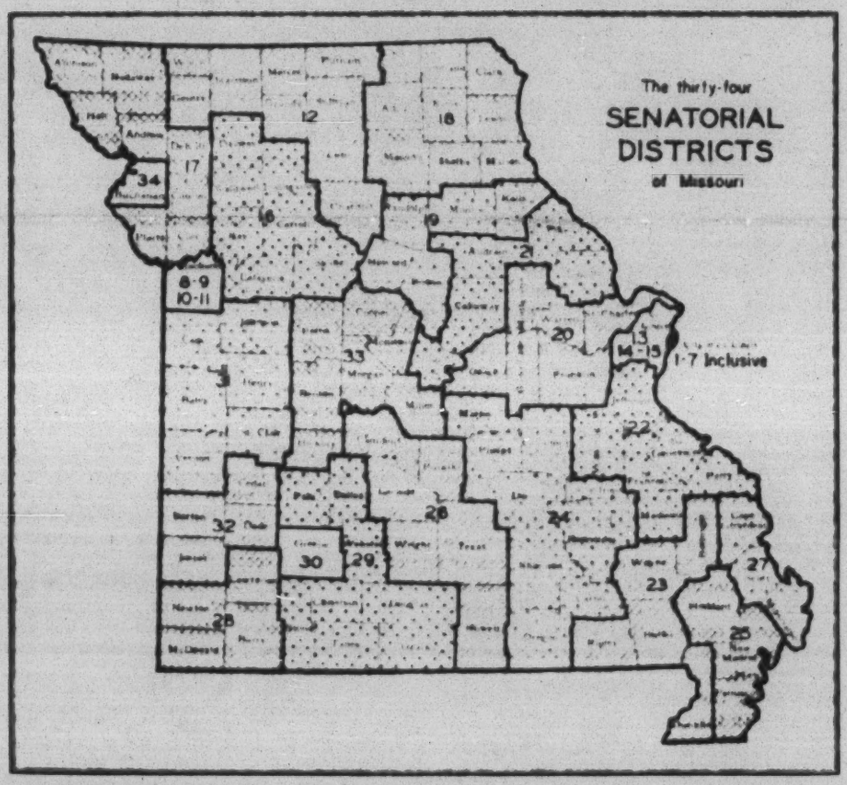
I hope this information is helpful to you.

Very truly yours,

William R. Nelson

William R. Nelson
Director of Research

WRN:ls
Enc.


The thirty-four
SENATORIAL
DISTRICTS
of Missouri
12
18
34
17
16
8-9
10-11
21
20
13
14-15
1-7 Inclusive
33
22
32
28
24
30
29
27
23
28
25

TEXAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

STATE CAPITOL—AUSTIN, TEXAS

October 9, 1956

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Miss Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Irving:

As requested in your recent letter, we are sending you at this time lists of senatorial and representative districts, by counties, for the Texas Legislature. One senator represents each senatorial district. When there is more than one representative from a representative district, indication is made on the list as places. For example, District No. 22 (Harris County) show places 1 through 8, indicating that there are eight representatives from this district.

I trust this is the information you desired.

Yours very truly,

C. Read Granberry

C. Read Granberry
Executive Director

CRG:jn
encls.

COUNTIES IN
TEXAS SENATORIAL DISTRICTS
(As redistricted by 52nd Leg. 1951)

DISTRICT 1
Bowie
Cass
Delta
Franklin
Hopkins
Lamar
Marion
Morris
Red River
Titus

DISTRICT 2
Gregg
Harrison
Panola
Rusk
Shelby

DISTRICT 3
Angelina
Cherokee
Hardin
Jasper
Nacogdoches
Newton
Sabine
San Augustine
Tyler

DISTRICT 4
Jefferson
Orange

DISTRICT 5
Grimes
Houston
Leon
Liberty
Madison
Montgomery
Polk
San Jacinto
Trinity
Walker

DISTRICT 6
Harris

DISTRICT 7
Camp
Henderson
Kaufman
Smith
Upshur
Wood
Van Zandt

DISTRICT 8
Dallas

DISTRICT 9
Collin
Cooke
Fannin
Grayson
Hunt
Rains
Rockwall

DISTRICT 10
Tarrant

DISTRICT 11
Anderson
Brazos
Burleson
Falls
Freestone
Limestone
Navarro
Robertson
Washington

DISTRICT 12
Bosque
Comanche
Coryell
Ellis
Erath
Hamilton
Hill
Hood
Johnson
Somervell

DISTRICT 13
Bell
McLennan
Milam

DISTRICT 14
Bastrop
Travis
Williamson

DISTRICT 15
Austin
Colorado
Fayette
Lavaca
Lee
Waller
Wharton

DISTRICT 16
Bandera
Brown
Burnet
Concho
Gillespie
Kimble
Kerr
Kinney
Lampasas
Llano
Mason
McCulloch
Menard
Mills
Real
San Saba
Uvalde
Zavala

DISTRICT 17
Brazoria
Chambers
Fort Bend
Galveston
Matagorda

DISTRICT 18
Aransas
Bee
Calhoun
DeWitt
Goliad
Jackson
Karnes
Live Oak
McMullen
Refugio
San Patricio
Victoria

DISTRICT 19
Atascosa
Blanco
Caldwell
Comal
Frio
Gonzales
Guadalupe
Hays
Kendall
Medina
Wilson

DISTRICT 20
Kenedy
Kleberg
Nueces
Willacy

DISTRICT 21
Brooks
Dimmit
Duval
Jim Hogg
Jim Wells
LaSalle
Maverick
Starr
Webb
Zapata

DISTRICT 22
Callahan
Clay
Denton
Eastland
Jack
Montague
Palo Pinto
Parker
Stephens
Wise

DISTRICT 23
Archer
Baylor
Cottle
Foard
Hardeman
Haskell
King
Knox
Throckmorton
Wichita
Wilbarger
Young

DISTRICT 24
Borden
Dickens
Fisher
Garza
Howard
Jones
Kent
Mitchell
Nolan
Scurry
Shackleford
Stonewall
Taylor

DISTRICT 25
Brewster
Coleman
Coke
Crane
Crockett
Edwards
Glasscock
Irion
Jeff Davis
Pecos
Presidio
Reagan
Runnels
Schleicher
Sterling
Sutton
Terrell
Tom Green
Upton
Val Verde

DISTRICT 26
Bexar

DISTRICT 27
Cameron
Hidalgo

DISTRICT 28
Andrews
Cochran
Crosby
Dawson
Gaines
Hockley
Lubbock
Lynn
Martin
Terry
Yoakum

DISTRICT 29
Culberson
Ector
El Paso
Hudspeth
Loving
Midland
Reeves
Ward
Winkler

DISTRICT 30
Armstrong
Bailey
Briscoe
Castro
Childress
Collingsworth
Deaf Smith
Donley
Floyd
Hale
Hall
Lamb
Motley
Parmer
Swisher

DISTRICT 31
Carson
Dallam
Gray
Hansford
Hartley
Hemphill
Hutchinson
Lipscomb
Moore
Ochiltree
Oldham
Potter
Randall
Roberts
Sherman
Wheeler

COUNTIES IN
TEXAS REPRESENTATIVE DISTRICTS
(As redistricted by 52nd Leg. 1951)

2 DISTRICT 1
Places 1 & 2
Bowie

/ DISTRICT 2
Cass
Marion
Morris

/ DISTRICT 3
Red River
Titus
Camp

/ DISTRICT 4
Harrison

/ DISTRICT 5
Panola
Shelby

/ DISTRICT 6
Nacogdoches
San Augustine
Sabine

/ DISTRICT 7
Tyler
Jasper
Newton

/ DISTRICT 8
Orange

4 DISTRICT 9
Places 1,2,3, & 4
Jefferson

/ DISTRICT 10
Lamar

/ DISTRICT 11
Delta
Hopkins
Franklin

/ DISTRICT 12
Wood
Upshur

/ DISTRICT 13
Gregg

/ DISTRICT 14
Smith

/ DISTRICT 15f
Smith
Gregg

/ DISTRICT 16
Rusk

/ DISTRICT 17
Cherokee

/ DISTRICT 18
Trinity
Angelina

/ DISTRICT 19
Polk
Hardin
San Jacinto

/ DISTRICT 20
Liberty
Chambers

2 DISTRICT 21
Places 1 & 2
Galveston

8 DISTRICT 22
Places 1,2,3, 4,5,6,7, & 8
Harris

/ DISTRICT 23
Brazoria

/ DISTRICT 24
Fannin

/ DISTRICT 25
Hunt

/ DISTRICT 26
Van Zandt
Henderson
Rains

/ DISTRICT 27
Anderson

/ DISTRICT 28
Houston
Walker

/ DISTRICT 29
Grimes
Montgomery

/ DISTRICT 30
Waller
Fort Bend

/ DISTRICT 31
Wharton

/ DISTRICT 32
Jackson
Matagorda

/ DISTRICT 33
Victoria
Calhoun

/ DISTRICT 34
DeWitt
Goliad

/ DISTRICT 35
San Patricio
Aransas
Refugio

3 DISTRICT 36
Place 1, 2, & 3
Nueces

/ DISTRICT 37f
Kleberg
Kenedy
Nueces

3 DISTRICT 38
Places 1, 2, & 3
Hidalgo

2 DISTRICT 39
Places 1 & 2
Cameron

/ DISTRICT 40f
Cameron
Willacy

/ DISTRICT 41
Rockwall
Kaufman

/ DISTRICT 42
Navarro

/ DISTRICT 43
Freestone
Leon
Madison

/ DISTRICT 44
Brazos

/ DISTRICT 45
Washington
Austin

/ DISTRICT 46
Fayette
Colorado

/ DISTRICT 47
Lavaca
Gonzales

/ DISTRICT 48
Grayson

/ DISTRICT 49f
Grayson
Cooke

/ DISTRICT 50
Collin

7 DISTRICT 51
Places 1,2,3, 4,5,6, & 7
Dallas

/ DISTRICT 52
Ellis

3 DISTRICT 53
Places 1,2, & 3
McLennan

/ DISTRICT 54
Hill

/ DISTRICT 55
Limestone
Falls

/ DISTRICT 56
Milam
Robertson

/ DISTRICT 57
Burleson
Lee
Bastrop

/ DISTRICT 58
Bee
Wilson
Karnes

/ DISTRICT 59
Denton

7 DISTRICT 60
Places 1,2,3, 4,5,6, & 7
Tarrant

/ DISTRICT 61
Hood
Somervell
Johnson

/ DISTRICT 62
Bosque
Hamilton
Coryell
Erath

2 DISTRICT 63
Places 1 & 2
Bell

/ DISTRICT 64
Williamson

3 DISTRICT 65
Places 1, 2, & 3
Travis

/ DISTRICT 66
Hays
Caldwell
Blanco

/ DISTRICT 67
Kendall
Comal
Guadalupe

7 DISTRICT 68
Places 1,2,3 4,5,6, & 7
Bexar

/ DISTRICT 69
Atascosa
Frio
LaSalle
McMullen
Live Oak

/ DISTRICT 70
Duval
Jim Wells
Brooks
Jim Hogg
Starr

/ DISTRICT 71
Montague
Clay
Archer

/ DISTRICT 72
Jack
Wise
Parker

/ DISTRICT 73
Comanche
Mills
Brown

/ DISTRICT 74
San Saba
Lampasas
Llano
Burnet
Gillespie
McCulloch

/ DISTRICT 75
Young
Stephens
Palo Pinto

/ DISTRICT 76
Shackelford
Callahan
Eastland

/ DISTRICT 77
Coke
Runnels
Concho
Coleman

/ DISTRICT 78
Crockett
Schleicher
Menard
Mason
Sutton
Kimble
Edwards
Kerr
Real
Bandera

Texas Representative Districts (con't)

/ DISTRICT 79
Uvalde
Medina
Zavala
Dimmit

/ DISTRICT 80
Webb
Zapata

2 DISTRICT 81
Places 1 & 2
Wichita

/ DISTRICT 82
Wilbarger
Hardeman
Foard
Cottle

/ DISTRICT 83
Baylor
Throckmorton
Knox
Haskell

/ DISTRICT 84
Taylor

/ DISTRICT 85
Jones
Stonewall
King
Dickens

/ DISTRICT 86
Hutchinson
Ochiltree
Roberts
Lipscomb
Hemphill

/ DISTRICT 87
Gray
Wheeler
Collingsworth

/ DISTRICT 88
Donley
Hall
Childress
Motley

/ DISTRICT 89
Hale
Floyd
Briscoe
Swisher

/ DISTRICT 90
Crosby
Garza
Kent
Borden
Scurry

/ DISTRICT 91
Fisher
Nolan
Mitchell

/ DISTRICT 92
Tom Green

/ DISTRICT 93
Potter

/ DISTRICT 94f
Potter
Carson
Randall
Armstrong

/ DISTRICT 95
Oldham
Sherman
Hartley
Dallam
Hansford
Moore

/ DISTRICT 96
Parmer
Castro
Bailey
Lamb
Deaf Smith

2 DISTRICT 97
Places 1 & 2
Lubbock

/ DISTRICT 98
Cochran
Hockley
Yoakum
Terry

/ DISTRICT 99
Lynn
Dawson
Gaines
Andrews

/ DISTRICT 100
Brewster
Terrell
Val Verde
Kinney
Maverick

/ DISTRICT 101
Martin
Howard
Glasscock
Sterling
Reagan
Irion

/ DISTRICT 102
Midland
Crane
Upton
Pecos

/ DISTRICT 103
Winkler
Ector

/ DISTRICT 104
Hudspeth
Culberson
Loving
Ward
Reeves
Jeff Davis
Presidio

4 DISTRICT 105
Places 1,2,3
& 4
El Paso

7

INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENT
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

11 October 1956

Florence B. Irving
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Irving:

In reply to your request for information concerning legislative apportionment in the North Carolina General Assembly, we are sending you the following information:

APPORTIONMENT OF SENATORS BY DISTRICTS IN
ACCORDANCE WITH THE CENSUS OF 1940
AND THE CONSTITUTION
(Chapter 225, Public Laws 1941)

First District--Bertie, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Gates, Hertford, Pasquotank and Perquimans counties shall elect two senators.

Second District--Beaufort, Dare, Hyde, Martin, Pamlico, Tyrrell and Washington shall elect two senators.

Third District--Northampton, Vance and Warren shall elect one senator.

Fourth District--Edgecombe and Halifax shall elect two senators.

Fifth District--Pitt shall elect one senator.

Sixth District--Franklin, Nash and Wilson shall elect two senators.

Seventh District--Carteret, Craven, Greene, Jones, Lenoir and Onslow shall elect two senators.

Eighth District--Johnston and Wayne shall elect two senators.

Ninth District--Duplin, New Hanover, Pender and Sampson shall elect two senators.

Tenth District--Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus and Cumberland shall elect two senators.

Eleventh District--Robeson shall elect one senator.

Twelfth District--Harnett, Hoke, Moore and Randolph shall elect two senators.

Thirteenth District--Chatham, Lee and Wake shall elect two senators.

Fourteenth District--Durham, Granville and Person shall elect two senators.

Fifteenth District--Caswell and Rockingham shall elect one senator.

Sixteenth District--Alamance and Orange shall elect one senator.

Seventeenth District--Guilford shall elect one senator.

Eighteenth District--Davidson, Montgomery, Richmond and Scotland shall elect two senators.

Nineteenth District--Anson, Stanly and Union shall elect two senators.
Twentieth District--Mecklenburg shall elect one senator.
Twenty-first District--Cabarrus and Rowan shall elect two senators.
Twenty-second District--Forsyth shall elect one senator.
Twenty-third District--Stokes and Surry shall elect one senator.
Twenty-fourth District--Davie, Wilkes and Yadkin shall elect one senator.
Twenty-fifth District--Catawba, Iredell and Lincoln shall elect two senators.
Twenty-sixth District--Gaston shall elect one senator.
Twenty-seventh District--Cleveland, McDowell and Rutherford shall elect two senators.
Twenty-eighth District--Alexander, Burke and Caldwell shall elect one senator.
Twenty-ninth District--Alleghany, Ashe and Watauga shall elect one senator.
Thirtieth District--Avery, Madison, Mitchell and Yancey shall elect one senator.
Thirty-first District--Buncombe shall elect one senator.
Thirty-second District--Haywood, Henderson, Jackson, Polk and Transylvania shall elect two senators.
Thirty-third District--Cherokee, Clay, Graham, Macon and Swain shall elect one senator.

APPORTIONMENT OF MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES IN ACCORDANCE WITH
THE CENSUS OF 1940 AND THE CONSTITUTION
(Chapter 112, Public Laws 1941)

County	No. of Reps.	County	No. of Reps.	County	No. of Reps.
Alanamce	1	Caswell	1	Edgecombe	1
Alexander	1	Catawba	1	Forsyth	3
Alleghany	1	Chatham	1	Franklin	1
Anson	1	Cherokee	1	Gaston	2
Ashe	1	Chowan	1	Gates	1
Avery	1	Clay	1	Graham	1
Beaufort	1	Cleveland	1	Granville	1
Bertie	1	Columbus	1	Greene	1
Bladen	1	Craven	1	Guilford	4
Brunswick	1	Cumberland	2	Halifax	1
Buncombe	3	Currituck	1	Harnett	1
Burke	1	Dare	1	Haywood	1
Cabarrus	2	Davidson	1	Henderson	1
Caldwell	1	Davie	1	Hertford	1
Camden	1	Duplin	1	Hoke	1
Carteret	1	Durham	2	Hyde	1

County	No. of Reps.	County	No. of Reps
Iredell	1	Polk	1
Jackson	1	Randolph	1
Johnston	2	Richmond	1
Jones	1	Robeson	2
Lee	1	Rockingham	1
Lenoir	1	Rowan	2
Lincoln	1	Rutherford	1
Macon	1	Sampson	1
Madison	1	Scotland	1
Martin	1	Stanly	1
McDowell	1	Stokes	1
Mecklenburg	4	Surry	1
Mitchell	1	Swain	1
Montgomery	1	Transylvania	1
Moore	1	Tyrrell	1
Nash	1	Union	1
New Hanover	1	Vance	1
Northampton	1	Wake	3
Onslow	1	Warren	1
Orange	1	Washington	1
Pamlico	1	Watauga	1
Pasquotank	1	Wayne	1
Pender	1	Wilkes	1
Perquimans	1	Wilson	1
Person	1	Yadkin	1
Pitt	2	Yancey	1

You might be interested to know that the 1955 General Assembly made provision for a commission to study the representation in the state and to report to the Governor during the 1957 legislature.

We hope you will find the information included in this letter to be of use to you.

Very truly yours,

Catherine Maybury

(Mrs.) Catherine Maybury
Librarian

see Legislative Apportionment in Pamphlet File No 25

✓ Alabama — Legislative Reference Service

✓ Florida — Legislative Reference Bureau

✓ Arkansas — Legislative Council

see Kentucky Government, Pamphlet File No. 25

✓ Kentucky — Legislative Research Comm

✓ Louisiana — Legislative Council

✓ Maryland — Legislative Council

✓ Oklahoma — State Legislative Council

see Legislative Directory, 4th Floor SRC Office

✓ South Carolina — Legislative Council

✓ Tennessee — Legislative Council Commission

✓ Texas — Legislative Council

✓ Virginia — Advisory Legislative Council

✓ North Carolina

Mississippi

Georgia

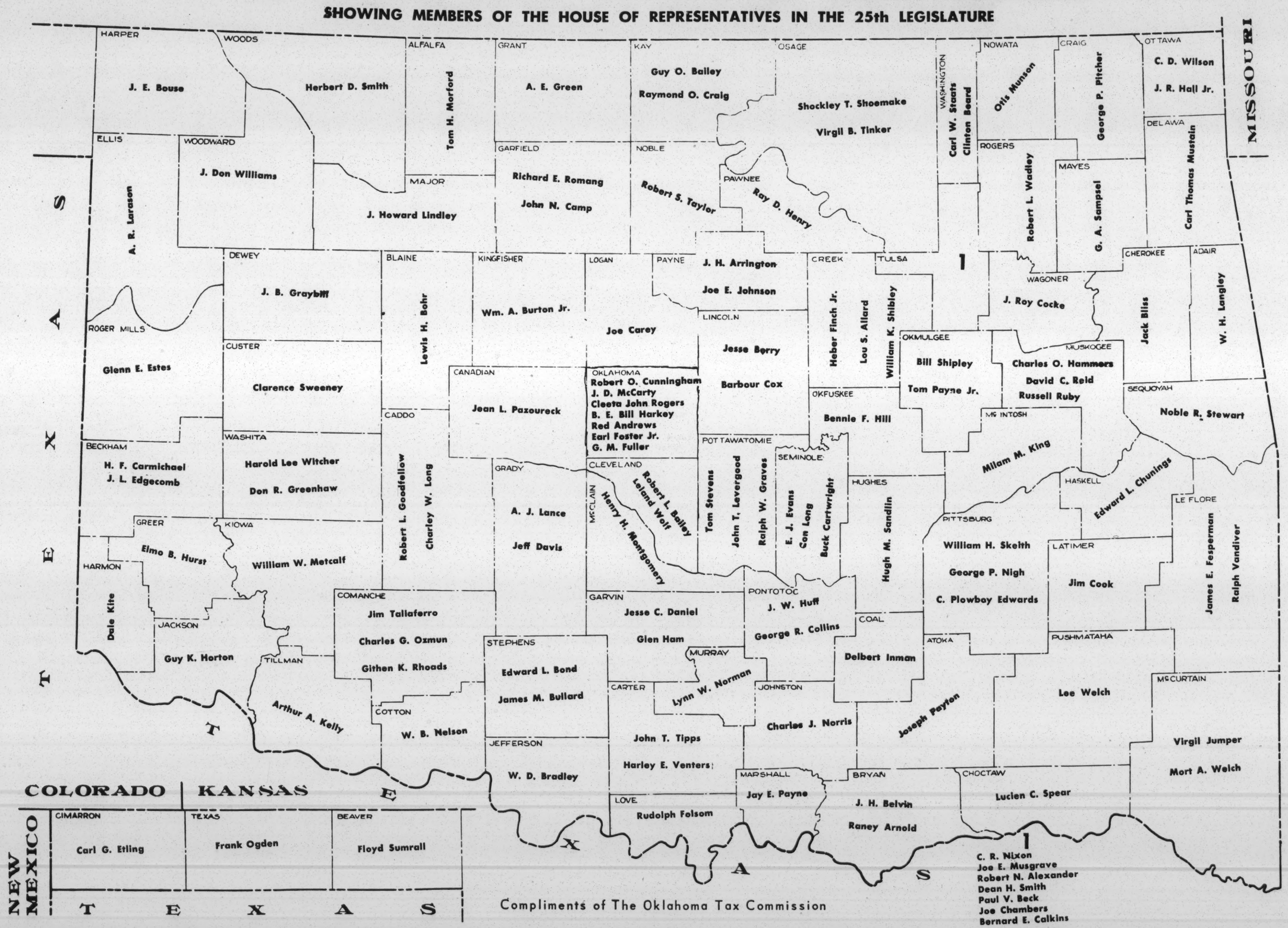
Delaware

✓ Missouri

W. Virginia

OUTLINE MAP STATE OF OKLAHOMA

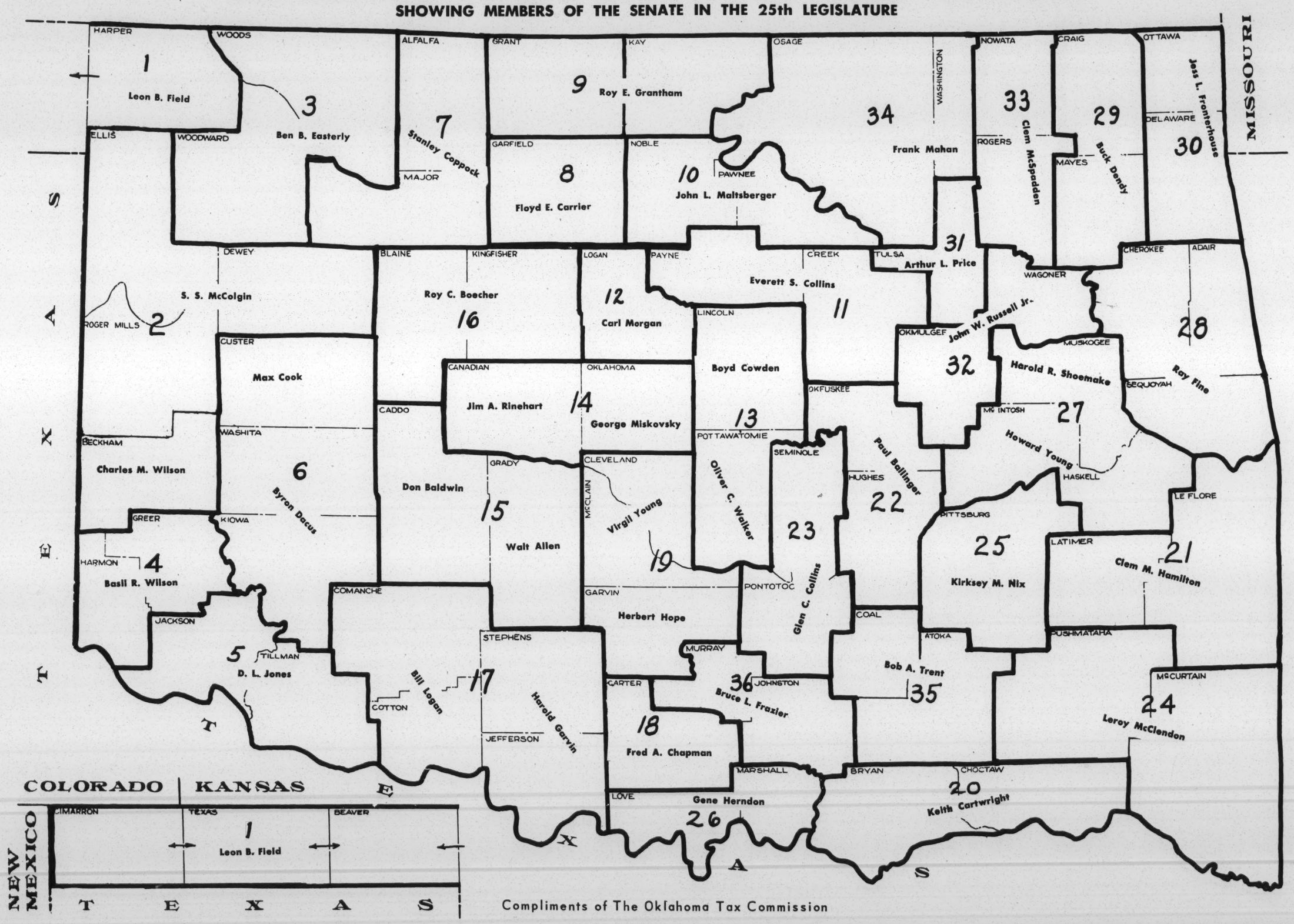
SHOWING MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN THE 25th LEGISLATURE



Compliments of The Oklahoma Tax Commission

OUTLINE MAP STATE OF OKLAHOMA

SHOWING MEMBERS OF THE SENATE IN THE 25th LEGISLATURE



Compliments of The Oklahoma Tax Commission

Texas

District	County	Representative	Total Population	Population Each Legislator Represents
District 1	Bowie	2	61,966	30,983
2	Cass		26,732	
	Marion		10,172	
	Morris		9,433	
		1	46,337	46,337
3	Red River		21,851	
	Titus		17,302	
	Camp		8,740	
		1	47,893	47,893
4	Harrison	1	47,745	47,745
5	Panola		19,250	
	Shelby		23,479	
		1	42,729	42,729
6	Nacogdoches		30,326	
	San Augustine		8,837	
	Sabine		8,568	
		1	47,721	47,721
7	Tyler		11,292	
	Jasper		20,049	
	Newton		10,832	
		1	52,173	52,173
8	Orange	1	40,567	40,567
9	Jefferson	4	195,083	48,770+
10	Lamar	1	43,033	43,033

District	County	Rep.	Tot. Pop	Pop. Each Legislature Represents
11	Delta		8,964	
	Hopkins		23,490	
	Franklin		6,257	
		1	38,711	38,711
12	Wood		21,308	
	Upshur		20,822	
		1	41,130	41,130
13	Gregg	1	61,258	61,258
14	Smith	1	74,701	74,701
15	Smith		74,701	
	Gregg		61,258	
		1	115,959	115,959
16	Rusk	1	42,348	42,348
17	Cherokee	1	38,694	38,694
18	Trinity		10,040	
	Angelina		36,032	
		1	46,072	46,072
19	Polk		16,194	
	Hardin		19,535	
	San Jacinto		7,172	
		1	32,891	32,891
20	Liberty		26,729	
	Chambers		7,871	
		1	34,600	34,600

Districts	County	Rep.	Total Pop.	Pop Each Legislature Rep.
21	Galveston	2	113,066	56,533
22	Harris	8	806,701	100,837+
23	Brazoria	1	46,549	46,549
24	Fannin	1	31,253	31,253
25	Hunt	1	42,731	42,731
26	Van Zandt		22,593	
	Henderson		23,405	
	Raines		4,266	
		1	50,264	50,264
27	Anderson	1	31,875	31,875
28	Houston		22,825	
	Walker		20,163	
		1	42,988	42,988
29	Grimes		15,135	
	Montgomery		24,504	
		1	39,639	39,639
30	Waller		11,961	
	Fort Bend		31,056	
		1	43,017	43,017
31	Wharton	1	36,077	36,077
32	Jackson		12,916	
	Matagorda		21,559	
		1	34,475	34,475

Districts	County	Rep.	Total Pop	Pop. Each Registature Represents
33	Victoria		31,241	
	Calhoun		9,222	
		1	40,463	40,463
34	Dewitt		22,973	
	Goliad		6,219	
		1	29,192	29,192
35	San Patricio		35,842	
	Aransas		4,252	
	Refugio		10,113	
		1	50,207	50,207
36	Nueces	3	165,471	55,157
37	Kleberg		21,991	
	Kenedy		632	
	Nueces		165,471	
		1	188,094	188,094
38	Hidalgo	3	160,446	53,482
39	Cameron	2	125,170	62,585
40	Cameron		125,170	
	Willacy		20,920	
		1	146,090	146,090
41	Rockwall		6,156	
	Kaufman		31,170	
		1	37,326	37,326
42	Navarro	1	39,916	39,916

Districts	County	Rep	Total Pop	Pop Each Legs. Represents
43	Freestone		15,696	
	Leon		12,024	
	Madison		7,996	
		1	35,716	35,716
44	Brazos	1	38,390	38,390
45	Washington		20,542	
	Austin		14,663	
		1	35,205	35,205
46	Fayette		24,176	
	Colorado		17,576	
		1	41,752	41,752
47	Lavaca		22,159	
	Gonzales		21,164	
		1	43,323	43,323
48	Grayson	1	70,467	70,467
49	Grayson		70,467	
	Cooke		22,146	
		1	92,613	92,613
50	Collin	1	41,692	41,692
51	Dallas	7	614,799	87,828 +
52	Ellis	1	45,645	45,645
53	McLennan	3	130,194	43,398

District	County	Rep.	Total Pop.	Pop Each Legs Represents
54	Hill	1	31,282	31,282
55	Limestone		25,251	
	Falls		26,724	
		1	51,975	51,975
56	Milam		23,585	
	Robertson		19,908	
		1	43,493	43,493
57	Burleson		13,000	
	Lee		10,144	
	Bastrop		19,622	
		1	42,766	42,766
58	Bee		18,174	
	Wilson		14,672	
	Karnes		17,139	
		1	49,985	49,985
59	Denton	1	41,365	41,365
60	Tarrant	7	361,253	51,607+
61	Hood		5,287	
	Somervell		2,542	
	Johnson		31,390	
		1	45,219	45,219
62	Bosque		11,836	
	Hamilton		10,660	
	Coryell		16,284	
	Erath		18,434	
		1	57,214	57,214

District	County	Rep	Total Pop	Pop. Each Legs. Represents
63	Bell	2	73,824	36,912
64	Williamson	1	38,853	38,853
65	Travis	3	160,980	53,660
66	Hays		14,840	
	Caldwell		19,350	
	Blanco		3,780	
		1	40,970	40,970
67	Kendall		5,423	
	Comal		16,357	
	Guadalupe		25,392	
		1	47,172	47,172
68	Bexar	7	500,460	71,494.+
69	Atascosa		20,048	
	Frio		10,357	
	La Salle		7,485	
	McMullen		1,187	
	Live Oak		9,054	
		1	48,131	48,131
70	Duval		15,643	
	Jim Wells		27,991	
	Brooks		9,195	
	Jim Hogg		5,389	
	Starr		13,948	
		1	72,166	72,166

District	County	Rep	Total Pop	Pop Each Legs Represents
71	Montague		17,070	
	Clay		9,896	
	Archer		6,816	
		1	23,782	23,782
72	Jack		7,755	
	Wise		16,141	
	Parker		21,528	
		1	45,424	45,424
73	Comanche		15,516	
	Mills		5,999	
	Brown		28,607	
		1	50,112	50,112
74	San Saba		8,666	
	Lampasas		9,929	
	Llano		5,377	
	Burnett		10,356	
	Gillespie		10,520	
	McCulloch		11,701	
		1	56,549	56,549
75	Young		16,810	
	Stephens		10,597	
	Palo Pinto		17,154	
		1	44,561	44,561
76	Shackelford		5,001	
	Callahan		9,087	
	Eastland		23,942	
		1	38,030	38,030

District	County	Rep	Total Pop	Pop Each Legs. Represents
77	Coke		4,045	
	Runnels		16,771	
	Concho		5,078	
	Coleman		15,503	
		1	41,397	41,397
78	Crockett		3,981	
	Schleicher		2,852	
	Menard		4,175	
	Mason		4,945	
	Sutton		3,746	
	Kimble		4,619	
	Edwards		2,908	
	Kerr		14,022	
	Real		2,479	
	Bandera		4,410	
		1	48,134	48,134
79	Uvalde		16,010	
	Medina		17,013	
	Zavala		11,201	
	Dimmit		10,654	
		1	54,883	54,883
80	Webb		56,141	
	Zapata		4,405	
		1	60,546	60,546
81	Wichita	2	98,493	49,246+
82	Wilbarger		20,552	
	Hardeman		10,212	
	Foard		4,216	
	Cottle		6,099	
		1	41,079	41,079

Districts	County	Rep	Total Pop	Pop Each Legs Represents
83	Baylor		6,875	
	Throckmorton		3,618	
	Knox		10,082	
	Haskell		13,736	
		1	34,311	34,311
84	Taylor	1	63,370	63,370
85	Jones		22,147	
	Stonewall		3,679	
	King		870	
	Dickens		7,177	
		1	33,873	33,873
86	Hutchinson		31,580	
	Ochiltree		6,024	
	Roberts		1,031	
	Lipscomb		3,658	
	Hemphill		4,123	
		1	46,416	46,416
87	Gray		24,728	
	Wheeler		10,317	
	Collingsworth		9,139	
		1	44,184	44,184
88	Dorley		6,216	
	Hall		10,930	
	Childress		12,123	
	Motley		3,963	
		1	33,232	33,232

Dis.	County	Rep	Total Pop	Pop Each Legs. Reps.
89	Hale		28,211	
	Floyd		10,535	
	Briscoe		3,528	
	Swisher		8,249	
		1	50,523	50,523
90	Crosby		9,582	
	Garza		6,281	
	Kent		2,241	
	Borden		1,106	
	Scurry		22,779	
		1	41,989	41,989
91	Fisher		11,023	
	Nolan		19,808	
		1	30,831	30,831
92	Tom Green	1	58,929	58,929
93	Potter	1	73,366	73,366
94	Potter		73,366	
	Carson		6,852	
	Randall		13,774	
	Armstrong		2,215	
		1	97,217	97,217
95	Oldham		1,672	
	Sherman		2,443	
	Hartley		1,913	
	Dallam		7,640	
	Hansford		4,202	
	Moore		13,349	
		1	31,219	31,219

Dis.	County	Rep.	Total Pop	Pop Each Legs. Repr.
96	Parmer		5,787	
	Castro		5,417	
	Bailey		7,592	
	Lamb		20,015	
	Deaf Smith		9,111	
		1	47,922	47,922
97	Lubbock	2	101,048	50,524
98	Cochran		5,928	
	Hockley		20,407	
	Yoakum		4,339	
	Terry		13,107	
		1	43,781	43,781
99	Lynn		11,030	
	Dawson		19,113	
	Gaines		8,909	
	Andrews		5,002	
		1	44,054	44,054
100	Brewster		7,309	
	Terrell		3,189	
	Val Verde		16,635	
	Kinney		2,668	
	Maverick		12,292	
		1	42,093	42,093
101	Martin		5,541	
	Howard		26,722	
	Glasscock		1,089	
	Sterling		1,282	
	Reagan		3,127	
	Irion		1,590	
		1	39,351	39,351

Dis	County	Rep	Total Pop	Pop Each Leg. Rep.
102	Midland		25,785	
	Crane		3,965	
	Upton		5,307	
	Reeves		9,939	
		1	44,996	44,996
103	Winkler		10,064	
	Ector		42,102	
		1	52,166	52,166
104	Andrews		4,298	
	Culberson		1,825	
	Loving		227	
	Ward		13,346	
	Reeves		11,745	
	Jeff Davis		2,090	
	Presidio		7,354	
		1	40,885	40,885
105	El Paso	4	194,968	48,742

LOUISIANA

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LOUISIANA

I. BASIC STATISTICAL DATA

A. Population

1958*	Total	White	Non-white	Non-white as % of Total
Population	3,130,173	2,067,740	1,062,433	33.9
Urban Population	1,595,638	1,106,241	489,397	30.6
Rural Population	1,534,535	961,499	573,036	37.4
Urban Population as % of Total	51.0	53.5	46.0	
1950 **	2,683,516	1,796,683	886,833	33.0
Urban Population	1,471,696	1,022,931	448,765	30.5
Rural Population	1,211,820	773,752	438,068	36.1
***Urban Population as % of Total	54.8	56.9	50.6	

* Source - Louisiana State Dept. of Health estimate

** Source - U. S. Census, 1950

*** We have no explanation for rural % increase 1958 over 1950. State estimates for 1958 are straight projection from 1950 census. An examination of figures suggests possibility that state is basing estimates on the old urban definition and not the new, which is the source of above 1950 figures. Straight-line projection may account also for the estimated increase in non-white percentage.

B. Median Income, 1949, persons over 14, U. S. Census

	Total	White	Negro
Louisiana	$1,259	$1,767	$774
United States	1,917	2,053	961

C. Median School Years Completed by Persons Over 25, U. S. Census, 1950

	White	Non-white
Louisiana	8.8	4.6
United States	9.7	6.9

II. ACTION DESIGNED TO RESIST DESEGREGATION

A. Statements by public office-holders:

1. Governor Robert F. Kennon: 1954 court decisions presented "no change in the legal situation of the public schools." He argued that the state was meeting its responsibility through equalization of separate educational facilities.

2. Attorney General Fred LeBlanc: "We are not parties to any of the segregation suits before the Supreme Court." (Following 1954 decision)

3. State Senator William M. Rainach: "Segregation is a natural order - created by God, in his wisdom...We should be ashamed of ourselves if we cannot win our fight. We are by no means broke, we can vote, we still have our officials, and we can pack the NAACP off where it belongs. Our forefathers won the battle. We can win now." (1954)

4. Governor Earl K. Long: Won election on platform including pledge to close the state's public schools rather than submit to a federal desegregation order. (1956)

B. Major actions of legislature:

1. Interposition, Censure:

a. A May 20th, 1954 legislative resolution censured the Supreme Court for a "usurping of power." Only 4 votes opposed.

b. By unanimous vote adopted interposition resolution, May, 1956 (the sixth Southern state to do so).

2. Schools:

a. "16th Amendment" to state constitution, ratified in 1954, provides that separate schools for white and Negro children shall be maintained under the police power of the state. (Also called "Police Power" amendment.)

b. Other 1954 legislation prohibits State Board of Education approval of any school violating segregation requirements, and provides for pupil assignment to specific schools by local superintendents.

c. 1956 Constitutional Amendment withdraws permission for suits to be brought against "special agencies" of the state without legislative approval. Governing boards of public schools and parks are established as "special agencies."

d. 1958 enactments permit governor to close any school in a district in which one school is ordered integrated; authorized sale of school properties; set up rules for parent "cooperative" private schools; provide state grants for education in cooperative schools; and establish pupil assignment criteria to be employed by district superintendents.

3. Other:

a. Red Cross required to label blood plasma by race. (1958)

b. Joint Legislative Committee created for the purpose of "carrying on and conducting the fight to maintain segregation of the races." (1954)

4. "Anti-NAACP" Legislation:

a. Act 260 (1958)-Provides that associations of persons engaged in social, educational or political activities in the state are prohibited from being affiliated with any foreign or out-of-state association of which any of the officers or directors are members of Communist, Communist-front, or subversive organizations, as cited by the Un-American Activities Committee of the "House of Congress" or the U. S. Attorney-Reports.

b. Title 12, Section 401 - Requires organizations* to file each year with the Secretary of State a list of members and officers and their addresses.

c. Section 402 - Requires each subdivision or subordinate body of each organization* to file each year with the Secretary of State a list of members and officers and their addresses.

d. Section 403 - Prohibits meetings of organizations* and their subdivisions unless membership lists have been filed.

Section 405 - Empowers the Attorney General to dissolve by injunction or otherwise any organization* or subdivision violating the provisions outlined above.

e. Acts No. 248, 249**, 250, 252 of the 1956 Regular Session provide for removal of permanent teachers, school bus operators, and any other employes of public schools and public colleges in the state who are member of or who contribute to any group, organization, movement, or corporation that is prohibited by law or injunction from operating in the state of Louisiana.

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* "fraternal, patriotic, charitable, benevolent, literary, scientific, athletic, military, or social organizations, incorporated or unincorporated."

** Act 249 (pertaining to permanent teachers in the public school system) was held to be unconstitutional by federal district court judges in April, 1957, in connection with a suit attacking certain laws barring Negro students from attending white state colleges.

C. Other Official Action:

1. Joint Legislative Committee (headed by State Senator William M. Rainach)

a. A full page ad placed in the N. Y. Herald-Tribune in order to "carry the cause of the South to the nation." The ad suggested that the North adopt the Southern system of racial separation. (February, 1958)

b. Investigation of 66 LSU faculty signators of an American Civil Liberties Union petition opposing school closing bills. (June, July, 1958)

c. Hearings to find "the causes of racial unrest in the South" and to "paint the other half of the picture being given by the civil rights hearings in Washington."

At hearings held in Baton Rouge (March, 1957) six witnesses, all cooperative, described so-called "Communist infiltration" into intergroup and church centered organizations. "Star" witnesses were professed ex-Communists Manning Johnson and Leonard Patterson. Committee Chairman Rainach said after the hearings that Communist agitation is behind the race troubles. Spokesmen for the accused group, none of which were represented during the hearings, called the charges "fantastic", "unjust," "misrepresentations and smears." (March, 1957)

2. Local Agencies

a. The Natchitoches police jury (administrative body of the parish) cancelled its contract with the Natchitoches Enterprise, formerly approved as an official journal, because editor Milton Beckerman signed an A.C.L.U. petition protesting legislation to close schools. (June, 1958)

b. Morehouse Parish School Board voted unanimously to discontinue use of a ninth grade general science textbook that some persons said contained "Un-American ideas on the origin of races." (November, 1955) This passage was among those cited as objectionable: "Living things which belong to recognizable kinds, which are alike in most physical traits, and which breed freely with each other are said to belong to one species. All men on this earth belong to one species--homo sapiens." Persons who object to the book said this is a plain insinuation that races "breed freely with each other" and is a dangerous socialistic trend of thought to instill in the younger generation.

c. Both the Claiborne Parish and the Bossier Parish School Boards placed a ban on three national magazines - Time, Life, and Look - because of what it called their "distorted" view of the segregation issue. Subscriptions were cancelled and back issues ordered removed from library shelves. (May, 1956)

d. Orleans Parish School Superintendent James Redmond ordered all copies of "The Rabbit Brothers" removed from the public schools. The Citizens Council of New Orleans had attacked the Anti-Defamation League booklet as an attempt to "brainwash" school children on the idea of racial integration. (September, 1956)

D. Organizations Opposing Desegregation

1. Church Centered Groups

a. Louisiana Baptist Convention, November 1957, resolved that forced integration "would be unwise and harmful" under prevailing circumstances.

b. Official publication of Louisiana Baptists, the Baptist Message, editorially attacked the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention for its views favoring desegregation. (August, 1957)

c. A Catholic Negro priest, sent to Jesuit Bend, was turned away from the church.

d. Mangum Memorial, one of Shreveport's largest Methodist Churches, adopted a resolution against desegregation in June, 1958. Spokesmen said that if Negroes presented themselves for membership in the church they would be courteously refused.

e. "Association of Catholic Laymen" was formed in 1956 (a few weeks after Archbishop Rummel's condemnation of segregation) with membership appeal directed to "Roman Catholics of the Caucasian race." Emile Wagner was group's founder. A public appeal to Rome for support was not answered, but the group remains active.

2. Other

a. Louisiana Farm Bureau Association went on records as opposing integration at its 1958 convention.

b. Delegates from posts composing Louisiana First District of American Legion adopted resolution condemning use of federal troops in Little Rock as "unlawful, unconstitutional, irresponsible, clumsy, and un-American." (October, 1957)

c. American Legionnaires at Homer pressed for a drive against desegregation in V. A. Hospitals. Arcadia and Minden posts offered support, with Arcadia Legionnaires condemning desegregation of patients as "adding to the dangers of social diseases." (December, 1956)

d. All 5 posts in the 13th district of the VFW signed a resolution opposing integration of white and Negro patients in V. A. Hospitals in Louisiana. (March, 1957)

3. Organized Resistance Groups

a. Ku Klux Klan

Dissolved in the thirties under state statute requiring membership lists to be filed with the secretary of state. Charter for renewed operation issued in May, 1956. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith reported in April, 1958, that subsequent activity has been sporadic and insignificant.

b. Association of Citizens' Councils of Louisiana

Headquarters in Homer; State Senator William M. Rainach, formerly president of the south-wide WCC organization, heads the state organization. A 1957 SRC report listed the following prominent Louisianans among officers: J. Stewart Slack of Shreveport (member of the LSU Board of Supervisors); Malcolm Dougherty, Baton Rouge (president, Louisiana Farm Bureau Federation); Dr. Emmett Irvin, New Orleans (past president of the Louisiana Medical Association); C. Carneal Goldman of Waterproff (attorney and farmer); and Harry P. Gamble, Sr., of New Orleans (president of American Association for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity). 1956 membership claim: 75,000 to 100,000 with over 50,000 members in New Orleans. Among recent activities:

(1) Monthly publication of "The Council Newsletter," June, 1958, issue editorialized as follows: "Our attention has recently been called to the current practice of certain large department and clothing stores in New Orleans of using a shadow-graph process to depict white and dark models in their advertisements appearing in the New Orleans newspapers.

"An investigation reveals that the shadow-graph ads are being sent to the stores from New York advertising centers, and in one large department store, the president has stopped using the cuts showing the dark models.

"In the opinion of an alert New Orleans housewife, the ads are being deliberately sent South for the purpose of accustoming our citizens, through the power of association and suggestion, to the idea of race mixing. The Councillor is indebted to this fine New Orleans Citizens Council member for advising us of the situation so that we may pass along the information to our readers, who may, in turn, watch for this type of advertisement and take whatever action they may see fit at stores where such suggestive advertising is used."

(2) Gave notice that through a constitutional provision for challenging the qualifications of registered voters or prospective registrants, "the problem of Negro registration will be solved in a legal way." In October, 1956, WCC units began challenging the qualifications of registrants in 13 parishes. Some 10,000 names were removed from registration lists. (see "Suffrage")

(3) Distributed literature attacking American Telephone and Telegraph Company for featuring Negro performers: "...(we) believe that there should be a stop to the ever-increasing Negroes featured on television, shown in close and intimate relations with white people. It is nothing more than integration of races in the most intimate medium of TV. And unquestionably it is the most effective medium through which to brainwash the youngsters, by not only accustoming them to seeing white and black people mixed, but through the grandiose introductions the Negroes invariably receive on the show and in their advance publicity...." The Council urged its followers to write directly to Southern Bell because Station WDSU, the local outlet, "has openly advocated integration of the races." It also urged whites to either protest the appearance of Negroes on TV shows or turn off their sets. "Everytime you see a Negro featured on TV you should let the sponsor know of your protest."

(4) Candidates for New Orleans City Council were polled by the local Citizens' Council and their answers to questions concerning the continuance of segregation made public. (February, 1958)

c. Other groups in the state include the Federation for Constitutional Government, (James U. Barr, New Orleans); the Southern Gentlemen, Inc., (J. B. Easterly, Baton Rouge); ~~the Ku Klux Klan (Edgar Taylor, Baton Rouge)~~; the Society for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity (Harry P. Gamble, Sr., New Orleans - largely inactive); and the Knights of the White Christians (Alvin A. Cobb, New Orleans - inactive). Free Men Speak, a newspaper devoted largely to third party movements, is published in New Orleans by Kent H. Courtney.

III. ACTION SUPPORTING DESEGREGATION

A. Electorate and Public Officials

1. Louisiana voters defeated, by a 190,410 to 178,833 vote, a proposed constitutional amendment which was designed to hamper voting by Negroes (by requiring two additional administrative steps by voters removed from registration lists before federal court action). (November, 1958)

2. Senator Russell Long said in 1954 that although he disagrees completely with desegregation decision, his oath of office required him to accept it as law. "Every citizen is likewise bound by his oath of allegiance to his country."

3. Camille F. Gravel, Jr., state Democratic National Committeeman, declared that Louisiana would eventually desegregate its schools and backed the 1957 Civil Rights Act "insofar as it protected the right to vote." (A coalition of segregationists, states righters, and supporters of Gov. Long voted in October, 1958, to fire Gravel on grounds that he was unfaithful to the South; however, the national committee sustained his membership claims.)

B. Organizations

1. Church Centered

(a) Louisiana annual conference of the Methodist Church resolved that "segregation, both in and out of the church, is unwise, unconstitutional and unChristian." (May, 1958)

(b) Presbytery of New Orleans (Presbyterian Church in the U.S.) called for a study of the matter of integration by its 39 member churches, and a Christian outlook on the problem. (May, 1955) The same group opposed destruction of public school system, June, 1958.

(c) The Catholic Commission on Human Rights of the Catholic Committee of the South called for desegregation soon after the 1954 School ruling.

(d) New Orleans Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance has advocated compliance with desegregation decisions.

(e) Archbishop of the New Orleans archdiocese of the Catholic Church, Joseph F. Rummel, had "colored only" signs removed from churches (1949), integrated the archdiocesan school board (1950), called for the integration of all archdiocesan organizations (1953). In 1956 he issued a pastoral letter calling segregation "morally wrong and sinful." He reiterated this condemnation in late 1958.

2. Other

(a) New Orleans Council of Social Agencies, a racially integrated body, adopted a resolution asking that the "New Orleans parish school board be informed there should be no more school planning on a segregated basis." (June, 1955)

(b) New Orleans section of the National Council of Jewish Women passed resolution supporting S. C. desegregation decree. (November, 1954)

(c) Coordinating Council of Greater New Orleans, composed of representatives of 40 Negro organizations, issued a statement condemning attempts to circumvent Supreme Court desegregation decisions. (April, 1955)

(d) Louisiana Civil Liberties Union petition signed by more than 500 persons branded school closing plans unworkable, warned they would "undo in one day what has taken 100 years and millions of tax dollars to construct." (June, 1958)

3. Intergroup Organizations

a. NAACP

b. Commission on Human Rights of the Catholic Committee of the South

c. Southern Conference Educational Fund

d. Louisiana Council on Human Relations (not functioning at present)

IV. SEGREGATION-DESEGREGATION PRACTICES

A. Education

1. Public schools, elementary and secondary level, desegregated: None. Federal District Judge J. Skelly Wright for the second time ordered desegregation of Orleans Parish public schools as soon as necessary arrangements could be made. Appeal was announced by school board attorneys (October, 1958). (Wright's desegregation order was originally rendered in 1956, upheld by appeals court in March, 1957, and appeal from it was denied by the Supreme Court in June, 1957. However, on the basis of a technicality involving late filing of bond, the school board brought new litigation.)

2. Parochial Schools

   None desegregated.

3. Desegregated Institutions of Higher Education (as of January 1959):

Institutions	Legal Control
1. College of the Sacred Heart, Grand Coteau, La.	Roman Catholic
2. John McNeese State College, Lake Charles, La.	State
3. Louisiana State University Graduate School, Baton Rouge, La.	State
4. Louisiana State University at New Orleans, New Orleans, La.	State
5. Loyola University, New Orleans, La.	Roman Catholic
6. New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, New Orleans, La.	Southern Baptist
7. Notre Dame Seminary, New Orleans, La.	Roman Catholic
8. Southeastern Louisiana Institute, Hammond, La.	State
9. Southwestern Louisiana Institute, Lafayette, La.	State
10. Xaviar University, New Orleans, La. (Formerly, all Negro)	Roman Catholic

B. Elections and Appointments

1. Negroes serving in public office

a. Gilbert Porterfield, of New Orleans, was named to congressional staff of Congressman F. Edward Hebert, for "liaison in the area of race relations." (December, 1954)

2. Negroes running for office

a. I. M. Augustine, Jr., ran for a post on the New Orleans school board, November, 1956.

b. Alexander P. Tureaud campaigned for election as U. S. Congressman from Louisiana in 1958, but was defeated by almost 6 to 1.

C. Employment

1. Federal

New Orleans. A Negro general foreman is employed in the office of the Superintendent of the Postal Transportation Service.

2. Municipal

a. Negro police are known to be employed in the following cities:

Caddo Parish, La.
Lafayette, La.
Monroe, La.
New Iberia, La.
New Orleans, La.
Shreveport, La.

b. A Negro civic organization, Studs Club, Inc., asked that Negroes employed on the New Orleans police force be assigned to duties in keeping with their qualifications rather than on the basis of their racial origin. The protest followed a Citizens Council objection to the further hiring of Negro policemen and policewomen and their use in directing traffic in the downtown area. (April, 1957)

3. Private

a. A 1956 Urban League survey indicated that the percentage of Negroes employed by companies with 200 or more employees was 21.1 in the New Orleans area, while the Southwide percentage was 10.2.

b. Two Negro employees of the Celotex Corporation, Marrero, asked a federal district court for an injunction to prevent firm and union officials (Local No. 4-179, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International, and OCAW-AFL-CIO) from discrimination against Negro employees through a system of job classification. (August, 1957). A consent decree was approved by the court, under which all parties agreed to eliminate racial discrimination in seniority, and job opportunities. (January, 1958)

c. An Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers local voted to request Cit-Con Plant in Lake Charles to eliminate separate lines of progression and an all Negro department. (May, 1956)

d. Esso Standard Oil Company, Baton Rouge: company desegregated all seniority lines and transferred 25 Negroes to mechanical helpers' classification, previously open to whites only.

D. Health and Medical Care

1. New Orleans: "Lack of hospital facilities keeps Negro doctors out of Louisiana," according to John G. Lewis, Jr., "The only hospital in which a Negro doctor can secure hospital service for his patient is the all-Negro...Flint-Goodridge hospital." (June, 1956)

2. Director of New Orleans' Charity Hospital urged private hospitals in the area to provide care for Negroes not eligible for admission to the state supported hospital. (April, 1957)

E. Housing

1. New Orleans' residential pattern, particularly in the poorer districts, has always been mixed, sometimes to the extent that a white family will occupy one side of a duplex and Negroes the other..

F. Jury Duty

1. The Supreme Court, in setting aside the conviction and death sentence of a Negro accused of murder, held that Negroes were systematically excluded from the New Orleans grand jury which returned the indictment. The court's opinion noted that only one Negro has been picked for grand jury duty within memory, and that this exception apparently resulted from the mistaken impression that the juror was white. (May, 1958)

2. For the first time in over 60 years a Negro, Lionel J. Trouppier, acted as foreman of a New Orleans petty jury by which a white man was tried. (March, 1958)

G. Law Enforcement

H. Membership in Voluntary Organizations

1. New Orleans Council of Social Agencies is not segregated.

I. Public Accommodations

1. Limited service at Main Public Library is extended to Negroes in:

East Baton Rouge Parish
Jefferson Parish
Lafayette Parish
Lake Charles
New Orleans
Tangipahoa Parish

No main libraries are known to offer full service.

2. Act 579, 1956 legislative session, prohibits interracial social functions or sports contests, and requires separate seating and facilities for whites and Negroes at approved social functions and sports contests.

J. Recreation

1. Segregation barriers at New Orleans City Park were dropped in December, 1958, following receipt of a mandate of the U. S. Supreme Court. Park general manager Ellis Laborde said the action "means Negroes are now permitted to use all park facilities - the tennis courts, the baseball fields, the golf courses, the amusement rides...all facilities. The swimming pool is closed at this time. I won't be able to say anything about it." Laborde said he had "no intent of violating the order of the United States Supreme Court." (The park integration issue has been in the courts since 1949)

2. A resolution opposing the desegregation of recreation facilities was adopted by state directors of public recreation expressing the belief that if integration were attempted it would result in the destruction of the facilities.

3. Act 14 of the 1956 legislature orders complete separation of races in all public recreational facilities, to be enforced by the state's "police power" to promote "the public health, morals and the peace and good order."

4. U. S. Supreme Court declared a 1956 law banning racially mixed sports to be unconstitutional (May, 1959).

K. Suffrage

1. U. S. Civil Rights Commission postponed a decision on whether to hold hearings on voting complaints from Louisiana. 71 complaints had been received; however, state law permits records to be viewed only by qualified voters of the state and to be made generally public only upon petition of 25 Louisiana voters. (April, 1959)

2. Webster Parish registrar Mrs. Winnice Clement was object of White Citizens Council criticism in January, 1956 because she failed to require registrants to read and interpret state or federal constitutions. Mrs. Clement then applied the requirement and disqualified 24 white registrants. Shortly after that the police jury (parish governing body) asked the board of registrars to fire her, and that action was taken in May, 1956. Mrs. Clement then brought suit, seeking to restrain the police jury from naming a successor. However, incoming Governor Earl Long, who took office the day after Mrs. Clement was fired, stayed the dismissal.

3. East Feliciana Parish Police Jury voted an investigation of the registrar of voters after hearing complaints about a letter on integration attributed to him. The registrar, Charles Kilbourne, had written the Commercial Appeal saying integration is making deep strides in the South and that pro-segregation groups are fighting a "delaying action." (October, 1956)

4. U. S. Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney reported in early 1957 that FBI investigation of voter registration in 10 Louisiana parishes revealed that 8,552 Negroes were challenged when they tried to register in 1956. Over 3000 of some 4000 Negroes registered, to vote in Ouachita Parish were denied ballots. "...Investigations in Bienville, Caldwell, DeSota, Jackson, LaSalle and Ouachita Parishes disclosed that the registrar in those parishes did everything to discourage the filing of reply affidavits (by challenged registrant; necessary for reinstatement) ...and generally refused to accept them when offered," Olney stated.

L. Transportation

1. City buses were desegregated in New Orleans in 1958.

2. Special limousine service is provided for Negro transients travelling to and from the New Orleans airport.

3. Five Shreveport Negro ministers rode in white section of bus in protest of segregated seating, June, 1957. No arrests were made, but police chief said other Negroes following the ministers' lead would be arrested.

4. Shreveport bus and train stations continue to maintain and enforce use of segregated waiting rooms and facilities. Policemen are reportedly "posted to direct Negro passengers to Negro waiting room" in the train terminal. (Summer, 1958). Air line waiting room is desegregated, although separate restroom and restaurant facilities are provided.

5. Following a 1955 ICC directive to eliminate segregated waiting room facilities, then Governor Robert F. Kennon ordered all state, parish and municipal officials to continue rigid enforcement of state laws requiring separate facilities for the races at such stations. (January, 1956)

M. Violence, Intimidation

1. Bishop of the Lafayette Diocese Jules Jeanmard excommunicated two women who struck a teacher in a racially integrated cathechism class at Our Lady of Lourdes Church in Erath. Cathechism classes have been desegregated since 1946 in that church.

2. Two days of incidents - milling about, name calling, and the painting of insulting signs - followed initial attendance of Negroes at the New Orleans branch of Louisiana State University. One Negro was expelled, other expulsions were threatened by administrators, and the disorder ended. (September, 1958)

3. A Catholic priest, the Rev. Eugene McManus, received an anonymous threatening telephone call after speaking at a meeting on integration. The caller used "unprintable language" and threatened "to get" the priest. (March, 1956)

4. A cross was burned on the lawn of U. S. District Court Judge J. Skelly Wright, hours after the New Orleans bus desegregation order, which he had signed, went into effect. (May, 1958)

For Receptionist, Re mail

ALL magazines (except those address to persons subscribing) to John Constable

Newspapers: to John Constable, except as follows:

New York Times - Leslie Dunbar
N.O. Times Picayune - Sara Miller
Atlanta Journal - Montez Albright
Wall St. Journal - Paul Anthony
Straight to Research: Elizabeth Watters
Tampa Tribune
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Everything concerning NEW SOUTH to John Constable
Orders from libraries to John Constable, when on the check form sheet, or with money enclosed and title desired noted.

Orders with correct amount and notations of publication wanted, to Bernice Cook

However, orders from professors of colleges and universities, or from law schools, or people doing research or writing papers should go to LWD. Ditto from human relations committees, civil rights commissions, etc.

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Race Relations Law Reporter
Southern School News
Negro Education Review

Ret. to
Mrs Call

12.10
81.89
200.86
74.42
20.86
203.43
196.52
107.40
280.13
3
452.20
106.14
65
14.68
1.38
53
1.753.22 T

SUMMARY OF MANIFESTO SIGNERS

Denomination	Number
1. Assembly of God	1
2. Associate Reformed Presby.	3
3. Baptist	62
4. Christian	8
5. Church of God	1
6. Congregational	4
7. Episcopal	31
8. Greek Orthodox	1
9. Jewish	6
10. Lutheran	16
11. Methodist	97
12. Nazarene	1
13. Presbyterian, U. S.	79
14. Presbyterian, U.S.A. United	2
15. Reformed Church	1
16. Unitarian	1
Total Ministers	312

ATLANTA, GEORGIA - NOVEMBER 23, 1958

Names of Clergy Signing Second Atlanta
Clergy Statement

Ackerman, Stephen W. (E)
Adams, Hugh (E)
Aiken, Paul (B)
Albert, Allen D. Jr. (E)
Alexander, James J. (P)
Allen, Charles (M)
Allen, L. Clyde (B)
Allen, Reuben T. Jr. (P)
Alston, Wallace M. (P)
Anderson, F. S. Jr. (P)
Anderson, Thomas (Cong.)
Arnold, Ernest J. (P)
Arwood, J. C. (B)
Baggott, J. L. (B)
Ball, Raymond J. (P)
Barnett, Albert E. (M)
Barrett, W. H. (B)
Bassett, Hunter J. (M)
Beardslee, William A. (Ref. C.)
Beverly, Harry B. (P)
Berman, Paul L. (P)
Bell, Wade H. Jr. (P)
Boggs, Wade H. (P)
Bolton, Jack G. (B)
Booth, W. T. (B)
Boozer, Jack (M)
Bowen, Boone M. (M)
Bowman, Keyes Jr. (M)
Bozeman, Jack R. (M)
Branham, Lee (M)
Brewer, E. D. C. (M)

Broyles, Vernon S. (P)
Brown, Robert E. (M)
Brown, Walter E. (M)
Buck, Raymond (L)
Budd, W. Candler (M)
Buice, Lester (B)
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Creation of an 11-member advisory committee to keep the U. S. Civil Rights Commission posted on conditions in Alabama was announced May 26, following the organizational meeting in ~~Montgomery, Ala.~~ Maxwell Air Force base , near Montgomery, Ala.

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Dr. E. B. Goode (Mobile, Negro) vice-chairman
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Dr. Walter D. Agnew, Greensboro, former president of Huntingdon College at Montgomery
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Byron K. Huffman, Mobile lumberman
Dr. Robert A. Lambert of Fairhope, member of the board of visitors at Tulane Univ.
Milton H. Lanier, Huntsville attorney
Mrs. Fletcher McLeod, Montgomery church and civic leader

Committee members decided as their first task to undertake a study of voting rights in Alabama. The Civil Rights Commission held its first hearing in Alabama last December to look into complaints from Negroes in six counties who said they were denied the right to vote. ~~The Civil Rights Commission h~~ Later, the Justice Dept. filed an injunction suit in federal court to prevent officials in one of the counties, Macon, from discriminating against would-be Negro voters. The suit was thrown out of court because no registration board is functioning in the county. Federal attorneys have appealed to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

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GEORGIA PRESS ADVERTISING SERVICE, INC.

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ATLANTA, 3, GEORGIA

WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS

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*Abbeville	Wilcox	The Wilcox County Chronicle	1412	.70	Thurs.	Jack C. Mathews Mrs. G. Culpepper Fulghum	8x21	11½	8x21	Y	Y	Y	3.09
Adel	Cook	Adel News	2050	.63	Wed.	G. C. Patten	8x20½	12	page	N	N	N	2.91
Alamo	Wheeler	Wheeler County Eagle	450	.42	Fri.	Mrs. Gwendolyn B. Cox	7x20	12	7x20	N	N	Y	2.50
Albany	Dougherty	Albany Journal	2490	.80	Fri.	William O. Davis	8x21	12	8x20	Y	Y	Y	3.00
Alma	Bacon	The Alma Times	2006	.70	Tues.	C. J. Broome, Jr.	8x20	11	5x20	Y	Y	Y	4.00
Americus	Sumter	Weekly Times-Recorder See Page 8 for Daily Listing	650	.56	Fri.	James R. Blair	8x21	12	8x21	N	Y	Y	3.00
Arlington	Calhoun	Tri-County Courier	600	.49	Thurs.	L. T. Swain	6x20	13	6x20	N	N	N	2.00
Ashburn	Turner	The Wiregrass Farmer	1400	.56	Wed.	Nora Lawrence Smith	7x20	12	7x20	Y	Y	Y	3.00
Atlanta	Fulton	The Advertiser	1565	1.68	Wed.	W. W. Matthews	8x21½	12	8x21	Y	Y	Y	3.50
Atlanta	Fulton	Metropolitan Herald	5021	1.96	Wed.	Harry R. Maugans M. A. Perry	8x21½	12	8x21½	Y	Y	Y	2.00
Atlanta	Fulton	The Southern Israelite	3875	2.50	Fri.	Adolph Rosenberg	5x16	12	5x16	Y	Y	Y	5.00
Atlanta	Fulton	The Weekly Star	7879	2.69	Thurs.	DuPree Jordan, Jr. Margaret B. Ross	8x21½	12	8x21½	N	N	N	3.61
Augusta	Richmond	The Richmond Co. Times	2791	1.05	Thurs.	Alva Haywood Mrs. Chrystal Edwards	7x20	11½	none	Y	Y	Y	3.00
Austell	Cobb	The Austell Enterprise	2996	.98	Thurs.	Sid Williams Mrs. Rosalyn Smith	8x21	12	8x21	Y	Y	Y	3.00
Bainbridge	Decatur	The Post-Searchlight	2759	.77	Thurs.	S. Marvin Griffin R. A. Griffin	8x20	12	5x17	N	N	Y	3.00
Barnesville	Lamar	The News-Gazette	1600	.84	Thurs.	William W. Dennis	8x20	12	5x18	N	N	N	3.00
Baxley	Appling	The Baxley News-Banner	1964	.70	Thurs.	Albert S. Jenkins	7x20	12	5x20	N	N	N	3.00
Blackshear	Pierce	The Blackshear Times	1750	.84	Thurs.	Dean Broome	7x21	12	7x20½	N	N	Y	4.00
Blairsville	Union	The North Georgia News	777	.56	Thurs.	Harold R. West	6x19½	13	5x14	N	N	N	2.00
Blakely	Early	Early County News	1497	.49	Thurs.	A. T. & W. H. Fleming	8x20	12	4x15	N	N	N	2.50
Blue Ridge	Fannin	The Blue Ridge Summit-Post	800	.49	Thurs.	J. Fred Hackney	6x19¾	13	4x12	Y	Y	Y	2.00
Blue Ridge	Fannin	Fannin County Times	600	.49	Thurs.	Luther Cobb	6x19¾	13	3x10	N	N	Y	2.00
Bowdon	Carroll	The Bowdon Bulletin	1600	.60	Thurs.	Kate Smith	7x20	13	7x20	N	Y	Y	2.00
Buchanan	Haralson	Haralson County Tribune	750	.55	Thurs.	Ralph Green and Mrs. Frances Greene	7x20	12	5x20	N	Y	Y	2.50
Buena Vista	Marion	Marion County Patriot	475	.49	Thurs.	R. Richard Taylor Homer B. Hobbs	6x20	13	5x18	N	N	N	2.06
Buford	Gwinnett	Buford Advertiser	2400	.70	Thurs.	Mrs. E. A. Wilbanks	7x20	12	5x20	N	N	N	2.58
Butler	Taylor	The Butler Herald	1449	.70	Thurs.	Chas. Benns, Jr.	6x20	13	6x20	N	N	Y	3.00
Cairo	Grady	The Cairo Messenger	2386	.56	Thurs.	Robert & Hamilton Wind	7x20	12	7x20	N	N	Y	2.50
Calhoun	Gordon	The Gordon County News	890	.56	Tues.	Calhoun Newspapers, Inc. J. H. Hobgood	8x21	11½	8x21	N	N	N	2.50
Calhoun	Gordon	The Calhoun Times	2887	.77	Thurs.	Calhoun Newspapers, Inc. J. Roy McGinty, J. H. Hobgood	8x21	11½	8x21	N	N	N	3.00
Camilla	Mitchell	The Camilla Enterprise	2200	.63	Fri.	B. T. Burson	8x21¾	11½	6x21¾	N	N	N	3.09
Canton	Cherokee	North Georgia Tribune	2550	.70	Thurs.	R. D. & C. E. Owen	8x20	12	8x20	N	N	N	3.00
Carnesville	Franklin	Carnesville Herald	701	.56	Thurs.	James F. Little	6x20	13	5x19	N	N	Y	2.00
Carrollton	Carroll	Carroll County Georgian	5650	.98	Thurs.	Stanley Parkman	8x20	11½	6x20	N	N	Y	4.50
Carrollton	Carroll	Carrollton Times Free-Press	5550	.84	Tues.	Stanley Parkman	8x20	11½	6x20	N	N	Y	4.50

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Cartersville	Bartow	Bartow Herald	2910	.84	Thurs.	W. Ryan Frier	8x20½	12	6x22	N	N	N	2.00
Cartersville	Bartow	The Weekly Tribune News	3246	.84	Wed.	M. L. Fleetwood	8x21	12	8x21	N	N	N	2.00
		See Page 8 for Daily Listing											
Chamblee	DeKalb	North DeKalb Record & Norcross News	9718	2.69	Thurs.	Du Pree Jordan, Jr. Mrs. Martha F. Brown	8x21½	12	8x21½	N	N	N	3.61
Chatsworth	Murray	The Chatsworth Times	1035	.56	Thurs.	Smythe Newsome	7x20	12	7x20	N	N	N	2.00
Clarkesville	Habersham	Tri-County Advertiser	1988	.63	Thurs.	Charles T. Graves	7x20	12	7x20	N	N	Y	3.00
Claxton	Evans	The Claxton Enterprise	1425	.70	Thurs.	J. F. Eden	7x20	12	7x20	N	N	N	3.09
Clayton	Rabun	The Clayton Tribune	2185	.98	Wed.	Eddie Barker	6x19½	12	6x19½	Y	Y	Y	3.50
Cleveland	White	The Cleveland Courier	485	.58	Fri.	Jas. P. Davidson	6x20	13	none	Y	Y	Y	3.09
Cochran	Bleckley	The Cochran Journal	2350	.98	Wed.	W. R. Smith	8x20½	11½	8x20½	Y	Y	Y	4.00
Colquitt	Miller	Miller County Liberal	800	.52	Thurs.	Bert Priest	6x20	13	5x15	N	N	N	2.00
Comer	Madison	The Comer News	430	.42	Thurs.	J. C. Ayers	5x18	13	5x18	N	N	N	2.00
Commerce	Jackson	The Commerce News	1870	.70	Thurs.	Albert S. Hardy	7x20	12	7x20	N	N	N	2.58
			(.10 per inch type comp. charge)										
Conyers	Rockdale	The Rockdale Citizen	3019	.84	Thurs.	W. Thomas Hay	8x20½	12	8x20½	N	N	N	2.50
Cornelia	Habersham	The Northeast Georgian	1610	.56	Thurs.	Robert A. Yates	6x20	12	6x20	N	N	N	3.09
Covington	Newton	The Covington News	4901	.84	Thurs.	Belmont Dennis	8x20	12	8x20	N	N	N	3.09
Crawfordville	Taliaferro	The Advocate Democrat	475	.40	Fri.	Carey Williams	8x20	12	5x20	N	N	Y	1.50
Cumming	Forsyth	The Forsyth County News	1800	.60	Thurs.	James L. Reeves Roy P. Otwell	6x20	13	6x20	N	N	N	2.00
Cuthbert	Randolph	The Cuthbert Times	1837	.98	Thurs.	R. Taylor Harris	8x20	11½	6x20	N	Y	Y	3.00
Dahlonega	Lumpkin	The Dahlonega Nugget	1036	.56	Fri.	Jack Parks	7x20	12	7x20	Y	Y	Y	2.50
Dallas	Paulding	The Dallas New Era	1725	.70	Thurs.	J. H. & T. E. Parker	6x20	13	5x18	N	N	N	2.00
Dalton	Whitfield	The Dalton Citizen	6285	1.12	Fri.	L. A. Lee Mark Pace	8x20	12	8x20	N	N	N	2.90
Dalton	Whitfield	The Dalton News	6279	1.12	Wed.	L. A. Lee Mark Pace	8x20	12	8x20	N	N	N	2.90
Danielsville	Madison	The Danielsville Monitor	279	.35	Fri.	J. C. Ayers	5x18	13	5x18	N	N	N	2.00
Darien	McIntosh	The Darien News	670	.49	Thurs.	Charles M. Williamson, Jr.	5x15	11	proof	Y	Y	Y	3.09
Dawson	Terrell	The Dawson News	1750	.70	Thurs.	Carl Rountree	8x21	11½	8x21	N	Y	Y	3.00
Dawsonville	Dawson	Dawson County Advertiser	600	.50	Fri.	Mrs. Maude Howard	6x20	13	none	Y	Y	Y	2.00
Dawsonville	Dawson	Dawson County News	518	.56	Thurs.	James R. & Mary Waldrip	7x20	12	6x20	N	N	Y	2.58
Decatur	DeKalb	DeKalb New Era	5810	.91	Thurs.	New Era Publishing Co., Inc. W. H. McWhorter	8x21	12	8x21	N	N	N	2.00
Decatur	DeKalb	The Suburban Sentinel	500	1.80	Thurs.	Harry E. Hart	8x20½	12	8x20½	N	N	N	3.09
Doerun	Colquitt	The Doerun Courier	500	.40	Fri.	H. W. Garrett	6x19½	13	none	Y	Y	Y	1.50
Donalsonville	Seminole	Donalsonville News	1275	.75	Thurs.	Donalsonville News, Inc. Waldo L. McLeod	5x16	12	5x16	N	N	N	2.00
Douglas	Coffee	Coffee County Progress	3516	.77	Tues. & Thurs.	S. W. Davis and Melvin C. Waters	7x21	12	7x21	Y	Y	Y	4.00
Douglas	Coffee	The Douglas Enterprise	3385	.84	Thurs.	Thomas Frier	8x20	12	8x20	N	N	N	3.09
Douglasville	Douglas	Douglas County Sentinel	1950	.84	Thurs.	Bolling Branham Robert L. Griggs	7x20½	12	6x20½	N	N	N	3.00

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Eastman	Dodge	The Times-Journal	2600	.70	Wed.	E. T. Methvin	8x21	11½	6x20	N	Y	Y	3.09
East Point	Fulton	Atlanta's Suburban Reporter	4321	1.26	Thurs.	Martin-Johnson Printing Co. C. N. Martin, Sr.	8x22	12	8x22	N	N	N	2.91
Eatonton	Putnam	Eatonton Messenger	1363	.70	Thurs.	Battle Smith	7x20	11½	5x20	N	Y	Y	3.00
Edison	Calhoun	Calhoun County News	768	.50	Thurs.	Rosalia Adkins	8x22	12	6x20	N	N	N	1.50
Elberton	Elbert	The Elberton Star	3360	.84	Tues. & Fri.	G. T. Christian	8x21	11	8x21	N	N	N	5.00
Ellaville	Schley	The Ellaville Sun	756	.56	Thurs.	Raymond Duncan deceased Dec. 58	5x15½	12	8x21	N	N	N	3.09
Ellijay	Gilmer	Ellijay Times-Courier	1450	.56	Thurs.	C. F. Owen	6x20	13	5x20	N	N	N	2.00
Fairburn	Fulton	South Fulton Recorder	1566	.70	Fri.	Mrs. W. B. Jones	8x20	12	8x20	N	N	N	2.06
Fayetteville	Fayette	The Fayette County News	1049	.70	Wed.	Sid Williams Mrs. J. C. Booth	8x21	12	8x21	Y	Y	Y	3.00
Fitzgerald	Ben Hill	Fitzgerald Herald	2089	.70	Thurs.	Pryor Bros. Printing Co. S. G. Pryor, Jr.	8x22	11½	8x22	N	N	N	4.00
Fitzgerald	Ben Hill	The Fitzgerald Leader-Enterprise & Press	1866	.70	Thurs.	A. Gelders & J. K. Thomas	7x20½	12	7x20½	N	N	N	4.00
Folkston	Charlton	Charlton County Herald	1492	.70	Fri.	R. Ward Harrison	7x20	12	7x20	N	Y	Y	3.00
Forsyth	Monroe	The Monroe Advertiser	1052	.49	Thurs.	Harold G. Clarke	7x20	12	7x20	N	N	N	2.50
Fort Gaines	Clay	The News Record	823	.70	Thurs.	Taylor Harris	8x20	12	5x18	Y	Y	Y	2.58
Fort Valley	Peach	The Leader Tribune	1916	.70	Thurs.	Daniel K. Grahl	7x20	12	8x22	N	Y	Y	3.00
Franklin	Heard	The News and Banner	1030	.56	Fri.	B. T. McCutchen	7x20	12	7x20	N	N	Y	2.58
Gibson	Glascock	Gibson Record Guide	592	.49	Fri.	Alva L. Haywood	7x20	11½	none	N	N	Y	2.00
Glennville	Tattnall	The Glennville Sentinel	1095	.56	Thurs.	F. E. Phillips	7x20	11½	4x15	N	N	N	2.00
Gray	Jones	The Jones County News	450	.42	Thurs.	Jere N. Moore	7x20½	12	8x22	N	Y	Y	2.50
Greensboro	Greene	The Herald-Journal	1425	.60	Fri.	Carey Williams	8x20	12	6x20	N	Y	Y	2.00
Greenville	Meriwether	The Meriwether Vindicator	856	.50	Fri.	Mrs. R. K. Stovall	6x21	12	7x20	N	N	N	2.06
Hamilton	Harris	Harris County Journal	686	.65	Thurs.	Johnston C. Woodall W. C. Woodall, Sr.	8x21	11	8x21	Y	Y	Y	2.50
Harlem	Columbia	The Columbia News	575	.56	Thurs.	Frank F. Hash	8x20	11	6x20	N	N	Y	3.00
Hartwell	Hart	The Hartwell Sun	2258	.60	Thurs.	Mrs. W. Hudson, Jr., Edna M. Pfaender & J. Wesley Hughes	7x20	12	7x20	N	N	N	4.00
Hawkinsville	Pulaski	Hawkinsville Dispatch & News	1150	.56	Wed.	John C. McCune	7x20	11½	7x20	N	N	Y	3.50
Hazlehurst	Jeff Davis	Jeff Davis County Ledger	1500	.63	Thurs.	J. E. Baynard, John Rogers J. E. Baynard	7x20	12	5x20	N	N	Y	2.50
Hiawassee	Towns	Towns County Herald	593	.49	Fri.	J. K. Hutchings	6x24	12		N	N	N	2.50
Hinesville	Liberty	Liberty County Herald	875	.42	Thurs.	M. F. Clark, Jr.	6x20	12	5x20	N	N	N	3.00
Hogansville	Troup	The Hogansville Herald	750	.63	Wed.	Cecil Hamby	7x20	12	5x16	N	N	N	3.50

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Homer	Banks	Banks County Journal	1150	.56	Fri.	A. J. Hilton	7x20	13	7x20	N	N	Y	2.00
Homerville	Clinch	The Clinch County News	860	.42	Fri.	Iverson H. Huxford	8x20	12	5x20	N	N	N	2.00
Irwinton	Wilkinson	The Bulletin	500	.42	Fri.	Jere N. Moore	7x20½	12	7x20	N	Y	Y	2.50
Irwinton	Wilkinson	The Wilkinson County News	510	.42	Fri.	Hazel Couey Joe Boone	6x20	12	6x20	N	Y	Y	2.00
Jackson	Butts	Jackson Progress Argus	1550	.70	Thurs.	Vincent Jones Doyle Jones, Jr.	6x20	13	6x20	N	N	N	4.00
Jasper	Pickens	Pickens County Progress	1884	.56	Thurs.	Claude M. Edge	8x21½	12	6x20	N	N	N	2.00
Jefferson	Jackson	Jackson Herald	2000	.65	Thurs.	Tom Williams	8x20	12	8x20	Y	Y	Y	3.09
Jeffersonville	Twiggs	Twiggs County New Era	431	.42	Fri.	Lois W. McCrory	6x20	12	6x20	N	N	N	2.50
Jesup	Wayne	The Jesup Sentinel	3285	.84	Thurs.	W. B. Rhoden	8x20	12	6x20	N	N	Y	4.00
Jonesboro (also Forest Park)	Clayton	The Forest Park Free Press and Clayton County News & Farmer	2278	1.05	Wed.	Associated Ga. Newspapers, Inc. Jack Troy	8x21	12	8x21	N	N	Y	2.00
Kingsland	Camden	The Southeast Georgian	1156	.63	Thurs.	The Southeast Georgian, Inc. Howard H. Davis	7x20½	12	5x18	N	N	N	3.00
Knoxville	Crawford	The Georgia Post	400	.42	Thurs.	Mrs. H. C. Seagler	6x19½	13	6x19½	N	N	Y	3.00
LaFayette	Walker	Walker County Messenger	2750	.70	Wed.	E. P. Hall	7x14½	12	5x17	N	N	N	2.06
Lakeland	Lanier	Lanier County News	850	.56	Thurs.	G. C. Patten Hugh C. Ratcliffe	8x20½	12	8x20½	N	N	N	2.50
Lavonia	Franklin	The Lavonia Times	1810	.63	Fri.	James F. Little	6x20	13	5x19	N	N	Y	2.00
Lawrenceville	Gwinnett	The News Herald	2675	.70	Thurs.	M. A. Allison P. M. Christian	7x20½	12	6x20	N	N	N	3.00
Leesburg	Lee	Lee County Journal	760	.60	Thurs.	William O. Davis	8x20	12	8x20	N	N	N	2.50
Lexington	Oglethorpe	The Oglethorpe Echo	960	.49	Thurs.	Ralph B. Maxwell	5x16	12	5x18	N	N	Y	2.50
Lincolnton	Lincoln	The Lincoln Journal	1075	.40	Thurs.	John Drinkard and Edward Drinkard	6x20	13	7x20	N	N	N	2.00
Lithonia	DeKalb	Lithonia Observer	1389	.63	Thurs.	W. Thomas Hay	8x20½	12	8x20½	N	N	N	2.00
Louisville	Jefferson	The News and Farmer	1028	.56	Thurs	Virginia Polhill Price	7x20	12	5x18	N	Y	Y	2.58
Ludowici	Long	The Ludowici News	455	.49	Fri.	Helen Williams Coxon	7x21½	12	none	N	Y	Y	2.06
Lumber City	Telfair	The Lumber City Log	1020	.63	Thurs.	Arthur L. Burkett, Jr.	8x20	11	5x20	N	N	Y	2.50
Lyons	Toombs	The Lyons Progress	1725	.63	Thurs.	Harry M. Rhoden	7x20	12	5x20	N	Y	Y	3.00
McDonough	Henry	The Weekly Advertiser	1575	.70	Thurs.	Frank J. Linch	7x20	12	7x20	N	Y	Y	3.00
McRae	Telfair	The Telfair Enterprise	1750	.63	Thurs.	W. L. Bowen	7x20	12	6x20	N	Y	Y	2.50
Madison	Morgan	The Madisonian	1660	.70	Thurs.	W. Graham Ponder Mrs. Adelaide W. Ponder	7x20	12	7x20	Y	Y	Y	4.00
Manchester	Meriwether	The Manchester Mercury	2838	.98	Thurs.	Robert Gray	8x21	12	8x21	N	N	Y	3.50
Marietta	Cobb	The Cobb County Times See Page 8 for Daily Listing	9115	.98	Thurs.	Brooks P. Smith Robert D. Fowler	8x21	12	8x21	N	N	Y	3.00
Metter	Candler	The Metter Advertiser	1296	.70	Thurs.	R. G. Daniell	7x20	12	5x20	Y	Y	Y	3.00
Milledgeville	Baldwin	The Baldwin News	500	.42	Mon.	Jere N. Moore	7x20½	12	8x22	Y	Y	Y	Comb. 5.50
Milledgeville	Baldwin	The Union-Recorder	2700	.63	Thurs.	Jere N. Moore	7x20½	12	8x22	Y	Y	Y	Comb. 5.50
Millen	Jenkins	The Millen News	1207	.56	Thurs.	Frank Edenfield Walter Harrison	7x20	12	5x20	N	N	N	3.09
Monroe	Walton	The Walton Tribune	3784	.84	Wed.	Sanders Camp	8x21	12	page	N	N	N	4.00

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Montezuma	Macon	Citizen and Georgian	1340	.56	Thurs.	J. C. Cox	7x20	12	5x20	N	N	N	3.00
Monticello	Jasper	Monticello News	934	.60	Thurs.	T. R. Penn	6x20	13	6x20	N	N	N	3.00
Moultrie	Colquitt	Weekly Moultrie Observer See Page 8 for Daily Listing	2884	.84	Fri.	M. E. Nussbaum, W. D. Avera	8x21	11½	8x21	N	N	N	2.00
Mt. Vernon	Montgomery	The Montgomery Monitor	985	.77	Thurs.	Laurice V. Cox	7x20	12	6x20	Y	Y	Y	2.58
Nahunta	Brantley	The Brantley Enterprise	500	.63	Thurs.	Carl Broome	7x20½	12	7x20½	N	Y	Y	3.00
Nashville	Berrien	The Nashville Herald	2831	.84	Thurs.	Belmont Dennis	8x20	12	5x18	N	N	N	3.00
Newnan	Coweta	Newnan Times-Herald	2875	.84	Thurs.	E. W. Thomasson and J. J. Thomasson	8x20½	11½	8x20½	N	N	N	6.18
Ocilla	Irwin	The Ocilla Star	1800	.70	Thurs.	Julian L. Connell and W. S. Bradford, Jr.	7x20½	12	7x20½	N	N	N	2.50
Omega	Tift	The Omega News	625	.42	Thurs.	W. L. Lang	6x20	13	5x18	N	N	N	1.50
Pearson	Atkinson	Atkinson County Citizen and The Pearson Tribune	1263	.56	Thurs.	Bird Yarbrough	7x20	12	7x20	N	N	N	3.61
Pelham	Mitchell	The Pelham Journal	1782	.56	Thurs.	J. B. Chism, Jr.	8x22	12	8x22	N	N	Y	2.00
Pembroke	Bryan	Pembroke Journal	812	.56	Thurs.	F. O. Miller	7x20	12	5x20	Y	Y	Y	3.00
Perry	Houston	Houston Home Journal	1500	.70	Thurs.	Cooper Etheridge and Byron Maxwell	7x20	12	5x20	N	Y	Y	3.00
Pine Mountain	Harris	The Pine Mountain Review	750	.84	Fri.	Robert Gray	8x21	12	8x21	N	N	N	2.00
Quitman	Brooks	Quitman Free Press	1875	.70	Wed.	Beth Williams Powers	8x20	12	6x20	Y	Y	Y	2.50
Reidsville	Tattnall	The Tattnall Journal	1386	.70	Thurs.	Russell B. Rhoden	7x20	12	6x20	Y	Y	Y	2.50
Richland (Also official organ for Webster & Stewart counties)	Stewart	The Stewart-Webster Journal	2780	.70	Thurs.	John M. Anglin Byron C. Anglin Mrs. John M. Anglin, Sr.	6x20	13	6x20	only promotional			3.00
Ringgold	Catoosa	The Catoosa County News	1242	.49	Thurs.	Ned Lee	7x20	12	5x18	N	N	N	2.00
Ringgold	Catoosa	Catoosa County Record	625	.50	Thurs.	C. E. Carter	7x20	12	5x15	Y	Y	Y	1.50
Rockmart	Polk	The Rockmart Journal	1450	.70	Thurs.	E. C. Sanders	8x20	11	6x20	N	N	N	4.50
Rossville	Walker	Rossville Open Gate	625	.50	Fri.	C. E. Carter	7x20	12	5x15	Y	Y	Y	1.50
Roswell	Fulton	North Fulton Herald (Mail address Hapeville, Ga.)	1950	.75	Thurs.	Longino & Porter, Inc. Sarah H. Hale	6x20	12	6x17½	N	N	N	2.06
Royston	Franklin	The Royston Record	1741	.63	Thurs.	H. H. and H. L. Dyar Hubert L. Dyar	7x20	11	5x18	N	Y	Y	3.00
St. Marys	Camden	Camden County Tribune	1425	.70	Fri.	R. Ward and Kenneth L. Harrison	7x20	12	7x20	N	Y	Y	3.00
Sandersville	Washington	The Sandersville Progress	3065	.56	Thurs.	Charles T. McMichael	7x20	12	6x20	N	Y	Y	2.60
Smyrna	Cobb	The Smyrna Herald	5300	.98	Thurs.	Bill E. Miles	8x20¾	12	8x20¾	N	N	Y	3.09
Soperton	Treutlen	The Soperton News	652	.49	Thurs.	Mrs. J. M. Lawton Mrs. Curtis Ricks	7x20	12	5x20	N	Y	Y	2.06
Sparks	Cook	The Sparks Eagle	650	.56	Fri.	H. O. Day, A. D. Cowart	6x20	13	4x18	N	Y	Y	2.00
Sparta	Hancock	The Sparta Ishmaelite	1600	.70	Thurs.	Hancock Pub. Co., Inc. G. B. Moore	8x21	12	6x21	N	N	Y	4.00
Springfield	Effingham	The Springfield Herald	986	.56	Fri.	W. O. Lee	7x20	12	5x20	N	Y	Y	2.50
Statesboro	Bulloch	The Bulloch Herald	2471	.70	Thurs.	Leodel Coleman	8x20	11	8x20	N	N	Y	3.60
Statesboro	Bulloch	The Bulloch Times	2331	.70	Thurs.	J. Shields Kenan	8x20½	12	8x20½	N	N	N	3.09

WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS

Town	County	Newspaper	Circulation	ADVERTISING RATE Display Per In.	Publication Day	Publisher Editor	Page size	Col. Width ems	Cast Mats	ACCEPT. ADV. Liq.	Wine	Beer	Sub. Per Yr.
Summerville	Chattooga	Summerville News	2670	.70	Thurs.	David T. Espy	8x21	12	6x20	N	N	N	2.00
Swainsboro	Emanuel	Swainsboro Forest Blade	1750	.67	Thurs.	Swainsboro Printing Co. W. E. Gray, Sr.	7x20	12	5x17	N	Y	Y	3.00
Sylvania	Screven	Screven County News	1520	.60	Thurs.	L. S. Stegins	7x20	12	5x20	N	N	N	2.50
Sylvania	Screven	The Sylvania Telephone	1500	.56	Fri.	Richard Dowis	8x21	12	8x21	N	N	N	3.00
Sylvester	Worth	The Sylvester Local	1800	.70	Thurs.	Sylvester Local, Inc. Marian A. Sumner	8x20	12	8x20	N	N	Y	2.50
Talbotton	Talbot	Talbotton New Era	690	.49	Thurs.	R. Richard Taylor, Homer B. Hobbs	6x20	13	5x18	N	N	N	2.06
Tallapoosa	Haralson	The Tallapoosa Beacon	1000	.60	Tues.	Mrs. Frances Greene and Ralph Greene	8x20	12	8x20	N	Y	Y	2.50
Thomaston	Upson	The Free Press	2859	.84	Tues.	J. B. Hardy, S. J. Carswell Leon Smith	8x21	12	8x21	N	Y	Y	2.50
Thomaston	Upson	The Thomaston Times	3456	.84	Thurs.	S. J. Carswell, J. B. Hardy	8x21	12	8x21	N	Y	Y	3.00
Thomasville	Thomas	Weekly Times Enterprise See Page 8 for Daily Listing	560 (.20 per inch type comp. charge)	.30	Thurs.	Lee E. Kelly, Jr. E. R. Jerger	8x21	11½	8x21	N	Y	Y	2.50
Thomson	McDuffie	The McDuffie Progress	2080	.70	Thurs.	Frank F. Hash	8x20	11	6x20	N	N	Y	4.00
Tifton	Tift	The Tifton Gazette 1.54 Combined with Daily Tifton Gazette . . . Combined Circulation 9128	531	.56	Thurs.	Homer M. Rankin	8x22	12	8x22	Y	Y	Y	2.06
Toccoa	Stephens	The Toccoa Record	3805	.84	Thurs.	R. W. Graves, Sr.	8x21	12	8x21	N	N	N	2.58
Trenton	Dade	The Dade County Times	750	.42	Thurs.	Mrs. Catherine C. Morrison	5x16	12	5x16	N	N	Y	2.00
Unadilla	Dooly	The Unadilla Observer	510	.45	Thurs.	Byron Maxwell Cooper Etheridge	7x20	12	5x20	N	N	N	2.58
Vidalia	Toombs	The Vidalia Advance	1651	.56	Thurs.	R. E. Ledford	7x20	12	7x20	Y	Y	Y	2.50
Vienna	Dooly	The Vienna News	1337	.63	Wed.	Mrs. C. M. Methvin	7x20	12	7x20	N	N	Y	3.50
Villa Rica	Carroll	The Villa Rican	1750	.70	Wed.	Robby H. Robison and M. L. Bagley	7x20	12	7x20	N	N	Y	2.50
Wadley	Jefferson	Wadley Herald	685	.56	Fri.	Swainsboro Printing Co. Mrs. Lucile M. Blount	7x20	12	5x20	N	N	Y	2.50
Warrenton	Warren	The Warrenton Clipper	1188	.63	Fri.	Alva L. Haywood	7x20	11½	none	N	N	Y	3.00
Washington	Wilkes	The News Reporter	2162	.98	Thurs.	Claude McEver	8x21	11	8x21	N	Y	Y	3.25
Watkinsville	Oconee	The Oconee Enterprise	827	.35	Fri.	L. F. Johnson deceased Dec. 58	5x18	13	5x18	N	N	N	1.50
Waynesboro	Burke	The True Citizen	2135	.70	Thurs.	The True Citizen, Inc. William C. Rogers	8x21	12	6x21	N	N	Y	3.50
Winder	Barrow	The Winder News	2385	.84	Wed.	Harry O. Smith	8x20	11½	6x20	N	N	Y	3.50
Wrens	Jefferson	The Jefferson Reporter	710	.49	Thurs.	C. W. Stephens, Sr. C. W. Stephens, Jr.	7x20	11		N	N	N	2.00
Wrightsville	Johnson	Wrightsville Headlight	1550	.56	Thurs.	Gerald W. Pryor	8x20½	11	8x20½	N	N	N	3.50
Zebulon	Pike	The Pike County Journal	729	.49	Thurs.	A. W. Quattlebaum	6x20	12	5x18	N	N	N	2.50

***Does Not Participate in 1-Order, 1-Bill, 1-Check Plan**

DAILY NEWSPAPERS

Newspaper	County	Publisher	Circulation	Display Per Inch	Subs. Per Year
*Americus Times-Recorder	Sumter	James R. Blair	5,586	.84	15.00
*Athens Banner-Herald	Clarke	E. B. Braswell	6,608	.98	12.00
*Atlanta Constitution (m)	Fulton	Atlanta Newspapers, Inc.	196,693	14.70	26.00
*Atlanta Journal (e)			257,876	Comb.	26.00
Fulton County Daily Report (Legal Court & Commercial)	Fulton	Frank Kempton	1,200	2.25	21.63
*Augusta Chronicle (m)	Richmond	William Morris	43,711	4.34	24.10
*Augusta Herald (e)			20,026	Comb.	24.10
The Brunswick News	Glynn	News Publishing Co.	8,794	.98	15.00
Daily Tribune News (Cartersville)	Bartow	M. L. Fleetwood	3,765	.84	9.00
Cedartown Standard	Polk	Jack Stuff	3,956	.98	13.08
*Columbus Enquirer (m)	Muscogee	M. R. Ashworth	24,912	3.64	26.00
*Columbus Ledger (e)			28,121	Comb.	26.00
*Columbus Sunday Ledger-Enquirer			48,351		
*Cordele Daily Dispatch	Crisp	E. W. Mathews	3,973	.98	10.00
*Dublin Courier-Herald	Laurens	W. H. Champion	6,297	.84	8.00
The Daily Times (Gainesville)	Hall	Charles Smithgall	7,989	1.12	20.80
Griffin Daily News	Spalding	Quimby Melton, Sr.	7,104	.98	11.00
*The LaGrange Daily News	Troup	Roy C. Swank	5,768	.84	12.36
*The Macon Telegraph (m)	Bibb	Peyton Anderson	41,566	3.92	23.40
*The Macon News (e)			20,585	Comb.	23.40
The Marietta Daily Journal	Cobb	Brooks P. Smith	10,028	1.12	10.00
*The Moultrie Observer	Colquitt	M. E. Nussbaum	6,862	.98	15.00
Rome News-Tribune	Floyd	James F. Mann	12,246	1.40	10.00
*Savannah Morning News	Chatham	Alvah H. Chapman, Jr.	77,330	4.62	26.00
*Savannah Evening Press			61,110	Comb.	15.60
Thomasville Times Enterprise	Thomas	Lee E. Kelley, Jr.	8,027	1.12	15.00
				(.20 per inch — type comp. charge)	
Tifton Daily Gazette	Tift	Homer M. Rankin	8,597	1.12	9.27
	1.54 Combined with Weekly Tifton Gazette . . . Combined Circulation 9128				
*Valdosta Daily Times	Lowndes	E. L. Turner	11,358	1.26	15.60
Waycross Journal-Herald	Ware	Jack Williams, Jr.	9,901	1.12	15.60
*West Point Valley Times-News	Troup	Davis Haines	4,921	1.12	12.00

*Does Not Participate in 1-Order, 1-Bill, 1-Check Plan

GEORGIA DAILY NEWSPAPERS

Ga. Press Asso. JA 4-7751
(correct as of Jan. 6, 1959 - MGA)

Newspaper	Editor
Americus Times-Recorder	James R. Blair
Athens Banner-Herald	E. B. Braswell
Atlanta Constitution	Ralph McGill
Atlanta Journal	Jack Spalding
Fulton County Daily Report (Legal Court & Commercial)	Frank Kempton
Augusta Chronicle	R. L. M. Parks
Augusta Herald	Randy Russell
The Brunswick News	C. H. Leavy Jr. S. C. Kaufman, Mng. Ed.
The Daily Tribune News, Cartersville	M. L. Fleetwood
Cedartown Standard	Jack W. Stuff
Columbus Enquirer	W. Cliff Tucker
Columbus Ledger	Edge Reid (Marvin Wall, city Editor)
Cordele Daily Dispatch	Elden W. Matthews
Dublin Courier-Herald	W. H. Champion
The Daily Times, Gainesville	Sylvan Meyer
Griffin Daily News	Quimby Melton, Jr.
The LaGrange Daily News	Phil Harrison
The Macon Telegraph	William Ott
The Macon News	Joe Parham
The Marietta Daily Journal	William Kinney
The Moultrie Observer	W. D. Avera
Rome News-Tribune	Coleman Prophett
Savannah Morning News	Jud Arnett
Savannah Evening Press	John L. Sutlive
Thomasville, Times Enterprise	E. R. Jerger
Tifton Daily Gazette	Homer M. Rankin
Valdosta Dialy Times	Turner Rockwell
Waycross Journal Herald	Jack Williams, Jr.
West Point Valley Times-News	Davis Haines

GEORGIA COUNTIES LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

With Towns and Names of Newspapers in Each County

APPLING
Baxley News-Banner

ATKINSON
Atkinson County Citizen and Pearson Tribune

BACON
Alma Times

BAKER
Arlington, Tri-Co. Courier Official Organ

BALDWIN
Milledgeville, Union-Recorder
Milledgeville, The Baldwin News

BANKS
Homer, Banks County Journal

BARROW
Winder News

BARTOW
Cartersville, Bartow Herald
Cartersville, Daily Tribune-News
Cartersville, Weekly Tribune-News

BEN HILL
Fitzgerald Leader-Enterprise
Fitzgerald Herald

BERRIEN
Nashville Herald

BIBB
Macon News
Macon Telegraph

BLECKLEY
Cochran Journal

BRANTLEY
Nahunta, Brantley Enterprise

BROOKS
Quitman Free Press

BRYAN
Pembroke Journal

BULLOCH
Statesboro, Bulloch Herald
Statesboro, Bulloch Times

BURKE
Waynesboro True Citizen

BUTTS
Jackson Progress-Argus

CALHOUN
Arlington Tri-County Courier
Edison, Calhoun County News

CAMDEN
Kingsland, Southeast Georgian
St. Marys, Camden Co. Tribune

CANDLER
Metter Advertiser

CARROLL
Bowdon Bulletin
Carrollton, Carroll County Georgian
Carrollton, Times-Free Press
Villa Rica, Villa Rican

CATOOSA
Ringgold, Catoosa County News
Ringgold, Catoosa County Record

CHARLTON
Folkston, Charlton County Herald

CHATHAM
Savannah Evening Press
Savannah Morning News

CHATTAHOOCHEE
Columbus Ledger-Enquirer Official Organ

CHATTOOGA
Summerville News

CHEROKEE
Canton, North-Georgia Tribune

CLARKE
Athens Banner-Herald

CLAY
Fort Gaines, News Record

CLAYTON
Jonesboro, Forest Park Free Press and Clayton County News and Farmer

CLINCH
Homerville, Clinch County News

COBB
Austell Enterprise
Marietta, Cobb County Times
Marietta, Daily Journal
Smyrna Herald

COFFEE
Douglas, Coffee County Progress
Douglas Enterprise

COLQUITT
Doerun Courier
Moultrie Observer
Moultrie Weekly Observer

COLUMBIA
Harlem, Columbia News

COOK
Adel News
Sparks Eagle

COWETA
Newnan Times-Herald

CRAWFORD
Knoxville, Georgia Post

CRISP
Cordele Dispatch

DADE
Trenton, Dade County Times

DAWSON
Dawsonville, Dawson County Advertiser
Dawsonville, Dawson County News

DECATUR
Bainbridge Post-Searchlight

DeKALB
Chamblee, North DeKalb Record
Decatur, DeKalb New Era
Decatur Suburban Sentinel

DODGE
Eastman Times-Journal

DOOLY
Unadilla Observer
Vienna News

DOUGHERTY
Albany Journal
Albany Herald

DOUGLAS
Douglasville, Douglas County Sentinel

EARLY
Blakely, Early County News

ECHOLS
Valdosta Daily Times Official Organ

EFFINGHAM
Springfield Herald

ELBERT
Elberton Star

EMANUEL
Swainsboro Forest Blade

EVANS
Claxton Enterprise

FANNIN
Blue Ridge, Fannin County Times
Blue Ridge, Summit Post

FAYETTE
Fayetteville, Fayette County News

FLOYD
Rome News-Tribune

FORSYTH
Cumming, Forsyth County News

FRANKLIN
Carnesville Herald
Lavonia Times
Royston Record

FULTON
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta Journal
Atlanta, The Advertiser
Atlanta, Fulton Daily Report
Atlanta, Metropolitan Herald
Atlanta, Southern Israelite
Atlanta, The Weekly Star
East Point, Atlanta's Suburban Reporter
Fairburn, South Fulton Recorder
Roswell, North Fulton Herald

GILMER
Ellijay Times-Courier

GLASCOCK
Gibson, Record and Guide

GLYNN
Brunswick News

GORDON
Calhoun Times
Calhoun, Gordon County News

GRADY
Cairo Messenger

GREENE
Greensboro, Herald-Journal

GWINNETT
Buford Advertiser
Lawrenceville News-Herald

HABERSHAM
Clarkesville, Tri-County Advertiser
Cornelia, Northeast Georgian

HALL
Gainesville Daily Times

HANCOCK
Sparta Ishmaelite

HARALSON
Buchanan, Haralson County Tribune
Tallapoosa Beacon

HARRIS
Pine Mountain Review
Hamilton, Harris County Journal

HART
Hartwell Sun

HEARD
Franklin, News and Banner

HENRY
McDonough Weekly Advertiser

HOUSTON
Perry, Houston Home Journal

IRWIN
Ocilla Star

JACKSON
Commerce News
Jefferson, Jackson Herald

JASPER
Monticello News

JEFF DAVIS
Hazlehurst, Jeff Davis County Ledger

JEFFERSON
Louisville, News and Farmer
Wadley Herald
Wrens, Jefferson Reporter

JENKINS
Millen News

JOHNSON
Wrightsville Headlight

JONES
Gray, Jones County News

LAMAR
Barnesville, News-Gazette

LANIER
Lakeland, Lanier County News

LAURENS
Dublin Courier-Herald

LEE
Leesburgh, Lee County Journal

LIBERTY
Hinesville, Liberty County Herald

LINCOLN
Lincolnton, Lincoln Journal

LONG
Ludowici News

LOWNDES
Valdosta Daily Times

LUMPKIN
Dahlonega Nugget

MACON
Montezuma Citizen and Georgian

MADISON
Comer News
Danielsville Monitor

MARION
Buena Vista, Marion County Patriot

McDUFFIE
Thomson, McDuffie Progress

McINTOSH
Darien News

MERIWETHER
Greenville, Meriwether Vindicator
Manchester Mercury

MILLER
Colquitt, Miller County Liberal

MITCHELL
Camilla Enterprise
Pelham Journal

MONROE
Forsyth, Monroe Advertiser

MONTGOMERY
Mt. Vernon, Montgomery Monitor

MORGAN
Madison, The Madisonian

MURRAY
Chatsworth Times

MUSCOGEE
Columbus Enquirer
Columbus Ledger

NEWTON
Covington News

OCONEE
Watkinsville, Oconee Enterprise

OGLETHORPE
Lexington, Oglethorpe Echo

PAULDING
Dallas New Era

PEACH
Ft. Valley Leader Tribune

PICKENS
Jasper, Pickens County Progress

PIERCE
Blackshear Times

PIKE
Zebulon, Pike County Journal

POLK
Cedartown Standard
Rockmart Journal

PULASKI
Hawkinsville Dispatch and News

PUTNAM
Eatonton Messenger

QUITMAN
Richland, Stewart-Webster Journal Official Organ

RABUN
Clayton Tribune

RANDOLPH
Cuthbert Times

RICHMOND
Augusta Chronicle
Augusta Herald
Augusta, The Richmond Co. Times

ROCKDALE
Conyers, Rockdale Citizen

SCHLEY
Ellaville Sun

SCREVEN
Sylvania, Screven County News
Sylvania Telephone

SEMINOLE
Donalsonville News

SPALDING
Griffin Daily News

STEPHENS
Toccoa Record

STEWART
Richland, Stewart-Webster Journal

SUMTER
Americus Times-Recorder
Americus, Weekly Times Recorder

TALIAFERRO
Crawfordville Advocate-Democrat

TALBOT
Talbotton New Era

TATTNALL
Glennville Sentinel
Reidsville, Tattnall Journal

TAYLOR
Butler Herald

TELFAIR
Lumber City Log
McRae, Telfair Enterprise

TERRELL
Dawson News

THOMAS
Thomasville Times-Enterprise
Thomasville, Weekly Times-Enterprise

TIFT
Omega News
Tifton, Daily Tifton Gazette
Tifton Gazette

TOOMBS
Lyons Progress
Vidalia Advance

TOWNS
Hiawassee, Towns County Herald

TRUETLEN
Soperton News

TROUP
Hogansville Herald
LaGrange Daily News
West Point Valley Times-News

TURNER
Ashburn, Wiregrass Farmer

TWIGGS
Jeffersonville, Twiggs Co. New Era

UNION
Blairsville, North Georgia News

UPSON
Thomaston Free Press
Thomaston Times

WALKER
LaFayette, Walker County Messenger
Rossville Open Gate

WALTON
Monroe, Walton Tribune

WARE
Waycross Journal-Herald

WARREN
Warrenton Clipper

WASHINGTON
Sandersville Progress

WAYNE
Jesup Sentinel

WEBSTER
Richland, Stewart-Webster Journal Official Organ

WHEELER
Alamo, Wheeler County Eagle

WHITE
Cleveland Courier

WHITFIELD
Dalton Citizen
Dalton News

WILCOX
Abbeville, Wilcox County Chronicle

WILKES
Washington News-Reporter

WILKINSON
Irwinton Bulletin
Irwinton, Wilkinson County News

WORTH
Sylvester Local

Sustaining Members of the Georgia Press Association

James M. Hale
American Cotton Manufacturers Institute
814 North Parkwood Road
Decatur, Georgia

Clifford M. Clarke, Jr.
Associated Industries of Georgia
680 West Peachtree Building
Atlanta 5, Georgia

James H. Tate
Atlanta Gas Light Company
243 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

R. E. Watt
The Bowater Paper Company
1330 W. Peachtree, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

John Riggall
Citizens & Southern National Bank
Atlanta, Georgia

W. L. Ramsey
Colonial Stores
2251 Sylvan Road, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Ted Forbes
Cotton Manufacturers Assn.
C & S National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Marvin Day
Harris & Weinstein
1046 Northside Dr., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Eugene Phillips
Delta Airlines
Municipal Airport
Atlanta, Georgia

C. J. Sommerville
Dillard Paper Company
1100 Murphy Avenue, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Bill Todd
Disabled American Veterans
Department of Georgia
Post Office Box 649
Atlanta, Georgia

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Fairchild Graphic Equipment Co.
3130 Maple Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

James Fleming
Fleming & Company
3155 Piedmont Road
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Harry Backer
General Electric Corporation
Director of Public Relations
Henry Grady Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Ed Fain
Georgia Chain Store Council
Healey Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Joe W. Kling
Georgia Power Company
Electric Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Seymour Henck
Henck Associates
Rhodes-Haverty Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Jim Pound
Imperial Type Metal Company
Box 48
Covington, Georgia

Kline O. Pugh
Intertype Company
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Decatur, Georgia

Earl Leonard
Licensed Beverage Industries
4310 Lakehaven Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

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Liller, Neal, Battle & Lindsey
1371 Peachtree Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Lee Rogers
Lockheed Aircraft Corporation
Marietta, Georgia

John C. Langley
Mergenthaler Linotype Co.
203-6th St.
Alexander City, Alabama

G. W. Pendery
National Lead Company
400 Bishop Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Louis C. Larsen
Old Republic Life Insurance
Director, Newspaper Division
307 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago 1, Illinois

Davenport Steward
Portland Cement Association
Mortgage Guarantee Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Col. Charles Rawson
Charles A. Rawson & Associates
302 Whitehead Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Warren Rhodes
S. P. Richards Paper Company
326 Nelson Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

W. E. Rachels
Seaboard Airline Railroad
Norfolk, Virginia

J. C. Haynes
Sears, Roebuck & Company
Ponce de Leon Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

L. A. Menzel
Sloan Paper Company
781 Wheeler St., N. W.
P. O. Box 5079, Station 2
Atlanta, Georgia

M. A. Landers
Southeastern Printers Supply Corp.
507 Peters Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Clack Tucker
Southern Bell Telephone & Telegraph Company
Atlanta, Georgia

Charlie Thorp
Southern Bell Telephone& Telegraph Company
Room 306-805 Peachtree Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

Thomas M. Chandler, Jr.
The Sperry & Hutchinson Co.
Room 915 Comer Bldg.
Birmingham, Alabama

Clinton R. Milstead
U. S. Steel Corporation
P. O. Box 599
Fairfield, Alabama

Anne Benton
Tucker Wayne & Company
1175 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Kirk Sutlive
Union Bag Camp Paper Corporation
Savannah, Georgia

William I. Truby
U. S. Brewers Foundation
710 Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Rhea Eskew
United Press
1211 Williams Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Associate Members of the Georgia Press Association

Clayton Bargen
Authentic Fishing Guide
2266 Fairhaven Circle, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

John E. Markwalter
The Bulletin
Catholic Laymens Assn.
Augusta, Georgia

Leonard D. Jackson
The Right Way
Central of Georgia Railroad
Savannah, Georgia

Wm. H. Boring
The Refresher
The Coca Cola Company
310 North Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Walter T. Cates
Georgia Chamber of Commerce
Forsyth Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Scott Candler
The Newsletter
Georgia Department of Commerce
100 State Capitol
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Walter Harrison
Georgia Electric Membership Corporation
Millen, Georgia

William Skinner
Georgia Farm Bureau Federation
379 New Street
Macon, Georgia

Miss Elizabeth Hynds
Georgia Farmers Market Bulletin
State Office Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Frank Craven
Georgia Forestry Commission
Box 1183
Macon, Georgia

Felton Gordon
Georgia Optometric Association
1322 Candler Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dan L. Grant
Georgia Petroleum Industries
Fulton National Bank Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

W. G. Hastings
Inn Dixie Magazine
c/o Higgins- McArthur Co.
302 Hayden Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

P. D. Mathews
Douglasville, Georgia

The War Cry Magazine
The Salvation Army
675 Seminole Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Mildred Seydell
The Seydell Quarterly
25 Ardichamp
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1	600
2	5
3	0
4	4
5	180
6	26
7	0
8	0
9	0
10	33
11	295
12	88
13	0
14	75
15	100
16	915
17	530
18	66
19	950
20	220
21	375
22	2380
23	170
24	110
24A	200
25	1100
26	245
27	270
28	690
29	215
30	1780
31	395
32	278
33	230
34	1450
35	2380
36	1560
37	1200
38	1095
39	350
40	1785
41	2500

June 23, 1959

Professor Donald R. Matthews
Department of Political Science
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Don:

Somehow your letter of June 5 got fouled up in the inter-office mail shuffle here, and I could not remember just what it was you asked me to do. The letter has now turned up, fortunately, and we can't do much. This is, as a matter of fact, a slight bit amusing. We were unable to get 1958 registration figures from North Carolina, except for a state-wide total of 150,000 as estimated by the executive secretary of the State Election Board. Some time ago there was an item in the papers stating that the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights was gathering county figures. I promptly wrote to Mr. Marion Wright, a member of the committee and one of our officers, asking that the figures be forwarded to us as soon as they were compiled. He said he would do so. Now comes your letter. The fact is, we have never had good figures for North Carolina. In the Council's 1956 Voters Survey, a man by the name of Solomon Sutker, who now teaches at Oklahoma A. & M., made estimates for a number of counties. He used a variety of sources in doing so. I am enclosing a copy of his figures. You might be interested in Sutker's entire report, too, on North Carolina voting, and I shall work out some way of getting it to you; it seems to me a fairly interesting analysis.

We have in process pamphlets by a Norfolk reporter and a Duke professor, neither of whom I have met except through correspondence. Also, Walter Spearman, at your school, is finishing up a pamphlet for us and I would like to look in on him. I am thinking of taking a junket next week. If I do, I would like very much to see you and to learn more about your Carnegie (Rockefeller?) grant. Will you be in, say next Wednesday, July 1, or Thursday,

July 2 ? Please drop me a quick line. Needless to say, this is not to forestall your promise of an Atlanta trip next fall.

We will keep in mind your query about a research assistant, but at the moment we do not know of anyone.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
(Dictated but not read)

LWD:a

Enclosures: thermafax, N.C. voting
and registration figures

June 26, 1959

Professor Donald Matthews
Dept. of Political Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Donald:

If plans go straight we will arrive in Chapel Hill late Tuesday night or Wednesday morning. At the last minute, we have decided to run a couple of days of vacation into this and so Peggy and the children will be with me, and we shall leave from here tomorrow. If I were alone I would be delighted to stay with you and Maggie. As it is, I shall call you after we settle down somewhere in a motel. We will be glad to see Cleaveland and any others you may have in mind. I can stay over into or through Thursday, depending on how much time Walter Spearman and my man at Duke take. I probably will have to.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

July 23, 1959

Professor Donald Matthews
Department of Political Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Donald:

Visiting with you, Maggie and the children was a tremendous treat. I want to thank you for all that you did to make the trip to Chapel Hill both useful to me and pleasant.

We move along here at about the same pace. The student I told you about did write to Bowermann, who replied that there were no assistantships being awarded at this time and suggested an application for 1960-61. In the meantime, Hammonds has accepted a National Defense Scholarship for Sociology at the University of Tennessee.

Give my regards to Maggie.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

March 21, 1960

Professor Donald Matthews
Department of Political Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Don:

It is good news that you are coming to Atlanta next month. I hope we have a few things here to make it worth your while, though by this time you are probably well advanced beyond us. But whether or not it is worthwhile to you, I am sure it will be to us.

April 7-8 is fine for the business side of the trip; Harold Fleming is on jury duty then, but should not be tied up the while time. Our home situation is that we are expecting guests (mother and tenn-age son) on the 8th and 9th, which means that we can bed you only on the 7th, and we are hoping that you plan to stay over Friday night. But if you can take a hotel on Friday night, the timing would be perfect all around. We are also in good shape at the office and home any time in April except the week after Easter.

You are bringing Maggie too, I trust.

Incidentally, we have a letter here from Thomas F. Pettigrew, who is now at the Department of Social Relations, Harvard (Emerson Hall, Cambridge 38). He would like a copy of the North Carolina voting data that you worked up.

Would it be possible for you to send it directly to him and save us the trouble of thermofaxing it?

Give my best to Maggie, and I'll look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 1, 1960

Professor Donald R. Matthews
Department of Political Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Don:

For a man who is normally at his desk practically all the time, I seem to be having unusual troubles in connection with your visit when I want them least. It is probably just as well that you are not coming next week, considering Harold's jury duty and the added fact that Peggy is working as a census enumerator. For a lot of complicated reasons, April 28-29 now looks possible but very unappealing. May, on the other hand, is good, and I am most eager to pick a time when we won't be crowded by other things. May 12 and 13 is altogether clear. May 5 and 6 just as good for me, though Harold will not be here on the 6th. You decide and let me know which it will be.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

P.S. Bring Maggie.

April 7, 1960

Professor Donald R. Matthews
Department of Political Science
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Don:

May 12 and 13 it is, and my fervent apologies for all the backing and filling. And let Miss North know, please, that she is welcome here next week.

I am pleased to hear that Jim Prothro will be working with you. He is not only a good man but I know that you two operate as an effective team.

Let me know before you arrive what your schedule will be.

Until then -- and good luck in your efforts to persuade Maggie,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

May 10, 1960

Professor Donald Matthews
Department of Political Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Don:

We shall expect you Thursday in time for lunch. The Airport bus comes by our corner, usually; if you ask the driver to let you off at or near the corner or Auburn and Ivy, he may do so, and then again he may not. The first regular stop is the Piedmont Hotel, about five blocks from the office.

You will be spending the night with us.

There are several people at the Atlanta University center whom I think you ought to see. Rather than setting up individual appointments, I have asked Dean Brazeal at Morehouse College to try to arrange a meeting with three or four people some time Friday.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

July 11, 1960

Professor Donald R. Matthews
Department of Political Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Don:

We are sending you a list of Negro office holders. We are certain that it is not complete, and in most cases our information is dated. It does, however, represent the best compilation we have on hand.

The clips are the product of a once-over check of our files for information on Negro voters' leagues. In addition to the ones cited in the clips, there is the state-wide Virginia Voters League, and there are the Tuskegee (Alabama) Civic Association and the Haywood County (Tennessee) Voters League. We are enclosing also a list of local citizens council units. Undoubtedly this is an incomplete listing, but it is the best we can do without taking considerably more time. On this item you might want to check in with Vander Zander at Duke.

There are no figures on voter registration in Tennessee. In our pamphlet, The Negro and the Ballot in the South, we mention an estimate of 185,000, attributed to "a veteran capitol reporter" (Fred Travis, the Chattanooga Times); see pp. 8 and 9. I am enclosing a copy of Travis's letter. You are free to use any of this information except Travis's name and can attribute any of it to us that you wish, though I hardly think that is necessary.

Glad to have evidence that you are hard at work. We all have great expectations for what may come out of it.

By the time you get this I suppose your boy Kennedy will be our boy, although I still plan to cast one silent, reluctant vote for him in November, and then to creep away from the polls unhappy about a country which can cast up for its post of highest leadership only two such people as Dick Nixon and Jack Kennedy. I think that basically they are much alike: synthetic men, shaped and contrived to suit a mood, fill out a pattern, and to be immune from tactical errors.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures:
Elections and Appointments (cc)
News clips, thermafax copies
Travis' letter, thermafax copy
Local Citizens Councils (cc)

ELECTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS

1. **Negroes Elected to State Legislative Bodies:**

Maryland - Harry A. Cole, Maryland's first Negro state senator, is elected as a Republican from Baltimore's fourth district, November 1954.

The first Negroes to serve in the Maryland House are elected from Baltimore-- Emory Cole, Republican; Truly Hatchett, Democrat. 1954.

Mrs. Irma G. Dixon was elected to Maryland Legislature, November 1958.

Kentucky - Felix S. Anderson, fourth member of his race to serve in the Kentucky General Assembly, was appointed head of the Committee of Suffrage, Elections, and Appointments in the Kentucky House of Representatives.

Missouri- Leroy Tyrus, James Troupe, Sr., and J. McKinley Neal were elected to the Legislature of the State of Missouri in November 1956.

2. **Negro City Councilmen:**

Arkansas - Fred W. Martin defeated two white candidates to win a city Council seat in Hot Springs from the predominantly Negrosecond ward, November 1954.

A. C. Wallace, Sr. was elected to Alexander City Council, November 1955.

Kentucky - A Negro served as acting mayor in Louisville for the first time when the Board of Alderman selected Alderman Wm. W. Beckett to act for several days in the absence of the mayor, November 1955.

Maryland - Walter T. Dixon became Baltimore's first Negro councilman in 24 years upon his election in November 1954.

Missouri - Fred Smith was elected to the Sikeston City Council in May 1953.

N. Carolina - Chapel Hill, Hubert Robinson re-elected to Board of Alderman, 1957.

Durham, R. N. Harris, first Negro elected to city council, 1953; G. S. Steward elected in 1957.

Greensboro, in 1955 Dr. Wm. M. Hampton, having served two terms on city council, did not seek re-election. Waldo C. Falkener was elected 1959.

North Carolina - continued:

Fayetteville, Harry Groves was elected to city council in 1955, the second Negro to serve; the first served from 1949 to 1953.

Kingston, Mrs. J. J. Hannibal was elected to city council in 1959.

Southern Pines, T. T. Morse in 1955 became first Negro to be elected to city council. Felton J. Capel was elected in 1959.

Wilson, Dr. G. K. Butterfield was re-elected to city council in 1955. (First elected 1953)

Winston-Salem, Rev. Wm. Crawford was elected to Board of Aldermen in 1951, re-elected in 1953, and again 1955. The Rev. Kenneth W. Williams is city council member, according to 1959 report.

Tennessee - Nashville, Two Negro councilmen are presently in office in Nashville, Robert C. Lillard and Z. Alexander Looby. (Mr. Looby was first elected in 1951, won re-election in 1955 and 1959.)

Oak Ridge, Washington R. Butler, Jr. was elected fall of 1955. ~~Died in 1957 and was replaced by Van Bruckner, also a Negro, in 1957.~~

Texas - Port Arthur, John C. Ford, first Negro councilman, elected fall of 1955; died in 1957 and was replaced by Van Bruckner, also a Negro, in 1957.

Slaton, L. L. Dixon elected to city council, 1960.

West Virginia - The Seventh Ward of the city of Huntington elected the Rev. J. Carl Mitchell to the city council in November 1956.

3. Negro Members of School Boards:

Statewide - Dr. Harold L. Trigg was reappointed to North Carolina State Board of Education in April 1957.

Arkansas - Charles Knott was elected member of Dollarway School Board, 1950-55.

Delaware - Wm. J. Lewis was a member of the Wilmington school board in 1956.

Georgia - Dr. Rufus E. Clement, first elected to the Atlanta School Board in 1953, re-elected in 1957.

W. C. Ervin elected to the Augusta Board of Education in 1952.

Two new positions on the Gainesville Board of Education were created by the city commission in 1954 and Negroes were appointed to fill both places. Appointees were Dr. E. E. Butler and D. S. Lowe, Jr. 1954.

Kentucky - Woodford R. Porter was elected to school board in Louisville, 1958.

Maryland - Dr. Aris T. Allen was serving on the Anne Arundel County school board in July 1957.

Mrs. Helen Coleman Waters was appointed a member of the Dorchester County school board (Cambridge) by Governor McKeldin, July 1956.

Doswell E. Brooks was appointed a member of the seven-man Prince Georges County Board of Education to fill unexpired term, Dec. 1956.

Missouri - Rev. John T. Hicks was elected to St. Louis Board of Education in 1959.

North Carolina - Chapel Hill, Rev. J. R. Manley elected to school board, 1959.

Durham, R. N. Harris elected in 1958.

Greensboro, City Council reappointed Dr. Wm. M. Hampton in March 1958. Dr. David D. Jones was, prior to his death in 1955, a member of the school board.

Raleigh, F. J. Carnage has been school member since 1949; re-appointed in 1955 and again in 1959.

Rocky Mount, Dr. Joseph W. Parker elected unanimously by city Board of Aldermen in January 1957.

Southern Pines, P. T. York is a member of the Board of Education, 1959.

Winston-Salem, Rev. Wm. R. Crawford was on school board in 1959.

South Carolina - W. T. Wildy is a member of the Beaufort County school board.

Texas - Mrs. Charles E. White was elected to the Houston school board by a margin of 6,296 votes, November 1958.

4. <u>Other Appointive or Elective Offices Held by Members of the Negro Race:</u>

Alabama - Two Negroes were elected to county Democratic committee posts in Mobile in 1954.

The first Negro member of the Birmingham Community Council was appointed in May 1954.

Mayor Joseph N. Langan of Mobile appointed a 28 member bi-racial committee on human relations in April 1956. The 15 white and 13 Negro appointees are to work in the fields of housing, health and sanitation, political rights, employment and business, education, and recreation.

Arkansas - Three Negroes wer appointed to the State Democratic Committee in the fall of 1954; three others were named in June 1955.

4. (Other Appointive or Elective Offices, continued:)

Delaware, Governor J. Caleb Boggs appointed a bi-racial committee of five to work with him on a program of human relations in the state in September 1955.

Florida: Miami, First Negro judge in the South since Reconstruction was appointed in April 1950 (Judge L. E. Thomas). He presided over all-Negro court for 5½ years. Present judge of the city's Negro court is also a Negro, John D. Johnson.

Henry H. Arrington is on Miami Housing Authority. Arrington was dismissed from appointive office of assistant state attorney in 1956.

Georgia: Two Negroes were elected to the Fulton County Executive Committee of the Democratic Party, September 1958: Dr. C. A. Bacote and Mr. J. C. Daugherty.

Kentucky: Senator Earle C. Clements appointed Julius Elliott Price, 17, to the U. S. Military Academy, the first appointment of a Kentucky Negro by a Kentucky congressman. May 1955.

Frankfort--The governor appointed a Negro aide, between 1954-56.

Louisville--Mrs. Frances Parrish is the first Negro to serve as executive supervisor for the city Division of Recreation. Since her appointment she has supervised both white and Negro personnel. 1954-56.

Louisiana: New Orleans--Alexander Lanesuville, Special Assistant in the Office of Veterans Administrator in New Orleans, was appointed and is the first Negro to serve in this capacity in the South. October 1954.

Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield appointed Frank Walker an administrative aide in Postal Transportation; he is first to serve in such a post in the South. Fall 1954.

For the first time in recent history, a Negro was appointed by the District Attorney of New Orleans to serve on his special investigative staff. May 1954.

Mrs. V. B. Hill was elected to the New Orleans Teachers Retirement Fund, 1955.

Gilbert Porterfield was named to congressional staff of Congressman F. Edward Hebert, for "liaison in the area of race relations." December 1954.

Maryland: Baltimore--Mrs. Lena K. Lee became the first Negro appointed by the mayor to the Baltimore Redevelopment Commission, 1955.

Dr. Martin D. Jenkins was appointed a member of the permanent advisory commission on Higher Education (Baltimore) in January 1957.

A Domestic Relations Court was set up in 1955 and George Rosedom, the first Negro appointed an assistant state's attorney (February 1954) was the only member from that office assigned to the court. At the same time, the court appointed two social workers as consultant-advisors, one of them a Negro. 1955.

4. (Other Appointive or Elective Offices, continued:)

Maryland, continued:

Appointment of the first Negro U. S. Deputy Marshall in Maryland, Wm. A. Harris, was announced. 1956.

John Hargrove was appointed Assistant U. S. Attorney. (Between 1954-56)

The appointment of E. Everett Lane as an associate judge of the Peoples' Court of Baltimore City was announced by Governor McKeldin in January 1957 to fill an unexpired term. Term expired 1958.

Governor McKeldin appointed the first Negro, Mrs. Virgie Waters, to the State Board of Hairdressers. 1955.

Governor McKeldin appointed Furman Templeton, director of the Urban League of Baltimore, as the first and only Negro member of the Commission on State Programs, Organizations, and Finance in July 1955.

Missouri: Kansas City--In a city-wide election, Carl R. Johnson was elected municipal judge, the first Negro in the state elected to a judicial position. March 1955.

Jefferson City--Theodore McMillan appointed circuit judge by Governor Donnelly, 1956.

North Carolina: Statewide--Three Negroes were appointed to North Carolina Citizens Committee for Better Schools in March 1957.

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, already on the State Board of Education, was appointed Coordinator of Negro Activities in the State Prison System.

Dr. Murray B. Davis is a member of State Prisons Commission (appointive office).

Gastonia--Nathaniel Barber, first elected city treasurer in 1953, re-elected in 1955 and again in 1957. (Did not run in 1959 due to poor health.)

Mecklenburg County--At least four Negro voting registrars serve in Mecklenburg County, in predominantly Negro precincts.

Lumberton--A Negro was appointed registrar of a voting ward and two Negro elections' managers for the same ward were named by city council in 1959. (Registrar: Rev. Eugene B. Burner; Elections' Managers--Mrs. Bessie Powell, James Graves.)

Wilson--A Negro contractor was named chairman of the Wilson Housing Authority Board in February 1955.

Winston Salem--Leander Hill was appointed a member of the Forsyth County Draft Board in 1955.

Princeville, an all Negro town, has, of course, only Negro public office holders.

4. (Other Appointive or Elective Offices, continued:)

South Carolina: Rock Hill--The first Negro is appointed by the mayor and and city council to the Recreation Commission in May 1955.

M. T. Wildy and the Rev. Mack Sharpe were elected as delegates to the State Democratic Convention in 1958.

Beaufort County--LeRoy Brown elected to Board of Directors, June, 1960.

Tennessee: The city council elected a Negro to the City Planning Commission of Knoxville, August 1955.

Virginia: New Kent County--Samuel Crump is elected to the County Board of Supervisors in October 1955.

Portsmouth--Judge Lawrence I'Anson appointed Talmadge Johnson to the Board of Equalization of Real Estate Assessments for six months. 1955.

Virginia Beach--Nelson H. Davis was appointed deputy sheriff in Princess Anne County on December 30, 1955, the first Negro to hold this office.

Mrs. Alice B. Petty was sworn in as personal property Tax Assessor for Princess Anne County early in January, 1957.

West Virginia: Charleston--Governor William Marland appointed J. Alexander Creasby a member of the Probation and Parole Board in 1953; chairman of the Board in 1955.

Charles Price was appointed a rate analyst by the State Insurance Commissioner in 1955.

Carl Hairston became the first Negro appointed Assistant State Superintendent of Schools. (He had been in the department before but had dealt only with Negro schools; his new appointment removed the racial restriction.) 1955.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date January 3, 1962

To: JM From: PR

Subject: Comments on the Zinn manuscript

1. Page 1, second paragraph: The comment on the "participation of young southern whites" - I am not aware of any considerable white participation in the Albany situation.

2. The same paragraph: Is it fair to charge the administration with "cautiousness approaching timidity"?

3. Page 12, 4th paragraph: Did the Tuesday demonstration consist of "400 high school and college students"? I was not aware that it was so overwhelmingly made up of young people.

4. Page 13, 2nd paragraph: I would not designate Jim Foreman as "a leader of many desegregation struggles".

5. Page 14, 2nd paragraph: Wyatt Tee Walker was also in the SCLC group. Is it accurate to indicate that persons other than King himself were invited from SCLC?

6. Page 15, 2nd paragraph: Should there not be some mention of the press conference held by Page of the Albany movement declaring the local nature of the movement. Most of the maneuvering that day was between SNCC, SCLC, and the Albany movement. I am not aware that there was NAACP involvement at that time, as was noted in this paragraph.

7. Page 18. I don't think that the comments on agency competition are adequate. If this subject is to be handled, it should be at greater ~~length~~ length and not simply in answer to published reports.

8. Page 19. 2nd paragraph. I think it questionable to use the Communist analogy in analyzing this situation. I question whether there needs to be a discussion of outsiders as such.

9. Page 21, 1st paragraph. This particular line of argumentation seems to me not particularly relevant to the subject.

10. Page 22, 2nd paragraph. There was a Herald reporter on hand at least some of the time while I was in Albany.

11. Page 24. I believe that this entire analysis of the police situation should be carefully gone over. We need to be clear on our legal bases.

12. Page 27. 2nd paragraph. The comments on the total penalogical failure of the nation seems to me, again, superfulous editorializing.

13. Page 31. Following. I'm not sure that this much evaluation of what the federal government might have done is useful or that I would accept all of the logic involved. This requires careful analysis.

General comments. I think this study will be of the greatest value if it is primarily a consideration of a new technique, applied in McComb and again in Albany, through the catalytic agency of SNCC agents coming into the community. This seems to me not sufficiently an evaluation of these tactics and too much an analysis of just another local difficulty. I think further that there is too much pamphleteering and editorializing to give the impression of an objective and careful analysis.

Comments on Frances Pauley's comments.

1. Her reactions to page 13. If the details of the negotiations are going to be reported in the analysis, they should also include the fact that while the white negotiators were attempting to convince these city commissioners to accept the report, the Negroes sent over another document listing a series of differing demands from those agreed upon earlier by the negotiating group. This document was signed by one of the Negroes who had been on the interracial committee. As one of the white negotiators, Mr. Wilson, told me, this was "the last straw."

2. Her comments on page 20. If don't believe its quite accurate to give the impression that the SNCC people were as much outsiders as representatives of other agencies. During the press conference Sunday, which gave rise to stories of interagency rivalry, Charles Jones and Don Hollowell were present and participated in the conference called by the Albany Movement leaders. In fact, the announcement of the press conference was issued by the SNCC office. On that Sunday occasion, the names of members of the executive committee were announced and Charles Jones was listed as a member. That night, it is true, Jones was dropped as an executive committee member, to strengthen the impression of a local movement. I had the understanding that his being dropped at that time was purely pro forma.

OGLETHORPE UNIVERSITY
STUDY-DISCUSSION PROGRAM
943 CLIFTON ROAD, N. E.
ATLANTA 7, GEORGIA

MRS. FRANCES PAULEY
COORDINATOR

Notes on Albany Report

Page 1. Too much emphasis on students and young people. The Albany movement, asfar as I could see was mostly adult. One of the fine things about it is that it is a cross section, of the Negro community. However Mr. Hommes found many who were against the movement and many who were apathetic.

Page 4. The usual rumors of how much the people were paid was mentioned here and also later. This was not refuted. There was great difficulty in raising the money for the tickets for the Thursday morning sit in in the bus station. Money was very scarce.

Page 9. The NAACP had already been working on registration also. I wonder about this SNCC figure on registrations. SNCC had bee n primarily interested in regsitration in Terrill county, I was given to understand.

The connection with NaaCP Youth Council and SNCC should be checked because Chapman, the NAACP leader told me he had been by-passed by SNCC. I'll try to check this again while I'm in Albany this trip.

Page 11. Chalres Jones testimony in court was interesting, I understand. Why did he tell the Albany Police the riders were coming? and also why did he tell the newspaper?

Page 13. The sequence of events on Thursday is not altogether correct.
There were no demonstrations except the group who went to the bus tickets, bought tickets to Tallahasee, some had coffee, were arrested, jailed, and later returned to the bus station under police guard. This was a little before ten in the morning. Before lunch, I had contacted one minister who went to the City Hall (Later to be a member of the negotiating committee) had gotten through to the mayor through a prominent business man, had ~~xxxxxxMarion~~ notifued Marion Page to go to see the Mayor for the first interview which led to the negotiating committee. ~~The~~ We were working as fast as possible to keep from having another demonstartion and jailing that day. By two O'clock the negotiating committee was meeting. They continued to meet with a break for supper until 10 P.M. These six were: (Don't have the names at home-- if you want them I have them at the office) The Negroes were chosen by the executive committee of the movement-- and the Mayor appointed the thee whites-- Rev. Fred. ~~Smitx~~ Wilson, Rosenberg (business) Caldwell(business) Negroes----

+ Mrs Wright

I do not know the exact time of all the Washingto n phone calls. The Negotiations did continue until noon on Friday or shortly after. Rev. Wilson thought they had made good progress because they were in agreement on releasing the prisoners on their own bond; ope ning the bus and railway terminals; continuing negotiations. The disgreement was on the point of the original 11 Freedom riders, whose ~~trial had been~~ hearing had been that Thursday afternoon and they had been returned to jail with a higher bond and another charge. The F.B.I. had been asked for reports on these 11. The reports had not been received.

The report of the negotiating committee was turned in to the Mayor who called t he commission in session.(They had been in almost continual session). The commission continued to meet in secret with no answer given. It seemed that they were stalling for time-- perhaps until King would leave town-- perhap s just refeusing ~~the~~ to face the decision. It was ru mored that the vote was 4 to 3 not to accept the committee report. The Mayor being one of the three.

Friday P.M.

Page 14. I think the quotes used from the King speech were not the best. He was not inflammatory-- but calm-- he did not call upon the Negroes to march again. Of course he did tell them to continue working-- but for the feedom of the white as well as the Negro.

Anderson's statement has been over emphasized in the press. He did say it as a final word which many didn't hear, because the crowd was breaking.

King went to two churches. The people had been promised that the overflow could hear-- that a speaker system would be installed. But the city would not give a per mit to put the line across the street. So King spoke both places. A longer speech at Shiloh where the camers and radio were. Ruby also spoke at both places.

After the Negroes received the rude, curt, answer from the Mayor on Saturday morning. They were silent (Anderon Page, King,Abernathy, Hollowell , Atty King, Walker etc) then King said "Lets try one more time to negotiate"-- and they called the Mayor who agreed to see a small committee. Anderson, Page, Atty King and Hollowell went------ these negotiations started about 10:30 and lasted until mid-afternoon before they failed.

Page 20. The Wed. night I attended the steering committee meeting Jim Foreman and Chas. Jones were there. But they very defi nitely were not a part of the group. They were as much an outsider as I. Some of their suggestions were accepted and many were not. They seemed to be very careful to stay out of the decisions. They were not in favor of inviting King dowwm All of the local steering committee were eager for King to come. The telegram was worded and sent that night asking him to come.

Page 24--- I'm uncertain about the attack on the police. The papers did compliment them too much. But they did keep from having violence. However I never saw more than a handful or rough ~~whitex~~ looking whites.

Page 27. . From what I was told by ~~the~~ Negroes, Charles Sherrod's treatment wasn't quite as bad as it sounds here.

Page 29. . Where was the Federal Govt.? I may be very wrong, Les, but I think those white people have got to wake up and make some decisions themselves, and give in to some extent without the federal governement. It all happened so fast-- I can't think -- the federal government was all that bad.

Give the local community a chance---- Albany refused to take it. But they did learn. Those business men I talked with were plenty upset-- too. They weren' t taking it calmly. . they were quiet-- everyone was quiet,

we hope something-

I simply don't know about unlawful arrest-- When isit?

Page 34. . I don't buy the Conclusion at all.---- at least not the first paragraph.

O.K. That's it. . I'm afraid this isn't very helpful. . Hope some of it will be--

I'm off at noon for Albany. Anderson says it is O.K. for Vernon and me to be there. Paul and Art are helping us prepare. We'll try to do a good job. . . I'll phone you.

Frank

INTRODUCTION

Advances in civil rights of Negroes in the South during the past decade have been ~~associated with~~ accompanied by ~~strategies unique~~ unique strategies in the field of race relations, ~~with~~ which have varying degrees of effectiveness in their reults. Although the principle of non-violence has operated at the core of Southern Negro protest over the last seven years, the specific techniques ~~in~~ used to induce change has ranged from a prolonged mass boycott in the Montgomery bus protest, to the student sit-ins in lunch counter desegregation, to the Freedom Rides in efforts to desegregate bus and train terminals.

The recent demonstrations in Albany, Ga., combine~~x~~ these major strategies in a single situation. The Albany movement, like the Montgomery boycott, is broad-based, cutting across age and class groups within the Negro community. The initiating spark that gave birth to the movement was ~~a sit-in~~ an attempt by members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee — in the tradition of the Freedom Rides — ~~and the target of this group -- as the Freedom Riders -- was the~~ to test~~ing of~~ the I.C.C. regulations concerning public accommodation facilities in carriers involved in interstate travel.

It is partly because the Albany demonstrations represent a marked variation on recent methods for attacking segregation, and partly because of a concern for providing the background against which crucial decisions are likely to be made, that this on-the-spot ~~survey~~ report was undertaken. At least two crucial decisions presently confront the city of Albany, Ga. What action should the City Commission take on the recommendations prepared by the Albany Movement at its meeting ~~originally scheduled for~~ which was postponed from January 11 ~~now postponed to~~ to Febrauary 23?

How will the expulsion of over 40 students from Albany State College for participation in the demonstrations affect the tense equilibrium now present in this deep South city?

See press report from The Atl-Jnl + Const Sunday Jan 7, 1962 reproduced

COPY

Athens Riot Trial Plans Still Lacking

Another term of criminal court is about to begin in Athens, and there still are no definite plans for trying 11 persons indicted in connection with the desegregationriot at the University of Georgia, according to Sol. Gen. Marshall Pollock.

Criminal court week will begin Jan.15, and Sol. Gen. Pollock said Saturday he will call the year-old cases for trial. However, he said he had no intention of dropping the charges. "I just don't know if they'll be tried now," he said.

INDICTED IN connection with rioting when the university admitted two Negro students, were two students and nine Atlanta area men, eight of whom were admitted Klan Klux Klansmen.

Their trials have been postponed from the April, July and October terms of court.

ALBANY STUDENT PENALTY STRESSED

By Gordon Roberts

An Albany attorney contended Saturday that Negroes suspended from Albany State College were dealt with more harshly than white students who took part in anti-integration riots at the University of Georgia last year.

C.B. King, who represents about 40 Negro students who have been suspended thus far at Albany, charged that punitive action was taken against them "for doing what they had a right todo", while white university students were not punished for participating in "mob action."

The suspended Negroes will appeal their cases, if necessary, to federal court, Mr. King said. Appeal procedure calls for seeking a rehearing at the college, and that failing, to ask the University System Board of Regents to review the suspensions.

* * *

THE NEGRO STUDENTS were suspended for taking part in anti-degregation demonstrations in mid-December, which for the most part involved "freedom" marches to the Albany Cith Hall.

Mr. King said he knows personally of at least 40 who have been suspended, but the number could run as high as 100. He said there were about that many Albany State students arrested as a result of the demonstrations. STUDENTS WERE CHARGED WITH "CONDUCT" DETRIMENTAL TO ALBANY STATE COLLEGE." COLLEGE OFFICIALS WERE STILL HOLDING CLOSED DISCIPLINARY HEARINGS SATURDAY MORNING.

In appealing the cases, Mr. King said he would contend that the Negroes were ousted for doing what they had a right to do, but white University of Georgia students were allowed to stay, though what happened there last January "was clearly mob action."

(According to university officials, three university students -- two of whom were indicted by a grand jury for allegedly participating in the riot -- were suspended, but were cleared to return to the University after being out about one quarter. Two other students withdrew while university action was still pending against them.

(Seventeen students arrested by Athens police in connection with the rioting and other protest demonstrations on and off the campus were tried in the city court and a number of them convicted. The university placed them on probation.)

ATTORNEY KING ALSO NOTED THAT THE ALBANY DEMONSTRATIONS OCCURRED AFTER SCHOOL HOURS OR WHILE THE NEGROES WERE OUT FOR THE HOLIDAYS, AND THAT THEY DID NOT OCCUR ON THE COLLEGE CAMPUS.

College President William H. Dennis reportedly has received from the State Law Department advice on the actions he is taking. There also are rumors in Albany that University System Regent Roy Harris, an arch-segregationist, has advised President Dennis.

HOWEVER, Mr. Harris Saturday said that report was without foundation, that he has not discussed the situation with the college president. He said the regents did discuss it at a recent meeting, but decided to let President Dennis handle the matter.

Meanwhile, Regent Chairman Robert O. Arnold supported Mr. Dennis in the suspensions.

JL
thanks

U.P.I.
Atlanta Bureau
From Robert H. Gordon

Dear Mr. Zinn:

I have just completed reading your report for the Southern Regional Council on Albany and find I must admit you have out-reported newsmen on the job. Splendid! I received the report in the mail this morning and could not wait until reaching home to read it.

It is well organized, oriented, and lucid. Many of the features of the report were news to me -- a reporter who arrived in Albany December 11.

Having covered Freedom Rides in Jackson, Mississippi and racial developments in McComb, Mississippi before Albany the report is something I have longed to do myself ... this is what, and justly, must be done after white citizens in a secluded city discover they have been wrong for years about the feelings of their Negro brother.

COPY

NATION
From Carey McWilliams, Editor

To Howard Zinn

That report of yours for the Southern Regional Council is a completely first-rate document. I only wish when they do reports of this kind they would let some one magazine do them first.

COPY

From Harry J. Carman
Dean Emeritus
Columbia College

To Howard Zinn

I am grateful to you beyond words for sending me a copy of Special Report on Albany. It is tops in every respect. I am especially happy that you included the section on "outside" influences. It is studies of this kind which are based upon factual information and presented objectively that are somuch needed. Not only are you to be congratulated on the report, but the manner in which you have presented it.

COPY

From Marilyn Young
American Embassy
Tokyo, Japan

To Howard Zinn

...your report on Albany was magnificent. We read it aloud ...one night until after midnight. My hand is shaking slightly with both emotion and cold. I was about to write asking if you could not get it published in book form - a Bantam paperback or something - anything to give it the widest possible readership.

The report is the best kind of history - the only meaningful journalism, and the really fine sense of language made it that much more impressive. To write about social injustice without screaming, without somehow enhancing one's own moral value at the expense of the subject material is most difficult.

COPY

From Irwin L. Glatstein
Jewish Community Council
Houston, Texas

To Paul Rilling

...Before I close, however, I must add just a word or two about the latest special report of the SRC, Zinn's memorandum on Albany. In my not in the least humble opinion, it is one of the best of the SRC has published (sic.). It is beautifully written, perceptive, and does not in the least confuse objectivity with partisanship. I believe it is an outstanding bit of reporting, and I trust it will receive wide circulation.

And on that good word I will close.

COPY

St. Mark Methodist Church
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
From W. T. Handy

Southern Regional Council, etc.

Dear Sirs:

I have received and read this date of your excellent Special Report entitled "Albany," by Howard Zinn.

I hereby request that a similar type report be made on the Baton Rouge situation. It is felt that this would be most helpful both nationally and locally.

COPY

From The Ohio State University
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology
James W. Vander Zanden
Assistant Professor

To Leslie W. Dunbar

Howard Zinn's "Albany" just arrived in today's mail and I want to take this opportunity to tell you how appreciative I am that you include me in your mailings of the Council's "special reports."

I find the material invaluable. It comes in very handy in lectures, in preparing articles, and currently in writing a textbook on minority relations that I have under contract.

Thanks ever-so-much.

COPY

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

37

A L B A N Y

By

HOWARD ZINN

Professor of History
and Social Science
Spelman College

Slowly developing anger and unpublicized dignified protest by Negro adults -- a dramatic outburst of Negro students to bring the issues to public attention -- and then a new synthesis of adult-student leadership marshaling the forces of the entire Negro community: this has been the developmental pattern in a number of southern protest movements these past few years, and so it was in Albany.

SRC: 22
January 8, 1962

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Two weeks before Christmas, 1961, 737 persons in the Black Belt city of Albany, Georgia -- college students, professionals, working people, and children -- marched, prayed, sang, and went to jail to try to force open doors shut tight to Negroes since the city was founded in slavery days.

Into that week of protest and excitement was compressed every major issue debated today in the changing South: the enforcement of national law by local authorities hostile to that law; the absence of communication between whites and Negroes living close together in a small southern city; the ambitions of local politicians; factionalism in Negro leadership; monopoly of the press and television; charges of "outside" agitation and "subversive" influence; the peculiar operations of local justice; jailhouse brutality. Intertwined with these were other elements: the remarkable role played by a handful of young people, already veterans of several prisons, devoted to a philosophy of non-violence in an atmosphere of police repression; the participation of a few young southern whites, trying to pay with personal sacrifice the debt of their ancestors for ten generations; the awkward cautiousness of a national administration.

The following report is based on newspaper accounts in Atlanta and Albany, and on-the-spot talks with the mayor, businessmen, deputy sheriffs, white ministers, politicians, local editors, Negro leaders both local and national, men and women just emerged from prison, young Freedom Riders in and out of the county jailhouse, white local people unconnected with the city leadership, and Negroes not involved in the demonstrations.

Albany, Georgia

Many Georgians call it All-benny. Andrew Jackson drove the Indians from the flat, wooded plain so that cotton could become king here and all over the deep South before the Civil War. This was slave plantation country, and Albany was its trading center, incorporated in 1841 to become the seat of Dougherty County. DuBois, in The Souls of Black Folk, describes the area as it was in those days:

> For a radius of a hundred miles about Albany stretched a great fertile land, luxuriant with forests of pine, oak, ash, hickory, and poplar, hot with the sun and damp with the rich black swampland; and here the cornerstone of the Cotton Kingdom was laid.

At the turn of the century, blacks outnumbered whites five to one, and Albany was a placid little town, slavery gone and segregation firmly in its place.

Today the city is a four-hour drive straight south from Atlanta, past scraggly cotton, clusters of Black Angus cattle, and beautiful brown fields of pecan trees. Across Kinchafoonee Creek, on the banks of the Flint River, it is wide-avenued and clean, a commercial center for southwest Georgia, trading corn, cattle, and pecans, attracting tourists, new industry, and travelers heading toward Florida. "Tenth fastest booming city in the U.S.A.," the man at the Chamber of Commerce said proudly. "There's the rating -- in black and white." We both must have had the same thought.

The black majority has gone down to 42% since World War II -- 23,000 Negroes out of a total of 56,000 -- making it possible for political leaders to say now, as one did sitting back in his swivel chair, "We need to listen to the majority." In the practicality

of it, however, democracy often counts voices rather than heads, and in the year 1961 the spoken demands of 40% may sound thunderous in contrast with the century-long silence of that overwhelming majority which once made the Black Belt really black.

A History of "Good Race Relations"

Again and again -- in the office of a political leader, in the anteroom of a businessman, sitting with a newspaper editor, in the living room of a middle-class white family -- the statement was made, "Albany has always had good race relations.... Our colored folks have been satisfied.... We have made considerable progress...." In a nation with ten thousand history teachers, memories remain poor; for the same statements were made in Montgomery before the bus boycott, in Atlanta before the sit-ins, and all through the South in the days of slavery.

Yet, the argument cannot be dismissed without meeting it, for it rests on stubborn facts: that the relations in Albany were peaceful; that the Negro community raised no shouts of dissatisfaction; that progress had been made. It is only when they are moved out of simple isolation into the texture of life itself that these undisputed facts become part of a much more complex vision of Negro life.

In a market where social goods are unevenly distributed, peace must always be paid for. The price, paid in the South by blacks and received by whites, has begun in recent years to seem not quite right. And the mistaking of silence for satisfaction has often been the ruin of a dominant group in the social order, who usually pay little attention until centuries of accumulated grievances gather and explode in a chain reaction. The white South has been notably unequipped

with the kind of social seismograph that would detect the first faint tremors of unrest, and too far out of touch with Negroes (the physical proximity of blacks and whites at work in Albany and elsewhere is offset by the social distance inherent in unequal status) to hear any but the loudest noises. Thus, southern whites have been hurt and shocked by the eruptions of the past few years.

In Albany, deep in the Black Belt, the shock of the pre-Christmas protest was particularly great. This was so because white and Negro residents have starkly different perceptions of the city in which they live.

A city political leader respected by many Negroes, twice mayor of Albany and a law partner of the present mayor, cannot believe that Albany Negroes are dissatisfied. Mr. James W. "Taxi" Smith (a champion runner in college, he once got tired in a cross-country race and took a cab the rest of the way) stated, "Outside agitators have caused all this trouble. Those Freedom Riders are getting $100 a day. Minimum! Some getting $200. Albany Negroes," he went on, "got as fair trials as white folks. Same crime, same sentence." (On the other side of town, the story was different. A Negro businessman whose independence irritated the city fathers, it was said, was fined $400 for a traffic offense.) As for juries, Negroes got on the lists, Mr. Smith said. A question about Negroes on actual trial juries brought a serious look, perhaps even a twinge of uneasiness; one got the feeling that he, as a lawyer, found it hard to square his professional ethic with the consistent exclusion of Negroes from juries. "Well, I don't know. I don't think it will work in this situation."

"Progress" rivals "satisfaction" in the frequency of its occurrence in the white comments on race relations in Albany. The history of these relations in the city was one of progress, intelligent and good-hearted white people said again and again. Like the confusion of peace with satisfaction, and silence with consent, here is another failure to understand the complexities of social change. The evidence is strong that it is precisely progress which brings the clamor for more progress. The American colonies on the eve of the Revolution, France under Louis XVI, Russia in the early 20th century, India and some of the African territories in our time were all making remarkable progress when the social fabric was burst by revolution. For progress creates expectations, and if its pace (no matter how swift compared to the past) does not match the ballooning of expectations, it is not enough.

This century has created expectations for Negro Americans which cannot be satisfied by the air-conditioned segregated school pointed to pridefully by the civic leaders of Albany, and by a friendly young cab driver. Albany Negroes live on clean and pleasant -- if unpaved -- streets in a town where roses bloom in December and there are no concrete skyscrapers or billowing smokestacks to keep out the fragrance and beauty of the surrounding countryside. White Albanians are friendly and helpful in personal contact. White lawyers have defended Negro clients. "A.T. Walden /Atlanta's venerated Negro attorney/ would phone me from Atlanta and ask me to handle this case for a poor colored boy. And I'd do it."

In Mayor McAfee's administration in the early 1950's, streets were paved in some Negro areas, the Negro football field was lighted, and a liaison com-

mittee kept contact with the Negro community. When the committee wanted to go beyond the paving of streets, and started talking about hiring Negro policemen, it fell into disuse. And then there is -- it must be mentioned at least twice, to give a slight notion of how often it is mentioned by Albany's white leaders -- the air-conditioned school.

To the Negro community, however -- and this is one of the hardest things for whites in Albany to understand -- all this was like improving the food inside a prison; for all progress was within the framework of a sharply segregated society. While in Albany's natural landscape, greens, yellows,and browns blend imperceptibly, its library, schools, hotels,and other public accommodations are all designated either black or white.

A Negro arriving in Albany on the colored part of the bus, enters a colored waiting room, drinks from a colored fountain, uses a colored restroom, has to walk eight blocks to find a restaurant which will feed a colored person, and must pass by five white hotels to find a modest Negro motel -- a better one is six miles away. He had better not get into trouble, for the entire machinery of justice in Albany is bound up with skin color. The courts are segregated, the jails are segregated, the judges, juries, sheriffs, deputies, and city police are all white. Tax forms for Negroes have a special color. There are no Negroes in city or county government, but there are well-educated, cultured, and competent Negroes in Albany who could move tomorrow into the highest municipal offices and bring credit to the community. Negroes in Albany get jobs on the basis of ability, but only after color has narrowed the field to a slit. "If

I can do a job as good as a white man, why shouldn't I have it?" a Negro porter asked me as we stood on the steps of the white church where he was employed.

To see the situation on the most elemental level, a white man must somehow recognize that no Negro in downtown Albany can stoop to a water fountain before making sure it is labeled "colored." On a level both more abstract and more heartfelt, whites need to comprehend, even dimly, the attack on his dignity felt by every Negro adult male who is called "boy." There is a basic hurt attached to being an American Negro -- both North and South -- which cannot be conveyed by any cold list of specific grievances.

In Albany, there has been no way for fair-minded white people to know these things. There has been contact, but it has been superficial. There has been exchange of words, not of feelings. But if communications inside that little city are crude, between Albany Negroes and the outside world they are as advanced as modern science can make them through radio, television, air travel, national newspapers, and magazines. And there are the mails, no longer closed, as in Abolitionist days, to the arguments for racial equality. Besides this there is the fact that several thousands of Albany's population are attached to Air Force or Marine Corps units in the area -- integrated units. Young Albany Negroes have gone to college in other parts of the country. The only college in the city -- Albany State College for Negroes -- long quiescent, is now sensitive to the winds blowing from Atlanta, Nashville, and Greensboro which tell of student demonstrations and protests and remarkable changes, fought and then accepted, in the once-adamant South.

All of these influences have acted on Albany Negroes and created expectations far beyond the crawling progress and kindly tolerance which Albany's white leaders thought -- and think -- sufficient. The white community somehow has not faced the idea that Albany cannot escape the general upheaval shaking the South today.

Something was necessary to shake the white community into the first pang of such awareness. So, around Thanksgiving, 1961, the Albany Movement was born.

The Albany Movement

On the first of November, 1961, a white college girl from Memphis named Selyn McCollum raced through the streets and back alleys of Albany to evade the police, took refuge in a Negro home, slipped out in a makeshift disguise to make her way to the bus terminal, and stationed herself in a position to watch nine young Negroes ordered out of the white waiting room. It was the day that the new Interstate Commerce Commission ruling for desegregation of train and bus facilities went into effect. Within 48 hours, the Department of Justice was notified that this ruling had been violated.

Behind the action of those young people in Albany that day was a history of rising indignation in the Negro community of that city. Slowly developing anger and unpublicized dignified protest by Negro adults -- a dramatic outburst of Negro students to bring the issues to public attention -- and then a new synthesis of adult-student leadership marshaling the forces of the entire Negro community: this has been the developmental pattern in a number of southern protest movements these past few years, and so it was in Albany.

The demonstrations in Albany had their roots in two race relations incidents, both occurring in the winter of 1961. Early in January of that year, a group

of Negro leaders presented the city commissioners with a request to initiate the desegregation of certain city facilities. It is reported that the commissioners never replied to this request. On February 6, the Albany Herald, edited by James H. Gray, Chairman of the Georgia Democratic Party and a leading southern segregationist, published an editorial rejecting the Negroes' request both presently and also for the future. This action brought into the open a long-standing feud between the Negro community and the city's only daily newspaper. Negro leaders contend that the newspaper's editorials had the effect of inciting action against Negroes. In February and March, sporadic incidents occurred around the Albany State College campus, in which marauding whites in automobiles threw eggs, fired shots, and once tried to run down a Negro student. The Dean of Students at Albany State, a dynamic young woman named Irene Asbury Wright, newly wed to an Air Force lieutenant stationed in Albany, resigned in protest over the college administration's timidity in defending the students. (She and her husband were later to become leading figures in the Albany Movement.) Before going off for the summer, Albany State students staged a protest march on the president's office.

The Negro ministerial alliance had written a letter to Mr. Gray asking fair treatment. The ministers next sent a registered letter to Mayor Asa D. Kelley, asking for a hearing, and proposing a biracial committee to discuss Albany's race relations. There was no response.

It was against this background of local unrest, frustration, and developing action that the Atlanta-based Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in September, 1961, sent a team into Albany to register Negro voters. SNCC was born out of the sit-in struggles

of 1960 and staffed by a small group of young people who had experienced jailings in the sit-ins and beatings in the 1961 Freedom Rides. They set up an office in a run-down little building two blocks from the Shiloh Baptist Church, registered voters, and through their enthusiasm and energy acted as a catalyst to a community which had already begun to stir.

When the I.C.C. ruling was handed down, SNCC, whose members had gone to jail through the summer to force this ruling, was ready to test it the very first day of its existence in the segregated terminals of Albany. That is why on November 1, Charles Sherrod and Cordell Reagan, two veterans of the Freedom Rides, rode down to Albany from Atlanta on the Trailways bus, with white Selyn McCollum deliberately sitting apart from them but prepared to witness later that day the test of the new ruling. The sight of police waiting for them at the terminal produced Selyn's hour-long race through Albany streets before she could slip, undetected, into her intended refuge, a Negro home. When, later that afternoon, she made her way back to the terminal, and watched the students being ordered out of the white waiting room, the SNCC mission was accomplished, and she took the bus back to Atlanta.

In the meantime, the Youth Council of the local NAACP had made plans to test the I.C.C. ruling and began to work with SNCC. There was some uncertainty by NAACP adults about SNCC's entrance into the situation. It was partly in an attempt to rectify this confusion about roles, partly to gather into a cohesive organization the loose and lengthening strands of discontent in the Negro community, that the Albany Movement was formed on November 17, 1961, about two weeks after the SNCC action at the Trailways Terminal.

Oddly enough, it was Mayor Asa D. Kelley himself, worried on the eve of his re-election over the possibility of a Negro write-in vote, who asked to meet with Negro leaders. Assembled to prepare for this meeting, they formed the Albany Movement, a coalition of the colored ministerial alliance, NAACP, SNCC, and other Negro organizations. They named local osteopath Dr. W. G. Anderson as president, retired railroader Marion Page as secretary, and expressed their determination to attack discrimination at a number of key points: bus and train stations, libraries, parks, hospitals, buses, jury representation, public and private employment, and police brutality.

As one of the leaders of the Albany Movement saw its birth, "The kids were going to do it anyway...they were holding their own mass meetings and making plans...; we didn't want them to have to do it alone." Thus, the third element fell into place; after slow local build-up and sharp action by the youngsters, the coalescing of all forces into a united and militant movement took place. Now, the next reconnaissance action in the desegregation campaign would find massive reinforcements ready to act.

The I.C.C. Ruling and the Albany Police

That first move came Wednesday morning, November 22, 1961, three weeks after the I.C.C. ruling forbidding segregation in terminal facilities, when three members of the Youth Council of the NAACP in Albany, Evelyn Toney, Eddie Wilson, and Julian Carswell, entered the Trailways bus terminal and bought tickets to Tallahassee in the white waiting room. They sat down undisturbed, then went into the restaurant and ordered something to eat. The waiter started to serve them when Chief of Police Pritchett appeared and called them outside the

station to tell them that if they went back into the lunchroom he would arrest them. The students turned away silently, re-entered the lunchroom, and were promptly arrested for breach of the peace. There were only a few people in the terminal at the time. In a half hour, the three were out on bond.

Later that afternoon, hundreds of Albany State students arrived at the terminal to go home for the Thanksgiving holidays. The new Dean of Students of Albany State College was there to point out the colored waiting room, which most of them used. Two students, however, Bertha Gober of Atlanta and Blanton Hall of Athens, went into the white waiting room and were arrested. They decided to remain in jail rather than accept bail of $100. They were soon out of jail, but expelled from Albany State College without a hearing.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, in consultation with the Negro community of Albany, decided to test once again the much-broken I.C.C. ruling. A group of eight young people, Negro and white, men and women, took the Central of Georgia in Atlanta on Sunday morning, December 10, sat together in the "white" car, ignored a conductor's demand that they move, and continued that way on to Albany. Over a hundred Albany Negroes gathered at the Albany Union Railway Terminal to meet them. It was about 3:30 in the afternoon, a quiet time in Albany, with little traffic and few whites near the station. The soft-spoken Negro editor of the Southwest Georgian, A.C. Searles, watched the scene, said later, "Reason there were all these folks waiting -- we know by experience that if you come alone, you may get a beating. Having people around helps." Waiting also for the eight riders were police and newspaper reporters. They got off the train, went into

the white waiting room, and sat down. Police Chief Pritchett told them to get out. They left with Charles Jones. (a widely-known leader of the student movement since the Charlotte sit-ins, and in charge of the SNCC Albany office) and Bertha Gober to cars outside the terminal which were waiting to take them into town. The group now numbered ten. Editor Searles reported, "I try to get close enough to hear, but not close enough to get spoken to." He said he heard Police Chief Pritchett call out, "I told you to get off the street. You are all under arrest." Some of the ten were already getting into cars. All of them were now ordered into the paddy wagon, along with Willie Mae Jones, an Albany student who was in the crowd watching. The eleven were charged with obstructing traffic, disorderly conduct, and failure to obey an officer, with bond set at $200.

Police Chief Pritchett's version, as reported in the press, was, "I told the demonstrators to move away from the terminal three times; then we called the paddy wagon and I gave the order to arrest them. We will not stand for these troublemakers coming into our city for the sole purpose of disturbing the peace and quiet of the city of Albany."

Editor Searles interpreted the incident as follows: "There was no traffic, no disturbance, no one moving. The students had made the trip to Albany desegregated without incident. Things had gone so smoothly I think it infuriated the chief. There was a good feeling in the group. They wanted to stop this."

Mass Arrests

Now the Albany Movement went into action and the next seven days saw a series of mass meetings by the Negro community, marches downtown by over a thousand Albany Negroes, singing and praying, asking freedom for

the arrested students and, as one woman said after her release from prison, "to get our rights."

When the trial of the eleven was to take place at the city courthouse on Tuesday, December 12, over 400 Negro high school and college students marched downtown to protest, singing as they went by the courthouse. Police cars with loudspeakers ordered them to disperse, they continued to walk, and then they were herded into a 15-foot-wide alley running alongside City Hall, where they waited in a driving rain for two hours as police booked them one by one on the same charges leveled against the Freedom Riders. That night a mass meeting at the Shiloh Baptist Church sang hymns and heard speeches by leaders of the Albany Movement. Many of the jailed were being released on bond, but 153 remained in prison and early the next morning were transferred to neighboring county jails.

On Wednesday, three different demonstrations took place. As court convened in the morning, about 70 Negroes marched downtown and knelt on the sidewalk in front of City Hall to pray. Their spokesman, Slater King, member of a distinguished Negro family in Albany, was arrested and sentenced to five days for contempt of court. In the early evening, 300 Negroes made one slow circuit around City Hall, returned to the Shiloh Baptist Church, re-formed, marched back to City Hall, and were arrested on charges of unlawful assembly, parading without a permit, and unlawfully congregating on the sidewalk. Chief of Police Pritchett told newsmen, "We can't tolerate the NAACP or the SNCC or any other nigger organization to take over this town with mass demonstrations."

That same day, the original 11 were bound over from the city to county court on a new state charge

of unlawful assembly. Charles Jones was released on $1000 bond and took his place in the leadership of the surging Albany Movement. Bernard Lee, young staff member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, left prison to return to his duties in Atlanta, and Tom Hayden, a white youth from Royal Oak, Michigan, was released to fulfill a speaking engagement up North. Remaining in the county jail back of Elm Street for part or all of the next seven days were: Lenora Taitt, a Spelman College graduate and veteran of the Atlanta sit-ins; Norma Collins, business manager of the SNCC office in Atlanta; Willie Mae Jones, the young Albany woman arrested "by accident"; James Forman, Executive Director of SNCC; Bertha Gober, the Albany State College expellee; and three young white people -- Per Laursen, a writer from Denmark; Robert Zellner, active in recent protest movements and a white girl, the last two, Southerners born and bred.

By Thursday, the total arrested reached 560, with 300 of these remaining in jail. That day Governor Ernest Vandiver called 150 National Guardsmen to duty in Albany and wires began arriving in Attorney General Kennedy's office (from SNCC to "stop illegal mass arrests," and from some faculty and students at Spelman College in Atlanta to "intervene in the Albany situation"). Governor Vandiver and Mayor Kelley assured the Attorney General that they could handle the situation. Albany Movement chairman, W. G. Anderson, talked by phone with the Assistant Attorney General. That day, too, ten Negroes were served coffee at the Trailways lunchroom, were arrested, jailed and later returned to the bus station under police guard, then released.

Late that night, three whites and three Negroes -- in each group one minister and two businessmen -- began negotiations to end the crisis. Neither

negotiating team, though designated to discuss terms, was empowered to decide on a settlement. The negotiations continued all Friday morning and broke up at noon, with agreement on acceptance of bus and train desegregation and on release of all the Negro marchers, but disagreement on the release of the original Freedom Riders without bond.

On Friday night, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., invited by the Albany Movement Executive Committee, arrived from Atlanta with Rev. Ralph Abernathy and spoke to a packed prayer meeting at the Shiloh Baptist Church. King told the more-than-1000 assembled listeners, "Don't stop now. Keep moving. Don't get weary. We will wear them down with our capacity to suffer." Ruby Hurley, Southeastern Regional Director of the NAACP spoke, too. "There are only two languages the white politicians and the power structure understand. One is the power of the almighty dollar bill. When those cash registers are not ringing they understand what you're talking about. They also understand the ballot." And the Albany Movement's chairman, Dr. W. G. Anderson, told the meeting, "Be here at 7 o'clock in the morning. Eat a good breakfast. Wear warm clothes and wear your walking shoes."

Meanwhile, the city commission was meeting and balking at release of the Freedom Riders without bond. In the wee hours of Saturday morning, the Albany Movement sent a wire to Mayor Kelley which he received late, at 9:30 a.m., and interpreted as an ultimatum. The wire set a 10:00 a.m. deadline after which demonstrations would resume, and the mayor responded by accusing the Negro leadership of "threats" and "bad faith." The Albany Board of Commissioners rejected the terms proposed by the Negro leadership.

At the intercession of some leaders in the Albany Movement, the mayor agreed to see a small committee. The negotiations resumed at 10:30 a.m., Saturday, but were broken off by early Saturday afternoon.

Saturday evening, December 16, came the climax of the demonstrations and mass arrests as Martin Luther King, Jr., and W. G. Anderson led 250 hymn-singing men, women, and youngsters down Jackson Street toward the county courthouse. Police Chief Pritchett stopped them two blocks from the city hall and asked King if he had a parade permit. King said, "We are simply going to pray at City Hall." Pritchett ordered the entire group arrested for parading without a permit. They were moved into the alley near the city hall, police cars rushed up to seal off the back of the alley, white onlookers were cleared off the sidewalks by police loudspeakers, and the Negroes were led one by one into the police station and booked. A southern white student from Brunswick, Georgia had marched with them and was also jailed. King, Abernathy, and Anderson were sent to Sumter County jail in Americus. Now the total arrested stood at 737, with over 400 people still in jail, many of them farmed out to prisons in nearby counties. Late Saturday night, sound trucks moved through the city calling military personnel back to the Air Force and Marine Corps bases, and police closed bars and liquor stores. The NAACP wired Vice President Johnson, Attorney General Kennedy, Governor Vandiver, and Mayor Kelley, protesting "unwarranted and illegal arrests."

Sunday was a quiet day, but the news vacuum was soon filled by reports of a rift in the movement. James Gray, the Herald editor, appeared on Albany's television station -- of which he is a part owner --

to denounce "outside elements." The Atlanta Constitution quoted an Albany Movement figure as saying, "Why can't these national organizations understand that this is a local movement?"

Negotiations were resumed Monday morning, and continued all that day, with the Albany Movement represented by C. B. King (first and only Negro lawyer in the history of the city); Attorney Donald L. Hollowell of Atlanta, the state's leading handler of civil rights cases; and Marion Page, acting as chairman of the Albany Movement now that Anderson was in jail. These three conferred with the Police Chief, Mayor, and City Attorney at City Hall. Verbal agreement was reached on: the acceptance by the city of desegregation of the train and bus facilities; the release of all the demonstrators from jail on the signing of simple property bonds, with the exception of the remaining eight original Freedom Riders, the reduction of their bond; the calling off of further demonstrations; and a promise by the city to hear the Negro community's case at the first business meeting of the new City Commission.

Late Monday night and up to 5:00 a.m. Tuesday morning, Negro men and women came forth from the jails. Wednesday, in the early afternoon, the eight Freedom Riders walked blinking into the sunlight outside the county jail. The Albany Herald called it a smashing defeat for the city's Negroes. Marion Page said, "We have just begun to fight." And pundits everywhere exchanged their analyses of the pre-Christmas turmoil in Albany, Georgia.

Awaiting the hearing, Albany Negroes have been framing their demands. The City Commission has set the date of the first business meeting for January 23.

And Albany State College has expelled* at least 40 students for participating in the demonstrations. What the city does now will be studied by the entire nation.

Was it Victory or Defeat?

A front-page story in the New York Herald Tribune the day after the Albany settlement called it "one of the most stunning defeats" in the career of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The Tribune correspondent termed it a "devastating loss of face" for King, said the Albany Movement had been considerably weakened by King's arrival, and noted a "collapse" of Negro pressure. James Gray's Albany Herald quoted from this article to underline its own analysis of the situation as a huge defeat for the Negro community. A young man sitting in the shabby SNCC office, just after his release from jail, was asked how he felt about the agreement. He smiled. "You curse first and then I will."

Undoubtedly, the Albany Movement got little in the way of specific concessions out of the settlement. For the city to agree to the desegregation of the terminal facilities was belated recognition of what became law on November 1. The release of the demonstrators simply restored the situation before the arrests. Trials and jail sentences still hang over everyone at the discretion of the police chief. The City Commission promises to listen, but not necessarily to act.

One immediate and specific gain did result: the establishment beyond question of Negroes' right to use the terminal facilities without discrimination. Despite statements by the mayor and police chief, this

*See Appendix.

was not a fact before the Albany crisis. Today it is a fact. On Wednesday, December 27, the Trailways restaurant re-opened -- it had been closed by order of the Chief of Police when the trouble began -- and 15 Negroes were served without a murmur of resentment.

Still, no long-term assessment of the Albany actions can be based on what was or was not conceded at the moment of settlement. This is a Deep South city, with a hundred-year history of Negro silence and white complacency which has now been shattered for all time. Anyone who sat in the Shiloh Baptist Church at the prayer meeting following the settlement knows that expectations have been raised which will not be stilled without a change in the social patterns of the city. "Albany will never be the same," Attorney Hollowell told the crowd that night, and he was right. The call for a boycott at that meeting came not from the platform but from the crowd, and was echoed by a dozen men and women who stood up amidst a swell of approval and called, with the passion of people who have tasted prison, for Negroes to stay away from the downtown stores.

Analysts may coolly add up the concessions on both sides and come out with a mathematical sum which signifies defeat. But the Negroes of Albany have no such feeling. The Negro porter on the steps of an Albany church said, "No, we're just beginning. Just beginning." And a woman on the Executive Committee of the Albany Movement declared, "We are anything but through with the fight to be full citizens right here in Albany. There's a lot that can't be told right now, and we're trying to go along and see how much good faith will be shown in January. But anybody who thinks this town is going to settle back and be the same as it was has got to be deaf, blind, and dumb."

Is Negro Leadership Split?

There were disagreements among Negroes and Negro organizations in Albany, and some remain. In this observer's view, the stories of "rift" contain some truth but have been exaggerated out of proportion to their size in the total picture. In a successful movement, organizations proliferate and begin to get in one another's way. Personalities clash and egos become involved. But when the enemy is gargantuan, it tends to devour such disagreements before they get too big. The overwhelming need of Negroes in the South for unity against the awesome economic and political power of long-entrenched interests will probably act to keep disagreements within manageable bounds.

"Outside" Influences

James W. "Taxi" Smith is convinced that the Albany troubles before Christmas were the result of "outside" agitators, Freedom Riders getting $100 a day, and troublemakers stirring up generally-contented local Negroes. Mayor Kelley of Albany and Georgia's Governor Vandiver* both told the press that "paid agitators" were at work and Kelley produced the prison records of SNCC youngsters who had gone to jail in sit-ins and Freedom Rides to prove his point. King and Abernathy were both denounced by James Gray's Herald for coming in to stir up Albany Negroes.

In the South, "outside" influences are often evident, but they do little more than heighten and sometimes direct an already intense set of grievances felt by local people.

*When students in the Atlanta University Center penned their famous "Appeal for Human Rights" in the spring of 1960, Governor Vandiver said it could not have been written in the state of Georgia, and probably was produced outside the confines of the United States, though, in fact, the student who wrote the original draft was born and bred in Atlanta.

In Albany, local people -- especially students at Albany State College -- were in motion in the spring of 1961. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee came on the scene in the early fall and acted as a further stimulus. Albany youngsters in the Youth Council of the NAACP began to act. The first arrests (November 22) were of Albany State students. The next arrests (December 10) were of SNCC young people -- white and Negro, mostly from the South, but not from Albany. The mass demonstrations were planned by local Negro citizens and the more than 400 arrested by Thursday were evidently Albanians. Only at this point did Martin Luther King, Jr. and Ralph Abernathy, Negroes from another part of the same state, arrive on the scene. They (along with that young white fellow from South Georgia) were the only non-Albany people, so far as is known, involved in the mass arrests of Saturday night, December 16. The Albany Movement was overwhelmingly a local movement.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee introduced a novel technique into the Albany situation. They came from the outside, set up headquarters in the community, and worked so closely with local people that after a while they were, as one Albany Negro put it, "completely integrated" with the Negroes of that city. By their enthusiasm, ability, and their obvious courage they won the respect of local people.

Communications

Albany whites do not know what Albany Negroes are thinking. It would balance the equation neatly to say that Albany Negroes do not know what whites are thinking, but this would not be quite accurate. For Albany Negroes read the white press, while Albany whites do not read the Negro press (the weekly Southwest Georgian

reaches 5000 Negroes in a 60-mile radius from Albany). Albany Negroes see and hear Albany whites on television, but are not seen or heard themselves. And the conversations that take place between maids and housewives, between porters and employers, are hardly accurate transmitters of genuine feelings.

James Gray's Albany Herald is one of the many examples in the United States of a journalistic monopoly -- the one daily newspaper in town. Its total circulation is 29,000, of which 5000 is Negro. While it has a Saturday page devoted to activities in the Negro community, it offers no opportunity for Albany Negroes to communicate their grievances to the white people of the town -- except for an occasional letter to the editor. The editorial policy is strongly pro-segregationist, and the leading Negroes of Albany consider the Herald the city's most formidable obstacle to racial amity. Out of the recent events came a Negro boycott of the Herald, so severe that the paper dismissed the Negro assistant circulation manager who now had little circulation to manage. The man was also Treasurer of the Albany Movement, and Mr. Gray had kept him on, knowing this, firing him only when Negro readers fell off drastically.

Even the Herald's news columns are colored by its editorial antipathy to Negro moves for desegregation. On Friday, December 22, a front-page news story read, "There was a wave of feeling among Albany's Negroes to purge themselves of the Reverend King, who now seemed transformed from the Great Leader into a political liability who was impeding the path of good relations between the races in Albany." Herald reporters gave little first-hand coverage to Negro activities, and, with the obvious admiration for King expressed by

Albany Negroes both before and after his arrest, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that this news report was manufactured in the office. This kind of reporting misleads the white community of Albany about local Negro sentiment. It makes whites adamant about holding to the status quo because it spreads the erroneous notion that Negroes are satisfied with things as they are. An element of honest self-delusion is apparent.

There are no opportunities for whites and Negroes in Albany to meet and exchange ideas in an atmosphere of equal give-and-take. Albany whites, in general, are not aware that there is a top layer of highly competent, well-educated, cultured Negroes who are worth knowing as persons, and who could make genuine contributions to the progress of the city outside of racial questions. A white minister in Albany, prominent in the city's ministerial alliance, asked me, "Are there any Negroes in Albany like the kind you find in big cities, to whom one can talk on an intellectual level?" I told him of the Negro home I had visited the previous evening, and of the authors represented in the man's library: Barzun, Edmund Wilson, Steinbeck, Schlesinger, Durrell, Suzuki, and Robert Graves.

It is not easy to find, in Albany, the white liberals who crop up in such numbers in a city like Atlanta. But this may be because the first spadeful of earth has not yet been overturned in a soil hard-encrusted since Civil War days. Once it is, people long silent will speak up, softly, but unmistakeably. A few -- ministers, businessmen, others -- have already begun. An elderly white couple, whose daughter I had met in Atlanta, invited me to tea and showed, in their questions, a basic humanity deep in all Southerners -- and, of course, in all people -- which will make race relations in the South

warm and noble once artificial obstacles are removed.

Albany's white people, like Albany's Negroes, are mostly hard-working, quiet, and peaceful people. One striking feature of the Albany situation was that at no time during the week of demonstrations -- nor during the earlier incidents connected with the Trailways Terminal -- were there any mobs, or angry crowds, or voiced threats. Could this be the first indication of what will be the pattern of Deep South reaction to subsequent Negro protests? There was one white man arrested for singing "Dixie" near Negro demonstrators, and once when a crowd gathered at the Trailways Terminal on Thursday, December 14, a few mutterings of hostility were heard. But signs of real tension were observed by no one, white or Negro, to whom I spoke and who had been on the scene. The New York Times reported in the midst of the turmoil, "There were no indications that the 30,000 white residents of Albany were greatly aroused over the dispute." Where whites did appear at the scene of demonstrations, the chief motivation seemed to be curiosity. "What were the white people doing when you were marching?" I asked a Negro man. "Nothing but reckless eyeballin'," he said, and then smiled. "That's what I call it -- reckless eyeballin'. Just curiosity."

Police, Jails, Justice

Police Chief Laurie Pritchett was hailed widely in the press for preventing violence in Albany during the week of demonstrations. An Atlanta Constitution reporter did a special piece on Pritchett in which he did not conceal his admiration. The reporter for the New York Herald Tribune said Pritchett "brought to Albany a standard of professional achievement that would be difficult to emulate in a situation so made to order for violence...." All of this praise may

indicate that Americans have unwittingly accepted a distorted conception of the rights of citizens and the duties of police officers in a democratic state. It needs to be strongly asserted that it is the function of police officers to defend the rights of citizens against anyone who would prevent them from exercising those rights. The negative function of preventing violence is an instrument supporting the positive exercise of constitutional rights by persons of the community. The praise is also a measure of the extent to which the purveyors of violence in Montgomery, Birmingham, and McComb succeeded in their function: they have managed to lower the settlement terms for race crises in the South, so that it becomes sufficient evidence of successful police action to have prevented violence. The requirement of positive protection of equal rights has been waived.

Recall what the police did, again and again. On November 1 -- the day the I.C.C. order for non-discrimination took effect -- they ordered two Negroes out of the bus station in a situation where, observers noted, there was no crowd, no threat, no indication of imminent violence or even nervous upset. On the morning of November 22, three weeks after the I.C.C. ruling, three Negroes were sitting quietly in the Trailways Terminal restaurant, waiting to get the food they ordered, with only a few people around and not the slightest sign of disturbance, when the police ordered them out, and arrested them for returning to the restaurant. The charge was breach of the peace, but there was not the slightest evidence to support the idea that they had disturbed the peace. That afternoon, two more students were arrested for using the white waiting room.

On December 10, six weeks after the I.C.C. ruling, the police arrested the eight Freedom Riders, the two

young people who came to meet them, and the one observer, as they came out of the white waiting room and began to get into cars. The charges: obstructing traffic, disorderly conduct, and failure to obey a police officer. Talks with a dozen witnesses corroborate the fact that there was virtually no traffic to obstruct, that there was nothing disorderly about the conduct of the group, and that, at the moment of arrest, they were obeying the order to disperse -- since some were already getting into cars and the rest were about to leave. There were few whites around, the hundred or so Negroes standing nearby were quiet and orderly, there were no signs of disturbance or imminent trouble, and the whole scene would have melted away in a few minutes if the order to arrest had not been given.

In the demonstrations that followed that week, over 700 people were arrested for walking in single file, or twos, on one occasion threes, downtown to the vicinity of City Hall, singing hymns and praying. The New York Times reporter, describing the first demonstrators on Tuesday, said they "strolled slowly past the courthouse in pairs, singing hymns as they walked." (It should be noted that Albany's streets are exceptionally wide.) Again, no evidence of disturbance or imminent trouble. Whites stood around staring curiously. There were no angry speeches; these people were peacefully expressing their disagreement with the city administration's actions in arresting the Freedom Riders. Wednesday and Thursday, more walks downtown followed, with again no indication of white anger or probable violence. The Associated Press dispatch from Albany that Thursday said, "White residents of this city have shown little close-range interest in the incidents."

The arrest of the hymn-singing marchers led by Martin Luther King, Jr. on Saturday night was given

a more sophisticated legal basis -- parading without a permit -- and it would be fruitless to go into the niceties of what constitutes a parade. But the pattern of all these arrests is quite clear: the police kept a peace which had not been broken and with no signs that it was about to be broken, by putting into prison over 700 men, women, and children who were exercising basic American rights to assemble peacefully and to petition the government for a redress of grievances. To put it bluntly, this was not a situation where local police needed to protect citizens from private violence, but where the exercise by citizens of constitutional rights required protection.

There may be a valid question about the propriety of demonstrations which may influence judicial proceedings, but the chief did not raise this question, nor did his responses to other demonstrations that week indicate that this factor was primary for him.

Albany apparently followed the pattern of police action devised by the State of Mississippi and the City of Jackson at the time of the Freedom Ride: arrest quickly, quietly, and imprison. There have been times in the past when southern authorities have delegated "law enforcement" to the mob. No mobs formed in Mississippi around the Freedom Riders, nor in Albany. This is undoubtedly a great improvement. Yet if police action effectively suppresses the exercise of legitimate protest, leaving nothing for the mob to do, there is no real advance.

The Jails

A sheriff in a neighboring county surveyed the prisoners sent over from Albany, spotted a button in the lapel of one of them. It read, "We Believe in Human Dignity." The sheriff snatched the button, threw it to the ground, and stamped on it. This could

hardly be called "police brutality" but it suggests the kind of jailhouse psychology which determined the treatment of 400-odd prisoners in the Albany crisis.

There were eight places of confinement finally, when the city ran out of space: the city and county jails in Albany, the National Guard armory, and county jails at Americus, Dawson, Leesburg, Camilla, and Newton. The conditions ranged from just plain discomfort and bad food for most, to sickness for some, to cuffs and blows for a few, though probably jail conditions here are not worse than in many other local prisons in the country.

Charles Sherrod -- who had come to Albany to open the SNCC office in September -- said that when he arrived at Dawson in Terrell County with a number of other prisoners, Sheriff E. Z. Mathison told him, "Now remember. You left all your rights behind in Albany. I don't want to hear nothing about freedom." Sherrod said the group wanted two devotions a day, that though he was in jail he was still a man and still a Christian. The sheriff hit him with his hand and took him to his office. Then another man hit him in the mouth, cracking his lip. His mouth was full of blood. He was put in a cell by himself from 11:30 a.m. to 6:00 p.m., then returned to Albany where F.B.I. agents listened to his story.

A small group of Negro men and women, just out of jail, sat on a bench outside the office of the Shiloh Baptist Church and told about prison conditions:

A woman in jail for a week said, "I was in the Leesburg stockade with 51 other women. There was no place to sleep. The mattresses were wet and dirty.... They would put the food in a box, place it on the floor, and kick it into the cell.... Peas, peas, peas. Grits in the morning, fatty meat, crushed bacon in

grits, two slices of bread, water. I wouldn't eat for four days....We continued to pray and prayer does change things."

Another woman was in the Dougherty County jail in Albany: "We got bitter black coffee...there was a sick woman there...it was eight hours before the county doctor came...she asked for glasses because she gets headaches without glasses...they didn't get her any glasses...they told us if we don't stop singing they'd put us in the dark."

A man arrested Saturday night: "Although no one put a hand on me, I feel like I been beaten. When you sleep on steel and concrete you are automatically sore. I'm a trailer driver, on the job a year, came back to work this morning, found I got no job...they told me, 'You a Freedom Marcher'...My wife lost her job, too."

A woman: "We were 88 in one room from Saturday night to Monday night, with 20 steel bunks and no mattresses...most slept on steel benches and the concrete floor. Waited 12 hours from one meal to the next... grits and gravy...Sheriff took us to Camilla. On the bus he told us, 'We don't have no singin', no prayin', and no handclappin' here.'"

Another man: "Forty-two of us in a cell for 12 in the city jail...then we were put in a bullpen, 60 men, 16 beds...all standin' up on one another. The food? Oh bad, man!"

A young married woman, senior at Albany State College, left two children with her mother and demonstrated Wednesday evening. "I didn't expect to go to jail for kneeling and praying at City Hall." She slept on an iron cot in the city jail and got sick. From Wednesday to Friday she ate nothing. Slater King, Albany Negro leader in the same prison, tried to slip his food to

her through a hole in the door, but a guard came along and hit him in the back as he was passing the plate through the opening. He fell against the bars and hurt his head. (Police Chief Pritchett fired the guard soon after.)

When I went to the sheriff's office Wednesday morning, December 20, to see one of the original Freedom Riders still in the county jail, I was told they were allowed no visitors except for a lawyer. Husbands, wives, mothers, fathers, could talk to prisoners only by shouting through a barbed wire fence at a thick-meshed wire window through which no one inside was visible.

At the prayer meeting in the Shiloh Baptist Church that Tuesday night after the settlement, a young white girl arrested with the original group on Sunday, came down the aisle to the rostrum. She had been released from jail a few minutes before and was out of breath. She spoke briefly, softly. "First time I'd ever seen a jail. It's a funny mixed-up feeling to hate being in a dirty place but to be glad you're there for a good reason....We hope you'll keep going."

The Police Chief of Albany said, "We met non-violence with non-violence."

Where was the Federal Government?

While young people on three separate occasions were being ordered out of Albany terminals and arrested, while over 700 persons were arrested and over 400 kept in jail for marching downtown to sing, pray, and protest, the Federal Government, pledged through specific Constitutional guarantees, statutes, and administrative rulings to protect the rights of citizens against local usurpation, took the following visible actions:

On November 1, 1961, when Selyn McCollum watched the police order nine young Negroes out of the white waiting room at the Trailways Bus Terminal, and this was reported to the F.B.I., there was no apparent result. On November 22, when five students were arrested for using the Trailways facilities in Albany, no federal action was visible. When Chief Pritchett ordered the Freedom Riders outside the railroad waiting room on December 10, and then arrested 11 in the street, for the third time in six weeks the express ruling of a Federal Agency failed of enforcement. With the start of demonstrations and mass arrests on Tuesday, December 12, local police practice came into conflict, not with the very pointed I.C.C. ruling, but with broader -- and more complex -- issues represted by the Bill of Rights: freedom of assembly, the right of petition.

On Wednesday, with more demonstrations and more arrests, telegrams began going to Attorney General Kennedy asking federal intervention. On Thursday -- more demonstrations, more arrests--and the New York Times reported from Albany that, "The Justice Department was watching developments here closely." That day, Attorney General Kennedy conferred by phone with both Governor Vandiver and Mayor Kelley. The Mayor said he assured the Attorney General that law and order could be preserved without federal aid. Also that day, the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Civil Rights Division talked with Albany Movement leader W. G. Anderson. On Friday, with demonstrations and negotiations in progress, he phoned Mayor Kelley and offered to mediate, and the mayor assured the Assistant Attorney General that the city could work out its problems. On Saturday, negotiations broke down. Martin Luther King, Jr. led the march downtown that

evening, hundreds more were arrested, and the NAACP wired Vice President Johnson and Attorney General Kennedy to protest the arrests. F.B.I. men were reported cruising the streets in cars.

On Monday, December 18, a settlement was announced, and within a hour Mayor Kelley said Attorney General Robert Kennedy called to congratulate him for a good job.

Events in Albany were caused by the city's violation of the Interstate Commerce Commission's regulation. The Federal Government took no apparent action to curb that violation, although it undoubtedly has power to enforce its own orders. Today in Albany the I.C.C. order is being complied with. It was enforced, not by federal authority, but by demonstrations in the streets.

Conclusion

Over 700 Negroes in Albany, and a few sympathetic whites, spent time in prison in December of 1961, as a mass substitute for federal action to compel recognition of a legal right. They were not opposed by the white people of Albany, but by local law enforcement officers. These officers acted, not out of malice, but out of a too-faint comprehension of the changes which are rolling slowly, but inevitably, through the South today, and which, with McComb, Jackson, and Albany, have begun to move into the heart of the Black Belt. As in other cases, a movement born of specific grievances was nurtured in crisis and developed larger objectives, those of full equality and untarnished human dignity.

The real feelings of the Negro community were kept from a fundamentally fair-minded white community by the powerful barrier of segregation, propped up by a hostile press and an unsympathetic city administration. As Christmas approached in 1961, masses of Albany Negroes

pressed the weight of their bodies against this barrier. They moved it only slightly, but the tremors were felt in Albany and through the nation. They may have to press against it many more times, but now that the first rumblings have sounded in the ears of the white community, help may come from that side of the barrier. One day, certainly, it will be dismantled, and Albany whites and Negroes, quietly, unspectacularly, will begin to live together in a manner consistent with the new expectations of this century.

The following items appeared side-by-side in the Atlanta Journal and Constitution, January 7, 1962:

ALBANY STUDENT PENALTY STRESSED

By Gordon Roberts

An Albany attorney contended Saturday that Negroes suspended from Albany State College were dealt with more harshly than white students who took part in anti-integration riots at the University of Georgia last year.

C.B. King, who represents about 40 Negro students who have been suspended thus far at Albany, charged that punitive action was taken against them "for doing what they had a right to do," while white university students were not punished for participating in "mob action."

The suspended Negroes will appeal their cases, if necessary, to federal court, Mr. King said. Appeal procedure calls for seeking a rehearing at the college, and that failing, to ask the University System Board of Regents to review the suspensions.

The Negro students were suspended for taking part in anti-segregation demonstrations in mid-December, which for the most part involved "freedom" marches to the Albany City Hall.

Mr. King said he knows personally of at least 40 who have been suspended, but the number could run as high as 100. He said there were about that many Albany State students arrested as a result of the marches.

The students were charged with "conduct detrimental to Albany State College." College officials were still holding closed disciplinary hearings Saturday morning.

In appealing the cases, Mr. King said he would contend that the Negroes were ousted for doing what they had a right to do, but white University of Georgia students were allowed to stay, though what happened there last January "was clarly mob action."

(According to university officials, three university students -- two of whom were indicted by a grand jury for allegedly participating in the riot -- were suspended, but were cleared to return to the University after being out about one quarter. Two other students withdrew while university action was still pending against them.

(Seventeen students arrested by Athens police in connection with the rioting and other protest demonstrations on and off the campus were tried in the city court and a number of them convicted. The University placed them on probation.)

Attorney King also noted that the Albany demonstrations occurred after school hours or while the Negroes were out for the holidays, and that they did not occur on the college campus.

College President, William H. Dennis reportedly has received from the State Law Department advice on the actions he is taking. There also are rumors in Albany that University System Regent Roy Harris, an arch-segregationist, has advised President Dennis.

However, Mr. Harris Saturday said that report was without foundation, that he has not discussed the situation with the college president. He said the regents did discuss it at a recent meeting, but decided to let Pres. Dennis handle the matter.

Meanwhile, Regent Chairman, Robert O. Arnold supported Mr. Dennis in the suspensions.

ATHENS RIOT TRIAL PLANS STILL LACKING

Another term of criminal court is about to begin in Athens, and there still are no definite plans for trying 11 persons indicted in connection with the desegregation riot at the University of Georgia, according to Sol. Gen. Marshall Pollock.

Criminal court week will begin January 15, and Sol. Gen. Pollock said Saturday he has not decided whether he will call the year-old cases for trial. However, he said he had no intention of dropping the charges. "I just don't know if they'll be tried now," he said.

Indicted in connection with rioting when the university admitted two Negro students, were two students and nine Atlanta area men, eight of whom were admitted Klu Klux Klansmen.

Their trials have been postponed from the April, July and October terms of court.

via air mail special

August 14, 1962

Dr. M. Robert Coles
c/o Mrs. John W. Hallowell, Sr.
1425 Brush Hill Road
Milton, Massachusetts

Dear Bob:

I read Serpents and Doves and liked it very much. I have just two general comments, neither of which I would press very hard. They are simply personal reactions which reflect my own ways of reading things. I did, in the first place, think it a bit prolix. Sometimes it seems to me that you made your point and then instead of leaving it, battered it into the ground. I do not mean that in any serious sense the piece is too long, but rather that you might excise some modifiers here, a sentence there. The material is good and I simply felt (I use the word advisedly) that occasionally the material had too many words surrounding it.

My second comment is simply a thought for the future. The work of these "non-violent youth" is not an altogether unique manifestation of effort. Their situation there and reaction to it is comparable with -- though certainly not identical with -- that of people who gave so ardently to labor organizing work in the 20's and particularly the 30's. So far as I know -- no one glimpsed those people close-up as you have these students. But I think there is a common experience here which may occur irregularly in various generations and which is itself something worth definition or at least, or perhaps better, description.

to the Mayor here

I have also a few nit-picks: page 2, L12: "cannot" - right tense? page 2, L-20 - why "cellophane bags"? page 3, last par. - seems to me a fairly vague story. Shouldn't it be pinned down with either the name of the journalist or some description of how they "were prompted even pushed"? page 6, L-13 - "many exiles"?? page 8, L-3 - "they" - antecedent? page 12, top - I don't seem to be familiar with this incident. page 12, L-17 - "some... may... they... often." page 21, L-13 - "We have not yet, etc" - not clear to me; page 23, L-1 - unlike? page 23, L-3 - manner? page 25, L-29 - "as each generation does" - is this true? page 38, L-6 - "them" is technically correct, but I had to re-read before getting the antecedent straight. page 39, L-4 - "very much continue" - can't you get more precise words? page 46, L-3 - "We have no... wish to add" - means what?

Your report for us I like very much. It is not as finished a piece as Serpents and Doves, but frankly I think its even better. I think so because you have more material resulting from your more extensive and your more intimate knowledge of the children in desegregated schools. (Incidentally, their situation is,historically, almost unique and perhaps this enhances their interest.)

As I told you Blackford will be here so soon that I think we should wait and let him think about how it should be used. Furthermore, I believe that it's too good not to be made better by some polishing. Maybe only the first few pages and the conclusions. It is an instructive piece.

It will be good to see you next week. Best wishes to Jane and to you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

May 1, 1963

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Program Director
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Cohen:

During your visit here in March, you may remember that we discussed an SRC study being prepared by Dr. Robert Coles. That study, which is titled "The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study," has now been completed and edited. We are planning to send it to the printer at the end of this week.

As you may recall, Les mentioned the possibility of bringing out this study soon after the publication of Ken Morland's piece on tokenism and preparing a joint release about the two pamphlets. For this reason, I am enclosing a corrected copy of Dr. Cole's study for your consideration. If ADL would like to co-sponsor this study as well as the Morland pamphlet, we will be glad to run its name on the title page together with outs. That page will, of course, be the last to be set in type, so you will have time to consider our proposal.

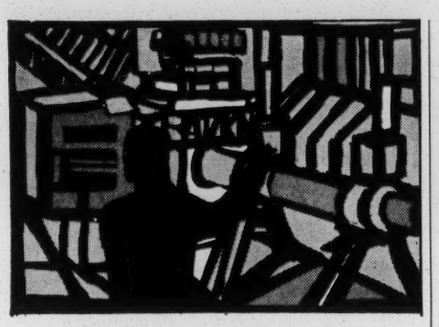
Once you have read the study, I trust you will let us know your decision. Thank you very much.

Yours sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB:bp
Enclosure: Coles manuscript

CC: Monroe Schlactus



Science Today

— What has it told man about himself?
— How has it affected the world he lives in?

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The transition from the science of the one-man laboratory to that of today's multi-million dollar research centers has been accomplished in a period of less than 30 years. This extraordinary growth has profoundly affected not only the scientist, in terms of his communication and work, but our very national posture. This book discusses the impact of big science on our age, and analyzes the problems and potentials which arise from it. A book that "will be much quoted by those concerned with the growth of scientific endeavors in the United States."—*Library Journal*

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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

The Vagabond Kings

What makes an issue an issue, and when is it no longer one? This year most of our worrying is concentrated on the tax structure. Last year medical care for the aged was the big thing. The year before it was Federal funds for public schools. Typically, a period of intense concern is followed by either legislative failure or sudden indifference, or both. We do not pretend to understand this phenomenon, but it has occurred to us that the very paraphernalia of concern—that sudden spate of articles, speeches, studies, and pledges—may function as a substitute for action rather than as a stimulation to action. In other words, as soon as everyone has made his position clear, we are free to turn our attention to something else.

Any number of national problems have been disposed of in this fashion, but none more flagrantly so than that of the migrant farm workers—remember them?—who were the objects of so much solicitude and attention just three years ago. Whatever happened to them? The answer is: practically nothing—some new state laws, a few benefits from general legislation. "The long-standing, brutalizing facts of the migratory labor problem are rediscovered every few years," Senator Harrison Williams (D., New Jersey) told a Senate subcommittee recently. "Each rediscovery prompts a surge of study, doggedly followed by a horde of recommendations. The migratory farm families, having prompted countless studies, continue to live almost in a state of medieval poverty."

What the studies have shown is, by now, pretty familiar stuff: being uneducated, unskilled, and unprotected by most modern welfare and labor legislation, some 400,000 migrant farm workers plus their families continue to live in sub-standard housing, to be paid sub-standard wages, to enjoy sub-standard health, and to be treated by many of their employers with sub-standard decency.

The recommendations have bebecome almost as familiar as the studies. The proposals considered most bold and least likely to succeed are extension of the minimum-wage law and of NLRB coverage to migrant workers. Those considered politically more feasible are Federal registration of crew leaders; Federal grants to states to improve education, housing, health, sanitation and day-care facilities; establishment of a national advisory council; establishment of a farm-employment service; and finally an extension of child-labor legislation. All these measures have in fact been incorporated into bills and introduced by Senator Williams over the past few years. One, authorizing the Federal government to spend $3 million annually in grants to the states for health care has been enacted into law, but in its first year of operation it is already being trimmed by the House Appropriations Committee. The others were defeated and have been introduced again this year.

The problem of translating good intentions into effective political action is very much on everyone's mind in Washington these days, and a history of the unsuccessful efforts to ameliorate the lot of the migrants provides some useful lessons. One is

AIM TO PLEASE

"Archery 'Lanes' Hope to Rival Bowling With Automated Targets—Push-Button Device Returns Arrows, Target to Fans."—Wall Street Journal

I shot an arrow in the air,
It hit a target over there,
I pressed a button where I stood
And pitied sorry Robin Hood,
Who had to walk to what he hit
To get his arrow out of it.

—SEC

that double-talk, apathy, and laziness on the part of many in both Congress and the administration who are verbally committed to migrant-labor legislation has cost just as dearly as organized opposition. Last October, for example, after Williams had maneuvered his child-labor provisions through the Senate and after the necessary strength appeared to have been mustered in the House, the House ended up by amending it to death. Why? "It was an election-year Thursday," one Senate aide explained. "It got late and the liberal Congressmen from the East went home to campaign."

Being the constituents of no one in particular, the migrant workers depend as much on the seriousness of "do-good" lobbies as they do on the seriousness of "do-good" Congressmen. But except for certain church groups, particularly the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the National Council of Churches, and for one or two unions such as the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, whose legislative representative, Arnold Mayer, happens personally to be particularly interested in migrant legislation, most of the labor and social-welfare lobbies have done little beyond testifying when called upon. The same, unfortunately, cannot be said of the American Farm Bureau Federation and the various growers' associations that oppose most of the prospective legislation. Some people may leave Washington to campaign when the chips are down, but the farm lobbyists have a way of arriving by the plane load. And all year 'round they keep up a steady attack on the Williams bills, mainly on the ground that they will seriously restrict the liberties and prosperity not only of the grower but—yes—of the migrant laborer, too. In a package of "suggested news releases, editorials, speeches" sent out by the National Farm Labor Users Committee and accompanied by careful instructions ("substitute the name of a local association and individual for the name of the National Users Committee . . ."), one typical editorial described the proposed farm-employment service as a grant of "authority to recruit American citizens into work gangs." America, the romantic editorialist

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writes, "was built by people who liked to roam from place to place as their desires moved them." Not only is the migrant laborer depicted as a sort of vagabond king, but those seeking to pass child-labor laws are depicted as a menace to the migrant child's health and happiness. "There are no sweat shops on the farms of America," Congressman Harold Cooley (D., North Carolina) declared on the floor of the House. "On the farms of our nation, children labor with their parents out under the blue skies." Such irrelevant nonsense may not stand up well against the statistics on farm accidents involving children under thirteen, but the lobbyists have not counted on intellectual persuasion so much as on a mere show of political strength to achieve their ends. When lobbyists have been aroused and have succeeded in arousing a sufficient number of farm-state legislators, supporters of the Williams measures in Congress and in even higher places have tended to back off, with the excuse that there were other legislative priorities to be considered and that the situation was by and large impossible anyway. In 1954, for example, former President Eisenhower established a President's Committee on Migratory Labor to give administrative leadership to the battle. It is composed of the Secretaries of Labor, Agriculture, Interior, and Health, Education and Welfare plus the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency; it has met exactly three times since 1954. Two of its meetings were held during Eisenhower's time, but the second one hardly counts since only Secretary of Labor James Mitchell is said to have showed up. Under the Kennedy administration there were high hopes that it would become an effective body. Unlike Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman has supported the proposed legislation, and the committee last year even issued a report backing some of the Williams program. That was in January. But increased pressure from the growers later in the year caused a tactical retreat, and it was reportedly decided to "lay low" and "consolidate" such gains as had been made. A reorganization in the Labor Department, where the committee is based, further reduced the committee's activities. At the present time it has no staff execept a secretary.

While we do not question the good intentions of those in the administration and in Congress who consider the migrant problem hopeless for the time being and even a liability to the rest of the President's program, we suspect that in this as in other domestic issues there is a fundamental confusion about what leadership really means. It does not necessarily involve a suicide attack on the Congress. It does involve more than speeches. And above all, it is not simply a futile exercise of idealism against the so-called realities. The activities of Senator Williams and his subcommittee in fact illustrate most of the virtues of effective leadership: shrewdness, patience, and sustained hard work are a few. Their triumphs have not been oratorical. Rather they have consisted of such unlikely feats as persuading Senator Harry Byrd (D., Virginia) of the merits of some of their proposals and even making a few inroads into the opposition of the lobbyists, who are said to have relaxed a bit this year, at least on the social measures. With Secretaries Wirtz and Celebrezze both strongly committed, this could even be the year for a little progress. Every May, the President said a while back, commenting on the rhythm of the issues, ". . . there are those stories about Presidential leadership." We are happy to open the season.

THIS MAY HURT A LITTLE

"A Tucson dentist broke two drills and spent several hours grinding away before completing an extraction Sunday. The patient was a Titan 2 intercontinental ballistic missile. A draft pin had snapped and no machine shop in Tucson had the delicate instrument required for removal of the pin."—The New York Times

From now on, NASA-honey, this'll
Bind me emotionally to a missile:
To think an object—tiny, dental—
Can be so hugely instrumental,
And that such human tortures smite an
Organism like the Titan!

—SEC

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May 13, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

It was, as always, a pleasure to see your agitatedly calm countenance here.

Now, in regard to the Coles ms.:

Oscar has read it and is, on the whole, very pleased with it. We are, therefore, happy to join with the SRC in publishing it.

We talked about making this the second in a joint series, the first being the report on tokenism. A possible third item might be an updated edition of "The High Cost of Conflict." We should at some early time work out precise arrangements about sharing costs, print-runs, release, and imprint. I'll be glad to have your suggestions. I should think that our needs for the "Tokenism" would be either 5,000 or 10,000. Why don't you get prices on that basis, and then we can make a firm commitment.

I merely want to mention again here the two or three points of editorial comment that Oscar and I made the other day about the Coles study. First, I would urge that Dr. Coles consider adding some first-hand material to the present manuscript, i.e. quotations from his interviews, etc. I think that this would enliven the text, which is now a bit remote from the real people. The direct use of the inscriptions in the one yearbook, for example, are greatly moving, and perhaps some direct transcriptions from the raw material might help. Second, we should make sure that either the text of the report or else the foreword explicitly counteract the possible impression that the upshot of the report is "token integration is good for mental health." The loci of both investigations were necessarily in token-desegregation cities, but the generally

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affirmative results of Dr. Coles' research should not be open to the misinterpretation that we therefore endorse token desegregation. Thirdly, perhaps Dr. Coles can be urged to look once more at the material in the light of our desire to be of somewhat more concrete programmatic help to the community. It is a bit of a let-down not to be able to learn, for example, what psychiatric indications there might be for preferring desegregation early or late in the school process. If he cannot in all good scientific conscience make any affirmative proposals, so be it; but it may be worth trying once more.

About Birmingham, all I can say is (in Tom Mboya's words): "The future looks black!"

Cordially,

Henry

Henry Schwarzschild
Director of Publications

HS:ark
cc:Oscar Cohen

Coles
c/o Hallowell
1425 Brush Hill Rd
Milton, Mass

LWD, fyi

July 30 '63

Dear Staige,

New York was hot, soggy, but interesting, including some good movies (see 8½ when you can) and a long and pleasant Luce lunch. Today my parents finally saw some sense in my work, since Time mentioned their little boy's name and up to now it's all been very depressing for them. Since they subscribe to Time and Life and the National Geographic it is clear that they really would settle for my retirement in glory at this point (A friend of my mother's told her that the New Republic was a left wing "thing" supported by Harvard radicals...all very encouraging)

I was moved up from a footnote and incorporated in the Education section, but they plan a full story when you release the news, and I told Bob Shnayerson you'd send him the release. He is a very bright and interesting fellow, and his researcher a real Boston Bean type, full of social register crap which annoyed the Hell out of me (she checked our address out; I told her she'd better look me up more carefully before she runs to any gratuitous conclusions) but bright and Vassary and very able. They took me to a long lunch, and I felt like dissolving in booze, and also felt slightly like a little boy finally seeing the White House or something. I should have dignity and feel "mature" and "grown", but it's all very exciting and strange, magazines and confident journalists and their world on that funny, mad island.

I'm writing to ask for about ten more copies of that report. I'm getting some headshrinkers and such types here to read it and send it out, and I want to send it to some professional organizations, and they say first they want to see it. Rather than type all their names and have you send it, I'll write their names and mail it, saving time and effort.

Also, let me know when you plan the release, and send the release to me, if that isn't too much trouble. Shnayerson seemed very interested, and he couldn't resist including the paragraph because they'd been working on that De Facto thing for several weeks and it seemed suitable for them, in fact, "just what we wanted to get in."

One shame is that all the drawings and pictures I had are in cartons of our Vinings stuff, in storage, so I can't supply any to them like I did to Newsweek, though he said to try, and I may spend the next week in w wharehouse, which would about kill us, since the weather here is almost unbelievable in its duress, and has those Cape people at the ocean's edge in a paranoid state of suffering...."Never had it like this before...I wonder what's happening...." As if any suffering is unbelievable or impossible.

Well, enough of my troubles and demands. Regards to "nm" and all others there

Best

Bob

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July 31, 1963

Mr. Robert Schnayerson
Time Magazine
Time & Life Building
New York, New York

THIS CONFIRMS RELEASE DATE COLES STUDY AUGUST 11.

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

SERPENTS AND DOVES: NON-VIOLENT YOUTH IN THE SOUTH

by

Robert Coles

Serpents and Doves: Non-Violent Youth in the South*

There are today in this American land young men and women, black and white, who are going to jail for the freedom of their fellow men. They are doing radical things in novel and challenging ways; and they are doing them in everyman's sight. They are doing them in restaurants and in stores and in movie houses. They enter bus terminals and the obscure rural offices of voting registrars to do them. In fact, wherever they are and wherever they go, they test and defy. Here, certainly for the first time in my life, I have seen American students behave toward their society with the "ideological" concern said to possess young people in Europe or Asia. But, they do not man barricades. They do not scream at other countries and their visiting leaders. They throw no bombs. They are concerned with their own country, and they want to become her true citizens. They very definitely want to change social and political customs, but they want to change them peacefully and in their time. No, they do not seem lost or confused; they know exactly what they want, and they are

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*The work upon which this paper rests is part of a study which is now in its second year, and is concerned with the psychological problems which occur in desegregation among Negroes and whites, particularly in the schools. This effort is sponsored by the Southern Regional Council, a distinguished group of white and Negro Southerners who wish "to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South." I am deeply grateful to them, and wish to thank them and their fine staff. I especially wish to express my gratitude to the Executive-Director, Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, for his kindness and extraordinary intelligence.

ready to give their lives for their goals. I went to study them and I came to respect them; and so I will tell their story so as to let them and their tasks and fate come to word.

In those public places which these students visit they are met by men of business and seen by ordinary citizens of all ages and classes. These people have grown up with certain assumptions and deeply felt ways of getting along with one another. That is what happens when you grow up anywhere, you learn who you are, and who you are not. You learn who is nice and who is bad. You learn who has rights and who doesn't seem to have any. Until recently, if you were born in the South and you were white you learned that the colored man cannot go certain places, cannot have certain jobs, cannot expect certain rights. You learned that he took care of you, did a lot of things which were hard and difficult for you. You were told about his bondage, and soon learned about the Civil War. Associated in your mind with the Negro were the hard times of the South after that war, the pride and power of the North, and your unending conviction, based on the laws of human nature, that there was hypocrisy afoot up there, and under all those words from them.

But these traditions and sentiments are not in a cellophane bag. Carrying them are all those human beings in Greensboro, North Carolina and every other town there is. If you look at those towns in 1962 you will see television sets and air fields. Living in these towns are young people who expect someone of their generation to land on distant planets. Perhaps they think of themselves as Southerners; but they also look at themselves as living on a patch of a planet which

is orbited, radioactive, and supersonically travelled. We all know how their parents struggled with how or whether Americans should get involved in the problems of distant continents. Somehow we did, and somehow the distance between the continents has been abolished. Now we worry about countries who want to drown us and continents where new countries arise from the ashes of old empires. We worry, and we gird ourselves for a long haul of trouble. We pull ourselves together, and parts of us get closer together. Factories move from one region to another, ~~pulling~~ TAKING people with them, drawing people to them. Farms are left. Cities grow. People leave places where they can't work or feel hunted and go to other places where they still have their troubles but where these seem less overwhelming. Feelings about dark people persist, but now have to be put on complicated scales and weighed with other feelings about work and country. Feelings about white people persist, but the white world is changing and so is the dark, and new feelings arise and demand expression. The towns and cities hold all that, grapple with paradox and contradiction and new ideas and events, live or die in future history books on how they settle in themselves, how they get along with themselves.

A Southern journalist emphasizes with the special pleasure in irony which a newsman takes that the four young Negroes who first dared in 1960 to ask for dime-store coffee in Greensboro, North Carolina were prompted, even pushed, by whites impatient with the pace of the Negro's walk to full citizenship and pressing for changes which they felt at hand, if unreached. Apocryphal or not, there is truth in the story. The truth is that students are attacking conventions by

picketing and by boycotts; they are going on freedom rides and risking arrest for their sit-ins. But, the additional truth is that when they lean hard the walls, more than not, crumble. It takes a kind of society for this to happen. In some countries the protests would be crushed, turned into revolutionary plots. In our own country these protests have been made many times in the past with little success. There were sit-ins decades ago, and they are now remembered because the present ones work. If they work they say something about the country and the South. Social changes seem to occur when a ripe moment is plucked by shrewd as well as hungry men. This ripe moment of the South today captures the world's interest. All over the earth races trouble one another. One of the great issues in this century is whether the different races will be able to get along in some new mutual respect. The alternative is fairly grim, but may help make it possible. The world watches a great protagonist try to make its ideals more truthful. The South is the troubled scene, and much depends upon the resolution of the drama.

There are many actors. Some of them are storekeepers, some of them are governors. Policemen are prominent. The students seem to initiate much action and cause many changes; and we are here to try to look at these lean and crafty youths. We might ask ourselves about their aims and their tasks. We might want to know about their ages and origins, their manner of living and how they respond to some of the troubles thrown their way.

What they want is called "desegregation", or it is called "integration." Some call it "mixing". Under names are wishes and

fears. The students wish that the Negro people in the South would have an easier, kinder life. They would like a Negro to feel able to vote. They would like him to hold a job which bears some connection with his interests or abilities. The time has come, they assert, when a Negro can eat in those restaurants, and sit in those movies. Parks are for people, and they want to feel like people. No other group of Americans has been shunted aside so long; kept in such personal degradation; exploited so unremittingly. They say all those words, and then they say that all bad things must come to an end, and that the glorious moment has come. They seem to have the idea that they are holding a clock or a calendar, and a secret has been heard and read by them. This secret tells them that no longer can their country endure with the old segregated ways. It goes on to suggest that the past years have shown a slow yielding of the law and a gradual improvement in their separate but equal position. Then it bellows into their ears and scrawls on their student notebooks the advice that to their freedom there are many roads, each for different people. Their road is that of the direct and non-violent protest. They are young, and they feel directly as the young do, and they direct their attention to some very specific customs, and they say to one another that these exist in the middle of the twentieth century only by their own sufferance. They sense that the South as well as their country is in a bind. Both would like to be rid of this shameful relic from other years. Both feel guilty, but both are afraid, and don't quite know how. They sense the changes among white people, and have watched their growing friendship. Many of them notice that when that friendship comes in

the South it means more, is deeper than what they experience in the North. They also sense that they have not been terrorized alone; that with them have been white people in every city and state of the South, people afraid to say what they feel and for this reason not free.

Their aim is not to conspire or to destroy their country. They want what others in the country have, what others have often taken for granted. They want what their country says it is all about. They want to feel like they are more a part of their country. Then, as they let their minds wander into the future, they hope for more trust and friendliness between the white and dark people of this country. They carefully distinguish among themselves between desegregation and integration. They know that you cannot legislate affection. But they suspect that if many of their exiles end, hands of acceptance may begin to reach. One of their buttons shows a white and a black hand clasped. I suppose that this is their wish.

What they do to get what they want is to protest. They do not carry weapons. They do not hit or hurt people, at least physically. They will not fight with sticks or stones or their hands or feet. They wear suits, and they shave. They are very determined to appear as presentable young Americans. Before they protest they study and think about the way in which they will protest, and they practice this too. This is the way of non-violence. To protest without violence is fairly self-explanatory. But like many simple matters, there are complicated results, for them and for the world which is protested.

It is complicated for them because they must control very carefully some very strong feelings which they have, and have had. It

is in the nature of protest to be unhappy with something and to be willing to assert that unhappiness. Mild unhappiness may be endured and not protested. Overwhelming unhappiness and indignity may also be endured and not protested. This latter situation of long suffering will prevail when protest is impossible, because it will be crushed forthrightly. Such was the case in past years, though protests there were, and crushed they were. Now it is different. It is fairly clear that protest is possible, and changes inevitable. But the emotions which have been felt in the past, risen out of humiliation and injury, these do not disappear. They urge protest, but they are not very quiet emotions. They are emotions of anger and frustration and fear. Worse, they are those of shame and self doubt. It will be hard to deal with these when people shout at you, and attack you. When people remind you of all the lacerations and insults, it will be hard to keep yourself so that your cheek is turned. You will need the help of others, the help of rehearsals, and the help of some of the books which you left to make these protests. And, the more you study and think about it, the wiser and more satisfying the whole idea seems. This idea has its roots in Christ's teachings. When they had very little else, Negroes were given the Christian religion, and their spirituals tell about how sad they were and how the only better day would be a funeral day, when a whole new world might appear with more certainty than any changes in this one. Insofar as the student has a tradition, insofar as his race has been allowed to develop one, it will have large amounts of this view. It will be a tradition of bearing pain without protest. Then, there is Gandhi, and how he studied

Christ, and loved Tolstoy, and wanted freedom for his people, and didn't want violence to get it, and knew how to make it very embarrassing for those who wouldn't give it, and they got it.

Perhaps, for a minute, we should turn to those protested. Perhaps they will help us see how the students manage the balance of getting angry and controlling their anger; manage the balance of drawing upon their own traditions of Christ, and upon more recent traditions of Gandhi, and feeling active enough to use them as a weapon rather than rest upon them for future consolation, in this or some other world. It is just as complicated for the white people. Most people are hurt when others are hurt. Most people are particularly moved by what they see and hear. If the Negro is off yonder in some shabby slum, he can be forgotten, as he is very often in the North. If he is off yonder in some field by day and then in some shack by night, he can be forgotten, as he was in the South. He is often remembered in the South by very kindly and decent people, for whom he has worked and labored. They have never heard him complain, and they have grown up with their special ways of talking with him and caring for him. It has not all been hate. It has been love, but a kind of love. But it is a kind of love, a kind of relationship which is no longer wanted. And the hate and insults, plenty of them, too, they will not be allowed anymore. This has to be told and conveyed to many people, and it is important to remember that many people simply do not know this dissatisfaction. Otherwise they would not repeat so often that the Negro is happy, were it not for sinister outside forces. Thus, there are the uninformed. There are also those who really are very informed and for years have ached ~~for~~ WITH the injustice which they see and feel.

Such white Southerners, and they are legion, have known that when others suffer, they do, and that the lessons which their children will learn from such are the lessons of hate and confusion, the lesson that Christian messages do not apply to large groups of human beings, not really. All of these people will be very forcefully confronted by these young people, preaching to them the lessons which they gave them after they brought them here from Africa, preaching to them by their requests and deeds and placards and in their silent, direct manner the lessons of this country, of the Republic. This makes many white people twinge. It also awakens many frightened Negro people, unable, unwilling, afraid to do as their brothers do. When you are walking on those sidewalks, and are afraid of the police and the jails, one of the most important events for you is seeing others, dark and light in complexion, affected by your risk, your dare, your willingness to be there. You can arrange things in your mind, and help arrange them in your friend's, but you must feel that it is all to some result. And, it has been. In city after city lunch counters have opened, movies yielded. Some youths enter a park and play golf, and that issue is settled. Libraries find their shelves open to all. These victories give courage for other trials where success is less likely so quickly. The point is that this is a way for students to reach people and directly challenge social customs. It may violate local and state laws, but it has worked, and it gives promise of working. And so it keeps happening.

These who keep these protests happening are of many ages and cities and families. They are mostly black men, but there are many black women, and many white men and white women. Some are from poor

families, some from those in better circumstances. The son of a distinguished Negro college president works beside a very poor and orphaned boy from a rural town. There are many kinds of demonstrations, and they may draw upon different participants. Some are spontaneous and astonishingly successful. In Asheville, North Carolina, some boys and girls who were going to junior high school and high school decided one day to use the library, and to try to get sodas from several stores. That did it, and that surprised the Negro community perhaps more than the white. Some are spontaneous, but need much more planned and persistent action at later times for success. In Nashville many months were required. In Atlanta picketing of stores was followed by a boycott, and much negotiation. More recently in Atlanta the movies houses were cautiously desegregated under an arrangement between the students and the owners, with the mayor acting as a friendly helper. This seemed to be quite an acknowledgment of what these students in some situations can accomplish. The city did not want picketing, and the students agreed to a date in the future and a gradual program. The mayor's role is reported to have been a recital of how in today's Atlanta picketing might be more harmful to the theaters than desegregation. But there are other demonstrations which are attempted in those desperate areas of last defiance, requiring careful action by experienced people. To dare to work in a small Mississippi town with Negro families, encouraging them to want to vote, tutoring them in their letters, helping them in the incredible intricacies of laws designed chiefly against them, requires more than a college weekend of time and experience. Some students stay in school and help during vacations

or free time. Others leave school and devote months, years to full-time training and action. Most protests have their origin in the local town, the local Negro college, or one nearby. The freedom rides were an obvious exception, drawn from Northern students to some extent, Southerners, too. These rides were a thrust into the heart of segregation, the bus terminals in Alabama and Mississippi. They were followed by some removal of separate rest room signs. What they illustrated is the anxiety and concern which this country must show for the welfare of these students. A policeman told one of the students "Even ten years ago you'd have been dead, all of you. Can't do that now." Although they are not sure, the students are sure enough to feel able to go ahead.

Those who go ahead seem to elude classification by class or geography or even age. College students predominate; but there have been younger boys and girls and young married couples with children by their side, and on into adulthood. In south Georgia or in Alabama or Mississippi or Louisiana any protest will have heavy odds against it, and, in some towns in these states the mere act of protest is almost incredible to those who know these towns. It is in these areas that violence is almost certain. It is here that terror stalks, and danger is reliable. Police dogs are threatened in one state, and a man running for governor says that his body in front of the buildings will prevent execution of a federal law on school desegregation. He is elected. In another state students are arrested on charges of "criminal anarchy" for organizing sit-ins for coffee or encouraging campaigns to register voters. High bail is set, and some stay in

prison and solitary confinement for months. In another state students escort some Negroes to register to vote. These students are a Negro graduate student from Harvard University and a native, white, Alabaman. Crowds heckle and attack, arrests are made, students kicked and hurt. Something prevents their murder, their lynching as in olden days. No one can say that such restraint in those towns is not some kind of communication from an outside world no longer so far away. The students leave jail, go right back to their work.

Those students who have taken leave of school for some months, and who venture into these most troublesome sections, leave dormitories and live different lives. How they live can be known. If you know the cramped, desolate, dreary quality to the Negro sections of Southern towns; the huddled cabins of squalor and defeat; if you've heard the spirituals and seen the funerals; diagnosed the tuberculosis and vitamin deficiencies; smelled the cheap, bad booze which blots out poverty, persecution, the whim and fickleness of the alien white lords, then you will know how some of these students may live. They will often come to one of these towns and live there for months, getting to know people and finding out the usual problems of these people and suggesting new and direct responses to these problems, like a boycott, or a school where people can be helped in reading and interpreting constitutional law so that they may try to register to vote. It is not simply the hardness of the whites, many of whom are very poor and very much struggling themselves, very soft and tender people, in small towns, who are friendly and generous with the little they have and talk long and wonderful stories and memories and know their kin all over and can

laugh so easily and whose voices are honey and whose eyes are sly with earthy, human affairs, and whose eyes are hard and fixed with money troubles and job troubles and bitter old times which are getting better, and whose ancient consolation following ancient frustrations was a lowly, yelping, always handy, nigger. It is the apathy of the Negroes which is harder, harder to look at and most painful of all. It is their inertia and resignation which is so difficult. Death of spirit or soul, by murder, by suicide, by illness and exploitation, is worse than live, howling, frightened enemies.

Some stay in one town for months and help local leaders plan action. Others move about from town to town, state to state, talking with young Negro students who have stayed in college and are planning some action, or helping them in forming a plan. White students will go with them, or will go to white campuses, where they will contact those who quietly, and in ways different from those in Negro colleges, work for changes. These students are often called "field secretaries". This means that they travel in the field of southern cities and try to change that field by participating in actions which directly disregard its rules and boundaries. They receive enough money to travel and eat and sleep. When they come into a town they will look at the restaurants and the drugstore fountains. They will find out who votes, and where. They will watch parks and stand near libraries, and note who works at what job in those places where people work. Then they will get a room in some YMCA or bunk in some home or college dormitory, and start "making the rounds", which means hearing the many and conflicting views of people, and recording and annotating them in their more than secre-

tarial minds. After this, decisions must be made about what to do, in what order, and with whom.

When they decide, they decide their own fate, establish their own fears and hopes. Heavy odds they will be arrested and go to jail. Strong chance they will be kicked, punched, receive spit. Foul language is routine. Serious injury is a possibility. ~~Such can be their fate.~~ Most of these students have been in jail many times and in many states. You can talk with them and find that they are juggling several trial dates and bailed free periods. They will go to court and be sentenced and appeal and, if there is money, go free and continue their activities, and interrupt them to go to another trial in another state. Since most of what they do is illegal, and since they keep on in spite of this, they accumulate long prison records, 15, 25 times. You can hear them listed, the jails described, the treatment recorded in stories and jokes, Their fate is also notorious. They are noticed by the press and television and radio. Their names may be given, their pictures taken. Leading newspapers and magazines will describe their behavior, and of course the implications. This is important, because it is such news and widely spread consideration of this news which helps inform people, and causes them to pay attention and notice and become ashamed and get indignant. All this is pressure on segregation, which, like many habits, works best unnoticed. When the students are noticed, they have scored a victory.

There are victories in the outside world and victories which occur inside the mind and spirit of a person. Fears and hopes contend in us. Consider them both in some of these young people. They spend

their time asking for things which they have been told they may not have, and which they are refused. This is unpleasant enough. For asking, moreover, they are called criminals, and arrested, arraigned, imprisoned. This is unpleasant enough. As they prepare to ask, and while they ask, moreover, they risk injury and sustain insult. This is unpleasant enough. But, when all is done, they must realise that what they have done is a very small beginning, and that can be very discouraging. And so, there must be hope, and the mind must find ways for persisting and continuing when factual hope is very sparse. It is in the nature of man for this to happen, and it does happen with these students. But not without some shifting and settling of emotions.

Abandoned are familiar routines and the comfort of daily rituals which are certain and predictable. Their clothes may be scattered over several states. There is no one bed and there may be many toothbrushes. These are students who have been brought up in homes where the discipline and routines of study are learned. They leave familiar feelings for contrasting and conflicting experiences. In our civilization we cherish possessions and order. We learn in those early years which bed is our bed and which glass is our glass. We learn what time school opens and when it closes and how many hours we go. We learn numbers for our houses and numbers for our ages and numbers for our grades in school. We learn our private names and learn to put our writing on our books. Programs come on the air at certain times, and watches are given to children at early ages. We learn the order of classroom seating plans and graduation walking plans. We get scored in tests and ranked in classes, and we have certain pages to read

for certain examinations. We all laugh when we go into the army and receive a particularly long number beside our name; but the uneasy laugh is all too close to the long, familiar truth of our lives. When students leave college to risk punishment and leave a dormitory and classroom and library to face uncertain and changing quarters and work, they must find and make this possible for themselves. They are leaving what they have been brought up to value. They are leaving school, and the logical steps which they have been told to take as they become older; or they are staying in school but flirting with departure by their private actions in their spare time. They are no longer listening to their parents, or, if their parents agree with what they do, there is still in their memory the older words of their parents, words suggesting study, success, accumulation of knowledge, books and ideas, degrees. Obviously what each student does is balance in his own mind what he wants and what he wants to do. We may be interested in how these people think and what they feel. Each of them is different, and personal reasons will engage with public activity with differing results of happiness, nervousness, fearfulness. If we are going to talk about how the students get along with themselves or how they get along with others, we are going to talk with individual students over a long enough time to get some ideas and feelings about them. There are general observations about what they do and how they live, and there are individual observations about particular people . It is important to keep in mind that all the field secretaries live almost vagabond lives, but each field secretary comes to this life with his own resources and handicaps, and for his own reasons. We

can watch people live and see them act and record that. Then we can talk with them and listen to them and hear their words and emotions and record that.

Here is some information about an American man of 20 who left college in his sophomore year to engage in some of these protesting actions. Let him be called John.

> In a small farming town of Southern Virginia he was born in the summer of 1942, shortly after we went to war. His father was away fighting in Europe during his first three years. This was the first time his father had ever left his home. His mother worked in the home of a white lawyer, taking care of three children. John was left to his maternal grandmother. He recalls her as his childhood mother, and talks about her even now with much feeling. He remembers his father's return, and the feeling of awkwardness and strangeness. A younger brother was soon to come. His father had trouble finding a job, and seemed irritable and punishing to the boy. He remembers being beaten with a strap, and running away. He remembers being punished when about five for trying to go to a circus, trying to escape his parents and enter and go on the merry-go-round. His grandmother must have told him many times about the difference between white and colored children, but he recalls that he "really learned it" when he tried to sit beside a white lady one day on a bus. "I used to straggle after her anyway, and I must have done it on the bus. She kept on pushing to the rear, and it didn't seem to have any seats. I just sat down in front. The woman pushed me and told me to get away and go to the back. I can remember how I felt then. I can still feel that feeling, like the world collapsing and not being liked. I felt I was bad and different, and I can still see that bus and that woman's look. Then, I was lectured by my grandmother, and her words drove everything I'd heard home for good. But my father was not happy with that, and he gave me the worst beating of my life when I got home. I can recall that too; I'll never forget him...telling me to keep my place...my grandmother cried and so did my mother." He tells about his school work. He was a good student, and the teachers told him that he should stay in school. Most of his friends left school when about 12 or 13, going to the fields. His mother would tell him about big and mysterious law books in her home by day. She would come home in the evening and tell the family about all the events in "the boss house." He recalls his fantasies about this, and the pleasure which those stories brought to the poor home. His father had by now a job in a new factory which came south after the war. The

boy went to high school, and this was quite a distinction; in the entire family, spread over the nearby towns, he was the first. At 14 he fell in love with a girl a year older, who admired him "for my brains and promise." He wanted to leave school and marry her and get a job and she wanted him to stay at studying. They fought, he stayed, she left. He graduated, and was awarded a scholarship to a Negro college far enough away to be his break with home. He left, a family hero, and with great promise. "I remember," he tells in his deep and strong voice, "I can still remember reading about a sit-in which fellows from college were staging when I came there...I can still remember the Little Rock trouble. I used to have dreams about that. We'd sit and watch that on that television set, and we'd get angry, and my grandmother would say that those kids shouldn't try to go to that school, and my mother wouldn't say anything, and my father would curse those whites and say we should stay away from all of them...they can't be trusted, they're no good. And my mother would tell me, sometimes in a corridor away from dad, that that wasn't so, and then I'd hear about the lawyer and his family...Mother told me one day that the lawyer's oldest son told her that he was convinced that the South was changing, and that he didn't mind going to school with Negroes...mother told me that he used the word"Negro"...she can just tell and knows who thinks what about us in that house...like when they stop talking about something when she comes into the room. You can tell...I'd go to bed and dream that I was one of those nine kids in Central High, and that Faubus came over to the school and I killed him with a machine gun...or I dreamed one day that I was ambushed by the police in Little Rock and they wounded me and I was killing them, and then the army came and they stopped, and one of them told me that the only reason that I lived was because I was white. Niggers die! I can still picture that one." In his freshman year at college he did well in school. The school itself was in some turmoil, with various groups advocating various pursuits in civil rights action. "We studied, but what was happening in Nashville or what happened to those kids in New Orleans was more on our minds...we talked about that like I guess you talked about your courses when you were in college. We'd argue about whether you should stay and get through college, or go out and participate. We'd argue about whether you can serve your race better by just getting educated and doing your work, or whether you should get out there and fight for freedom. I always felt you could separate the men from the boys...I thought that this was our big moment in history... it wouldn't be worth having a profession and a family if they're going to grow up in semi-slavery. I wanted self-respect more than a degree. I felt the others were cowards... no I don't think that now. I realize that not everyone feels the way I do about this. A lot of our people don't know any better. And a lot are just scared. Some of the guys

were scared of ruining what they thought was their big chance at college and their parents' one big hope. I thought of that, but I thought about how can you have a chance when a segregated society treats you only a little better than an animal...My father fought in France for this country, almost got killed. Why should he be afraid to vote? Why should he tell me that I'm not as good as some white kid, and why should he sit and "yes" the white man all day, and then come home and boose it up and tell us how rotten they are? Man, it's not worth it...I decided that...and I joined up on the freedom ride in my spring vacation...now I was really doing something, and I couldn't go back. I thought this was the best education and the best service I could perform...I'll go back to school in a while, maybe a few more months...I just want to make sure that I've really given something to this cause...and there are kicks, too. You meet a lot of interesting people. You get to know the reporters. You see yourself in the papers, and really feel that you're almost single-handed in breaking some of those things...I get worried and nervous a lot. Mostly tired though, it's tiring, travelling and talking to other students...No, I've never felt depressed. I'm in pretty good shape mentally. I get headaches sometimes, bad ones. Maybe I've got migraine... 24 times in jail, more than my age!"

We do not really know John after we read this. We have some idea about some of the things that have happened to him in his short and eventful life, and we have some idea about some of his feelings. A psychiatrist would talk with him a number of hours and would tell us that he is not deluded, and not distant, and can be understood when he talks. He would tell us that he is intelligent and he would find out that before this young man became involved in his present way of life he had never entered a courtroom, let alone a jailhouse. Hearing intently, he would begin to see how this young man grew up, how he got along with his mother and his father, and, of course, in this instance, his grandmother. He would consider his behavior as well as his words. He would find him to be a tall and thin man who looks a bit younger than his twenty years; who is neat and orderly in appearance and walks slowly and, at times, hesi-

tantly; who talks easily and with warmth; who has enjoyed good health and who has never had any cause to feel unhappy enough with himself to see a doctor or a minister. His interests and hobbies and attitudes might be collected, and the roots of some of these in his earlier life might be uncovered. For example, "I think when I go back to school I'll take law...it's the best way to fight them (segregationists) when you get older and have to settle down...it's the same thing, we're doing one part of the job and they're doing another...we need Negro lawyers in the South...I'm going to stay right down here." These comments were replies to questions about future plans. They illustrate, again, the deep involvement of this man's life in his people's struggle for freedom. What is also shown is how his family life engages with the larger, racial issue. He is a strong, tough fighter, like his father, and now in a kind of war, and he wants to go to school and be a lawyer, with dignity and self respect, like his mother's employer. His personality and his problems are not very unique. They are the problems of growing up and finding himself as a man and a working man. What is unique for him in our country is that his skin has grimly attached itself to almost all these problems, to his early years as a child and his later years as an adolescent, to his dreams and actions and fears and aspirations. Trouble with his father, longing for his mother, attempts at achieving independence, all of these are touched by his light brown color. Decisions and choices have to pass the muster of race. If he becomes like his father in many respects, his father's opinions and feelings about the Negro

and the white will be there to confront him, as well as how those feelings affected his childhood. And, with his mother, and with his grandmother. Like all people, he will sift and sort and take from many people, within and without the home, those many ways and traits and habits which make up the daily lives of a person. Race, religion, ancestry, affect us all. Saying that the Negro has a special problem in this regard, saying that he is pervasively affected, intensely affected, is merely describing his lot today among us. His lot, in each person, becomes the individual's private burden and challenge. It is hard to see how other burdens and challenges in the individual will escape the magnetism of this one.

But the individual life still exists in Negroes. We have not yet come to that among Negroes or whites. Each one of these students took his own road, made his detour for private as well as public reasons. It is a detour away from school, into jail, toward danger and possible violence. Many youths, Negro and white, in both North and South, favor what these students actively proclaim, but for reasons in their lives cannot or will not join them. Here we are up against history itself, and there are no easy separations or distinctions between these two groups of people - certainly no psychiatric ones. No, those who protest are not psychotic, retarded, delinquent. In over a year, in many meetings, in long hours with individuals and groups, I felt one girl to be rather vague and disorganized and with some ideas which were unintelligible to me, though she managed to get along fairly well in many situations. They

are all very specific in their protests. Indeed, their college teachers have told me that they wish at moments that they would apply a portion of their defiant spirit to some of the crusty and stunted areas of college and classroom tradition. As you talk with one after another and hour by hour eliminate the broad categories of the crazed, eccentric, lawless, or mentally inadequate, you soon find yourself meeting yourself and your fellow human, that vast body of mankind which is alike and unalike, sometimes sad, sometimes joyful, gifted and tiresome.

Driven by their own motives and past lives, yes; but united by the historical moment that selects the doers and generates deeds. There is the very bright son of a Negro law professor who could not study well at college. Every college dean knows this problem, the famous father whose son for various reasons cannot assert himself academically. It was in the midst of this kind of difficulty that the students obtained this new recruit, able, forceful, very valuable. After over a year of doing things which very conservatively might be considered brave, he could return with high efficiency and performance to a less overwhelming and frightening college career. Another shy and slow talking boy, an only child, participated in one sit-in, for which he was arrested, lost his job, and with that, the means of support for an aged and sick parent, whose death occurred shortly thereafter. In his fierce grief he cried his accumulated rage of years after his mother's last penniless minutes in the grossly overcrowded, understaffed, slum of a Negro emergency ward in the city hospital, by leaving college for a time and walking in cities in silent outrage. These two

are unalike in their homes and in their experiences in roughly the same two decades of living. One is bright, well spoken, rebellious, casual in attire and, among Negroes, born to a manor. The other is poor, cautious, very neat and careful of person, and a bit sad and heavy and unable to initiate ideas or actions. But he will follow more than the instructions of others as he walks the streets.

Walking with the Negro youth are their white friends. It is well known in the North that many white students in our universities have strong sentiments on the subject of civil rights. In the South these Northern students can be judged but another continuation of many who have hurled accusations in that direction, some of them unjust, some of them just, but rather foolishly and inappropriately self-righteous, all of them from outsiders. But in the South there are white students who are deeply of the South and who can be seen beside their colored brothers. They can be heard talking about their lives, and they can be heard talking about their rather special work and special trials. A tall, blond 22 year old native Alabaman speaks in a soft and leisurely fashion:

> "I never thought much about this one way or the other until I was a sophomore at college in Montgomery. I was taking a course in sociology and one of the topics was about the Negro in Alabama. I started doing some reading, and then talked with a few teachers. Many of them would tell us their private opinions about the issue, but were afraid to speak out publicly. I started getting more and more interested. At first it was just intellectual, I wanted to write a good paper and wanted to know about what I was writing about...I started noticing how Negroes existed. It suddenly occurred to me that all the things I took for granted were forbidden to them...Now I was a junior and a big deal on campus, and I talked with more of the professors about this...they seemed scared when I said that if everyone in Alabama said what they really felt we wouldn't have some of these things...I'm not even sure about that, but I do know what I feel, and I have to live with myself...My father once belonged to the

Klan, but it had nothing to do with Negroes. I think the whole town joined after the first world war. He's a minister... has always said that this whole segregation thing is wrong. He's glad that I'm doing what I'm doing...says that if he were my age he'd be out there fighting, too. My mother worries, but she always worries about us...We've been in this state as long as anyone, generations...no, it was gradual involvement. I don't remember the exact moment when I went from studying the problem to doing something about it... I've always liked action. I think that if you believe something you can sacrifice for it...this is our biggest test here in the South, and we've got to solve it ourselves by realizing that we're not free when we can't say what we want or associate with anyone we wish...I like tennis, swimming, anything that really gives me a work-out...I'd like to put in another year at this, and then maybe go back to school and study about all this, like in sociology or psychology. Figure out why people are so strange about all this...let their kids be brought up by Negroes, let them serve them and prepare their food, then blow sky high if one of them tries to sit near them in a Walgreen's...we have our problems as whites in the movement. I no longer stay in white hotels...I decided that as long as they were segregated and I couldn't be in a place with my own friends, I'd stayed in the colored places. I go to the colleges and talk with students. You'd be surprised at how many people are with us, all over the South. They have to be quiet, and do things underground style...I never push them, never try to get them to do something that will get them expelled just to prove a point. They can talk in the cafeteria or in the dorms, and they can find out how others feel, and they can work from within...very often with the help of a lot of the faculty, who have to keep quiet about it, too...That's what bothers me more than anything else, not being free to speak out and say what I want to. I keep telling some of the fellows I meet that I joined this because if I can't say what I want, I'm not any more a free person than the Negro... I used to debate, was on the team...used to think I'd be a politician, run for the Senate, but not much chance of that... I've changed, learned so much about what's really going on around me...They really get enraged at me when they can't just dismiss me as a dammyankee...I've been arrested so many times I've given up counting, dozens...everything from disorderly behavior, violating city ordinances, unruly assembly, criminal anarchy, the whole range...The jails vary. Some of those police know the handwriting on the wall, laugh about the whole thing with us. Others are real sadists. Turn on the hot air in summer to burn you up, or let you freeze in winter, or mess your food up, and swear, can they swear! Sometimes I think I'm becoming anti-white, I get so disguseed...I can understand how some of the guys just get fed to the teeth with

the whole white race...then we settle down...they remember me and a lot of others and we try to forget the whole skin thing between us. I'm black, they're white, we joke about it. I do get discouraged sometimes...but I think about what I'm doing, and it really is more significant to me than reading books...I can go back to that, but then I won't just feel I've been in an ivory tower all my life. This way I've done something to make this a better country...I'm no complete idealist...I know you've got to be strategic...but there's a time when regardless of what you say to yourself and read, it rings hollow compared with what people have to suffer in the world, and that's the time to commit yourself to action... It took me a few years, but I think you need time to find out about some of these things before you can do anything about them. It took me a long time to figure out what I could do even when I wanted to do something...Sometimes some of my Negro friends think I'm nuts for putting my life on the line... I tell them that they've been brainwashed by the segregationists into believing they're not worth the effort, and, besides, this is my fight, because the white race is really doomed if we don't solve this problem."

There is little need for comment here. This boy grew up in a deeply religious home, an active, vigorous, alert youngster who runs well, plays good tennis, reaches for prizes in expressing himself in argument in high school, dreams of political glory, does well in college, is slowly struck by certain underprivileged people, and, in his father's own tradition, stops a while in his life to apply his restless, seeking energy to their plight, which becomes his. He outdistances his father, as each generation does, and he lives with people the life of someone who gives of himself to those less fortunate. They love and, in a sense, adore him, as people do when they meet someone who extends, even if slightly, the possibilities in man, or confounds the expectations of him.

They also love a young girl whose eyes are hazel and hair long, brown and flung about when she turns her head in emphasis. Also Southern, she has not left college. But she works as hard

there for what she believes as she studies what is taught. A willful girl, she had a less gradual introduction to the unreason of race.

"There are a few Negro girls at my college, and, honestly, at first they scared me. I didn't know them, but I just wasn't accustomed to seeing Negroes in a school or college with whites. I was brought up with them all over the house, but that's where they were supposed to be. My mother was always very good to them...told us they were like wonderful children with grown bodies that did all kinds of work for us, but not much mind. I believed her for a long time, but I began to question everything when she didn't want me to go to the very college she'd be hoping I'd go to all my life just because they desegregated and took in a few Negroes. You'd have thought the South was collapsing to listen to her. But I went, and one of the last things she told me was to be careful about them...kind of like there was a pestilence that might take every white body near it. Daddy just laughed and laughed, and used to tease mother, and tell her she was just plain scared, and letting it all out on the poor nigras. I can hear him saying 'Mother, you just leave them alone, and they'll leave you alone. They've done plenty for us, and if their day is coming, it'll be good for us as well as them. Take your fears out on something else besides them. We've used them too long already for that kind of hating and beating. I'd rather kick a tree or something when I'm not feeling good...' Daddy is a lawyer...comes from South Carolina, but has always been liberal on race...he told me to take anthropology in college and find out about as many people as I could, because they're all going to be heard from in my lifetime...But I was scared, kind of a physical feeling that told me to stay away from them, it's hard to explain. One day one of them was brought to the table where I was eating. I had to get a strong hold on myself to stay there and to keep on eating. I couldn't help it, I just felt sick to my stomach, sick all over. I smiled and tried to be friendly, but I was in a cold sweat...later, in my room, I realized that I <u>was</u> sick, that it was a kind of sickness when you react that way to another person you don't even know, just because of color... it's more than that, though, it's the way you've grown up, and been taught. I said that night to myself that if I could throw away some other ideas I'd heard at home, I could throw this one away too. I just <u>had</u> to...it was like curing myself... I forced myself at first to get nearer to them, to talk with them or sit with them at the table. Then I found that I really liked one of them, she and I had lots to talk about, and she was a really attractive person...then, my old reactions seemed so strange and I can't understand how I ever could have

felt that way...of course, when I went home and told my mother about this, she almost died. She cried and we really had a time. She swears that she'll send my brother only to a segregated college, but I laugh and tell her that by the time he's ready to go to college she's going to have a tough time living up to her word. Bobby is 14. A lot is going to happen in 4 or 5 years...Daddy just laughs, and tells me that Mother makes a lot of fuss, but is tough underneath and she thinks she has to get excited about things like this...'Your mother hasn't it in her to hurt anyone, black or white...she's just changing her ideas in her own way. She has to cry them out, and repeat them a few times so that she can say goodbye to them. That's the South, holding to its own as long as it can, because it had precious little to hold to for a long time...' That's daddy for you...after a while I decided I'd actually do something about all of this, and so I started speaking up whenever the subject came up, and you'd be surprised at how many people just are waiting for others to take the lead...and then we formed our campus organization and picked certain jobs to do, like education at our own school and helping put pressure on the movie owners and restaurant people. Most of their business comes from students, so we should have some say in how they treat people..."

She and her friends were having much to say, and their words were expressed in deeds, which caused changes in the admissions policy of local movie houses and cafeterias. In her Southern state this is possible. There are others like her in the bottom tier of states along the Gulf of Mexico who, if they are to stay in college, must be more circumspect, and less hopeful of immediate translation of ideals into realities. If we play back the hours of tapes which have recorded her voice and her words and her story, we can sense certain themes: of her mother and her father, and how they differ and how she gets along with them and expresses her divided loyalties in many ways, not the least of which is her position on the racial question; of her childhood and training and memories as they meet a world which no longer sustains their value or truth or reality; of the crisis in her life, the discord when these old traditions in her meet upon new ways in the South,

in her college; of her solutions, accompanied by fear and guilt, and brought home for their resolution, and her emergence as a grown lady. In this case there is a more decisive experience at the supper table, which engages with not too dormant personal struggles, in themselves universal for college girls. A crisis in history is a crisis for people, and human beings yearn for ways of expressing themselves. This girl found her way.

Since the way of these students involves obvious danger, those taking the way must be able to live with this danger, must be able to persist unflagged by it. Facing danger at their own behest, devoting themselves to its encounter with such fullness and passion, they offer instructive examples of how young people manage such commitments and do not falter. The obvious dangers are from crowds and from the police and from judges and jailers. But there are other problems, too. There are problems of money, needed to eat and sleep and travel; needed to get out of jail while the judgment and sentences are appealed. Bail can be set in the thousands by a local court which so desires. There are problems of the devil: of publicity, of attracting attention to their actions, so that people will be shamed, embarrassed, or forced to act out of expediency, national interest, economic or business anxieties. In a country of interests which often conflict and whose genius is their reconciliation, they too must become versed in the practical and possible. But this means practical and possible for them, and if they listen too closely to the wise counsel of even their most friendly elders they might well lose one of their

greatest possessions, their own, youthful, sometimes heedless and blind, momentum. The problems of momentum are problems of the flesh: of how to behave before mobs, of how to behave with one another, of how to live with oneself, and keep one's morale high.

A psychiatrist interested in how people manage these tough assignments gets to know the young men and women and watches them in action. In this age of machines his impressions can be stimulated and recalled in later months by recording his conversations on tape; and he can hover over the tapes the way others may pore over books, looking for some of the thoughts and feelings which may pass him during the conversations themselves. After he's talked to enough of the students, long enough, he gets some ideas about how they manage. How they manage can be discovered without tape, but with tapes we can hear their every word; such as when they respond to questions like "How do you feel when you walk into a situation that you know in advance will lead to violence or arrest or jail?"

> "I don't feel, I just go ahead...We sing and encourage one another...We've practiced and rehearsed. It's like I suppose my dad did in France against the Nazis, you're in a kind of an army, and you've got no choice, except that you've joined on your own, not been drafted." Another says, "I close my eyes mentally...Sometimes I pray just before, or I keep on saying that nothing <u>too</u> bad can happen in America...we have the reporters nearby and the Federal government...they can't do what they used to do...you know...lynchings are harder for them...I know some of them would like to, but they're afraid to...not in this world, they can't..."
>
> The young wife of one of the students insists "I'm prepared to give up my life...I've made that decision, and it's almost as if I'm no longer in my body. The body can be sacrificed. I just look at myself and say to myself 'Man, you can lose your body, but they can't take your soul away. They can just lose theirs. And I'm going to help them...'" Another

college sophomore, a young girl who wants to be a teacher someday but has taken a few months' leave hesitates then starts with "Every time I feel afraid I just remind myself that we've got nothing to lose. I think of all the things I've had to put up with in my life. I think of all the movies I can't go to, all the restaurants I can't eat in, all those separate rest rooms and water fountains, and, I tell you, I can get so angry that they could have atom bombs on their clubs and police dogs and I'd keep on walking or sitting. We've got our rights as human beings to gain, and absolutely nothing to lose, not a thing. So, why not? Oh, I have to get myself to thinking about this sometimes, when I get nervous, or when the jail is a bad one, and you don't know what they're going to do...you can do that, though, get yourself primed, like a pump or something..." A veteran of 18 arrests commented, "It's almost like going into an army. Well, a better example is the Crusades, where men went off for their religious convictions, almost voluntarily...You not only feel what you've always felt, but you've decided to stake your life on the line for it. You'll go to jail, face the police and those screaming seggies...face the whole world...We help one another, keep our strength up with music and we talk a lot <u>after</u> it's happened, and joke and get some laughs out of it...it's fun to see your picture in the papers, and read the different accounts, a lot of them get all botched up, or completely slanted, of course...one thing I've heard some of my friends say is that they never really believe that those crowds will hurt them...heckle and scream, yes, but not really hurt. I can't quite pull that off in my mind. I know that they may hurt me, but I figure we can take it, and give it back. I've taken worse all my life...this is the first chance I've had to <u>do</u> something while taking it that may end the whole rotten mess..."

These comments, spliced from inert tape, extracted from longer sentences of explanation and comment, give us some idea about how they keep going, and keep doing the things they do.

Clearly their feelings and their consciences impel them. Clearly, also, in order to endure inevitable apprehensions, they must either remove themselves or temporarily blot out some real threats. Determined minds can do this. They can abstract the mind and emotions from the body, and let <u>it</u> serve duty and risk injury. They can deny danger, wipe out or minimize hazards. They

can make thorny dilemmas very simple, and they can oblige such activity, such continual movement and travel that there is little time for nervous brooding. They can encourage singing, and meeting, and praying with others, gaining the well-known strength of camaraderie. They can see fear, and terror in others, in the enemy, and fail to see their anger and rage. The enemy becomes afraid, and they are unafraid. They can urge talking and sharing in words the common dread. They can gain very human pleasure from anticipated rewards of renown, attention, approval, balancing with these all the present hesitations and doubts. They can fall back on what they call "techniques", dwelling upon the details of how to behave, where to go, what to say or do, placing their feelings in an envelope of rituals and memorized, almost automatic, maneuvers. They dribble away large doubts in small annoyances. Panic can splinter into a generally fretful day. Angry jokes can be told. Books which give comfort or release or escape can be read. There is always good food, and one can sleep longer hours. A bad headache, some vague stomach pains, these can silently express unallowed anxiety. There are day dreams, fantasies, nightmares, all perhaps lowering some pressures which may build up. In between fun, movies, exercise may help; and there can be very quick and nervously short and intense romances, almost as in wars, when the lovers know they may be separated by the nature of war, that they have only a brief time, to which they bring so very many emotions other than love. Letter writing helps. And, some of these minds can not only feel frustrated and anxious and angry and fearful, but they can hate. Often, if the alternative is despair, they can hate and hate mean and hard,

can give back what they've received rather than sink into it themselves.

In courts and in jails their minds have additional difficulties. They are being accused and, usually, condemned. The charges range from disturbing the peace and loitering to criminal anarchy. Those under 16 or 18 may be called delinquents and sent for long periods of so-called evaluation and confinement. Some courts have even referred them to mental hospitals for psychiatric observation. With such certain punishment for their efforts, they must learn how to live in cells and under charges of criminality or insanity without losing their sense of themselves and their integrity. This requires no little effort. To do this they can deny their guilt, and turn the illegal into the just. You can hear them listing with pride their arrests and jailings. You can hear them upholding their own values against those of cities and states. You can hear them calling for the support of their government and the tradition of western democracy. They do this out of conviction and out of need. All the time they are being told by people in black robes and people in uniforms carrying guns, ~~and~~ by newspapers and influential citizens, that they are bad and they are unruly and they are outcasts. All the time they are being hustled and confined, after being refused and insulted. This cannot fail to affect them, cannot fail in some part of their minds to make them feel worthless or wrong or guilty as charged. Since all of us have gone through childhood and learned about being good and being bad, and doing good and doing bad, and being praised and being criticised, memories

of the past and anxieties of the past can return under such evocative and haunting circumstances of the present. In a sense they are being sent to a room which is now a jail to be alone and repent for being bad and disobedient. And this is precisely what one of the students dreamed while in prison:

> "I had one of those really vivid dreams, that stays with you the whole day. I remembered most of it so clearly. I was talking to my father and he was mad at me because I had gone to the movies and didn't tell my mother, and she thought something had happened to me. He told me he was going to strap me, that I had done this too many times...I must obey them, or else a whipping. I was sent to my room and told I wouldn't get any supper; then I woke up, and I actually thought I was in that room for a flash of a second, and sort of looked around and got myself adjusted to where I was...it was one of the worst of the cells I've been in, dirty and really the lowest of the low for prison guards...filthy language and they love to tease and taunt you."

While many can remember early lessons and restrictions and can dream about them, these young students, by virtue of their actions, and the reactions of others to them, actually relive those days.

Living lives of the condemned asks something of you. It asks you to have control. Just as non-violent protest requires control, but now you are not free any more. Control of feelings and behavior is important to these students, and, in order to insure its strength they often live very ascetic lives, as if the large amount of control needed has to be obtained by spreading it into almost all of the person's activities. In some of the front lines of Mississippi relaxation of body or mind must be guarded. Even when they are not protesting they may be under constant surveillance. They must drive cautiously and live cautiously. Even amongst the Negroes they must keep an image of dedication, because they are suspicious and afraid. They must control the temptation

to exploit their work. Once they become heroes to some of their people easy promiscuity and many comforts may be offered them. They are anxious, and part of them very humanly responds to such. One can hear them in meetings talk about this, warn themselves in advance and point out the dangers:

> "...If we're going to stay in the Movement, we've got to watch ourselves, we've got to control ourselves all the time. It's like a war. They call it a fight to the finish, and so will we. If we're going into Mississippi and Alabama, then we've got to have iron discipline...You either put all your energy into the Movement, or you stay behind and so do something else...no fooling around, we can't take risks like that, we've got enough with the "segs" without setting things up for them ourselves."

At times, under extreme danger, they go into a state which they call "commandati", which means extreme alert and caution, which measures a response to all the harassments that accumulate in a struggle such as theirs. It is not that they are by nature unruly or wild. On the contrary, they tend to be rather controlled and studious people. It is that they are under attack, and they must prepare themselves and one another for such unusual strains. To hold up under these strains requires devotion, and energy, and ingenuity. Perhaps only the young, the still unattached and unemployed and unsettled, can take this on.

They take on cells for homes. They must hold their sanity, keep their orientation amidst isolation and obvious humiliation. It is one thing to have the kind of mind which a criminal has, and to go to jail for a crime committed. Many such people can even shrug off the jailing as part of the game, part of the gamble. It is another thing to have a highly developed conscience, and to be

moved by that conscience to certain deeds of fulfillment; and, in pursuit of these, in quest of being a fuller citizen, to be insulted, fined, sent off to solitary confinement or overcrowded cells. It is another thing because these students are not hard and tough and callous, and yet they must get along where they don't belong, but are made to be, and where they are often treated with more contempt than hardened lawbreakers who are there for robbery, assault, drunk and disorderly behavior.

In the East Baton Rouge, Louisiana ParishPrison I talked at length with a tall, thin, 20 year old student who had been there in solitary confinement for 2 months on a charge of criminal anarchy. When all the doors had been closed, and I was locked in, the first view was that of a large blackboard with the prison census divided by races first, sexes second. I wondered what genes or chromosomes made for such high numbers of male Negroes and low numbers of female whites. I was there at the request of his counsel because this young man, whom we shall call Jim, had written letters to friends in Atlanta requesting psychiatric help because "I'm beginning to think I may be cracking, I'm really getting near the edge." His criminal and anarchic behavior was that of organizing students in a Negro college nearby, urging them to help other Negroes vote, or be served in department store lunch counters. When he first came to the jail he was put in close quarters with recurrent criminals, the most beaten and desperate, the most lowly and chaotic of his people. In the medical examining room, and later after his release, he talked about it all:

"You know, I thought until then I knew how to get along in jail. I'd been in lots of jails since I joined SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, pronounced "Snick") but this was almost too much. First I had to fight to keep away from those guys...sodomy all the time, and I think they were egged on by the guards. What a bunch of thugs. They told me that the place had been investigated twice before, so they were going to be careful, but they let me have as much as they could...sent heat in the cell when I was hot anyway...finally moved me to solitary. I thought at first that would be better, but it gets strange after a while. You fight just to keep track of time and to get through time. It drags, man, it drags 'till you think you've just about had it. You try to write, if they'll give you paper. You dream, and try to sleep. But I couldn't sleep. No exercise, so I didn't need sleep. If only I could have slept, or dozed all day...terrible slop for food...I'll tell you what it does to you, it makes you wonder whether you'll ever get out, and, soon, you begin to lose some of your fight. They would get their trustees (prisoners who help the guards in carrying trays or cleaning. In that jail they get a certain number of days or weeks removed from their sentence for this) to come and shine their shoes in front of me. Those pitiful Negroes, on their knees shining the shoes of the guards, and then they'd ask them...'Joe, aren't you happy with things the way they are in Louisiana?' and big Joe, big, free, independent, American citizen Joe would look up at them and say'Yesuh, yesuh, Mr. Boss, I sure am, yesuh.' Then they'd turn and make the poor guy tell that to me...the worst was when they brought those kids in, those white school children and pointed me out as a Communist. They had me on display, like a damn guinea pig...I was marking the days off on the wall...they gave me, finally gave me two books...Kipling's short stories and a history of China written in 1849 or so...yeah, pretty funny, but not then it wasn't...those pills did help, they took the nerves out of me, let me settle down...they told me they didn't have to give them to me...the doctor came around and asked me why I didn't tell him about what was aching me or bothering me...I couldn't trust him...he was probably o.k... made sure I got the pills. I'm glad they let me write to you. Writing a letter can keep you going for days...I don't know if I can take another spell like that. I'm not crazy, but I began to wonder how many days I had left before I started getting there...."

He was indeed very anxious and more frightened than he may have known when he was in jail. He was afreid of assault, sexual, personal, moral, mental and spiritual. He was afraid of losing the complicated organization of mind and emotions which we spend so

long building and which are not usually meant to be tested by hells like this. He was afraid of losing his gritty, tough, daring ways and dissolving in tears of panic and confusion, if not downright disorientation and delusion. When you are alone for a long time, and you know for a fact that people want to hurt you and have that in their absolute power, every sound, every shadow, every movement can signal danger and death. It is a slow fall downwards. Fortunately he was released after three months in jail. I think it was good for him to be seen by a doctor and put on tranquilizers and allowed to write. His jailers and their superiors in the nearby district attorney's office could scarcely let him effectively lose his mind. That might hurt their cause. Such was his protection, and such is how men are protected from men in some places.

Sometimes they spend short periods of a day or two in jail. Often they can turn these days into frolic. They are together in cells, and they sing and laugh and talk. Or, if alone, they can send messages and whistle and sing back and forth. They can make chess sets out of paper and hide them, and they can even talk with sympathetic guards and learn that many of them realize that it's a losing battle they wage..."That does you good, to hear them say things like that...when my daddy hears that he'll think I'm kidding... we grew up to fear the police like the Devil himself. I'll go home and say, 'Daddy, even the police are throwing in the towel in the great state of Georgia.'" Such remarks hint at some of the flippant, arrogant, angry phrases, the sarcastic phrases, the words of mock irony which can be heard; sometimes smouldering resentment,

neatly kept, can become a white heat of anger and hatred. This can cause shame and alarm for those who are not Negro, and are torn by their sympathy and their ability because of different experiences, to know better, feel less desperate.

> "It's hard for the white student in this at times," one of them confided. "Sometimes you have to keep quiet and listen, let them get it all out of their systems every once in a while. I feel terrible...it's no good if we get desegregation and they're so embittered they become just like the segregationists. That's the danger, now. Look at the Black Muslims. Some of the guys I know are not Black Muslims, but they're becoming kind of African Nationalists... they tear down this country and say that Africa's the place for them, to live and...where everything is good. That's what happens when you treat people like this...most of them really love this country though...I don't know if I would... after a while they cool down...sometimes apologize to us... I understand how they have to get like that sometimes...I don't take it personally. I think the Movement should have whites in it, even in Mississippi, where they get so enraged when they see us together...that's what it's all about, that we can work side by side."

They work side by side, and then a time comes when they leave, going back to college, or back to work, or to a graduate school. When they decide to leave, like when they decided to come, will vary from person to person, as will the length of their stay. Some have been working at the problem for years, some for months. They all recognize that one cannot spend a lifetime at this, at least not in the capacity of a student. But it can be hard to leave a group of students who are all on leave from college and who have created in themselves the several alliances and bonds which make it so hard to leave college itself for many undergraduates. Or it can be hard because the person leaves out of tired annoyance, or beginning despair, "...I've just had enough, filled up to the

teeth with arrests and foul-mouthed crowds and dirty looks from storekeepers..."

Since many of these storekeepers are bowing to the pressures of the students, the students very much continue and by and large without despair or depression. Perhaps more of a problem now for them is the inevitable consequence of their various successes. Like any gathering of human beings who are trying to do things together, they have to come to some settlement with the nature of themselves as a group or organization. In 1960 when 4 of them went into a store in Greensboro that was not a problem. It still isn't in the many spontaneous instances where a group of high school or college students simply decide to take on a specific job, like a movie house in their town. But if a systematic assault is to be made through direct protest, and if considerable resistance is met, requiring planning and more time and effort than originally estimated, there must be distribution of work and energy and direction and such complications of human intercourse ~~which~~ AS will reflect the complications of the society under attack. Living in a fairly organized society, fairly highly-organized, the students learn that it will not necessarily fall under an attack of the moment. And so they pool efforts, and communicate, and since there are many colleges, and many cities and many states, they come together and meet, and talk and argue, and try to regulate themselves, and belong to different organizations and call themselves by different names. They find, in the continuing irony of human existence, that

adversity has its own joys and success its own trials. They worry about losing their freedom and spontaneity in a mass of constitutions and by laws and regulations. They worry about exhausting themselves in bureaucratic tangles, in endless appeals for money. They fear the absorption, the futile absorption of stamp machines, mimeograph machines, and filing cabinets even as they know how they are needed. They struggle with these new and petty tyrannies, trying for the needed balance of personal action and staff action. This struggle may be harder, in the very long run, than even that for the rights of the Negro. Wherever there are men, there are rivalries, envies, competing needs for power. Wherever there are men there are also possibilities of great and decisive things done, ideas conceived. They are struggling for the right to be human, to be men in the many senses of that word, and so this, too, will mark their progress; when they can wrangle with the fruits of their labor like all other free men.

Their harvest becomes a harvest for all; and also a source of challenge to many. Those who are interested in how people do things to change things about them will study these students. The various social scientists will consider their case. Certainly they offer interesting challenges to psychiatrists. We are asked today to help the courts decide not only whether a person knows the difference between right and wrong, but whether he is so constituted by personality that he can adhere to this understood difference. We have urged considering motives and impulses as well as facts and strict rationality. We have urged changes in laws

where we have felt them to be unfair or harsh or not in accordance with our view of the nature of the human mind and its development. We urge understanding of people, and help for people who do not feel well in mood or thought. Finally, we are asked not only to do our healing and our research and teaching, but to advise, as well as the courts, the general public on the widest variety of subjects. We are consulted about the nature of delinquency, what it is, who they are, and what can be done. We venture more and more into prisons to work with prisoners, on the good premise that people impelled to crime have some disorder of impulse as well as record of wrongdoing, and should be treated with more than custodial reckoning. We are asked about problems in schools and colleges, problems of learning, of behavior, of suitability for certain programs. We are consulted by many professions, to help them choose candidates for the ministry or screen applicants for crucial places in business or the government. Presumably, then, our capacity to evaluate human beings and their behavior is considered by others and by ourselves of some practical as well as theoretical value. Presumably, also, our knowledge is felt to extend beyond the mental hospitals and consultation rooms and into the life of the community.

The lives of many of our communities today are endangered by the troubles that groups of people have in getting along with one another. Large numbers of people gather themselves around certain names which describe religions or nations or sections of nations or races, or combinations of these. They declare themselves

apart by rituals or flags or color or customs or locations. In their behavior with one another these multitudes are often like individuals: they get along, or they fight, they help one another or they try to control one another. It has been this way for a long time. New collections of people emerge and old ones may die as new bonds and ties appear and old sources of allegiance seem less compelling. It has been and still is a part of growing up in most of the world to find out about oneself and many of these associations, national, sectional, racial, help in this and contribute to it through traditions, customs, knowledge, security. Perhaps when people know themselves fairly well, and are not too afraid of themselves, and are fairly easy with themselves, they do not have to escape from themselves and lose themselves in overworked assertions of themselves as members of particular groups rather than as persons. Perhaps if people are discovered on other planets, we can then use our own as a new way of gathering together, in distinction to <u>them</u>. Until then, we struggle with man's nature, his limitations, and some possibilities in him which are yet to be exhausted. Certainly these students have shown that American youth can look around and see things that are hurtful to themselves and to others, and venture forth to change them. Certainly their work is important; and certainly it should be evaluated if we are concerned with changing life in our community. As psychiatrists we have this concern, and our society asks this concern of us. Our challenge with the challenge of these students is, as always, to gather observations and descriptions; then attempt to sort

them out and come to some estimate, always tentative, of what their behavior means and what it may portend. To do this may be easier than to reconcile some of our own professional problems. But, in a stimulating fashion, the behavior of these students may help clarify some of our professional problems.

Not the least of our problems is that elusive word "normal". We wonder what it is and how to use it; we wonder whether it exists and we are struck by the curious obsession which it inspires in many around us. Not the least of our problems is deciding what is "sick", and what is "healthy". Two more words which plague us. Since we are doctors, well they should; but well that we should use them very carefully. Then, we have to decide at times who can best take on a particular job, or perform well in a certain situation. We then start evaluating "creative" and "destructive" parts of the person. And find them often entangled enough to blur their separate meanings. We also have to worry about our own values, our own hopes and ideas of what is desirable for man, what helps him grow, and what is crippling and harmful. Nor can we remove ourselves or our patients from the world around us. At times we debate this, but the very debate reflects a kind of world which tolerates or encourages discussion and dissent.

How, then, do we comprehend these protesting students who break laws and go to jail and are sent to detention centers as delinquents or to mental hoppitals for suspected insanity? How do we evaluate their departure from college, their radical departure from established customs and habits; their defiance of law and

order; their public display of themselves and its resultant public uproar? How do we evaluate their desire to do things even though they know they will be insulted, attacked, injured? How do we evaluate this stubborn, sly, systematic assault upon the laws and conventions of our society by these youths of both races? Casting a glance elsewhere, we can ask some other questions. How do we comprehend those students who don't participate in these demonstrations? How do we evaluate their attitude toward themselves if they are Negro, or to others if they are white? How do we evaluate their willingness to endure or see endured by others these restrictions and deprivations of person, property and dignity? How do we look at them in school, or in their obedience to laws which curb and isolate them or others? Finally, do we dare look at our society and ourselves in it with any questions? What in laws and customs will help people be secure or maintain health, and what is injurious? What do we mean when we use the words "well-adjusted"? Or, "poorly-adjusted"? We certainly use them. Can a boy who has been arrested 25 times and in jail 18 times and charged by his society with criminal anarchy be called "well-adjusted", "delinquent," "anti-social", or "creative"? Does he have a "problem with authority", and, if he does, why don't more people have it? Should we call it a problem? A problem for whom? So many adjectives are around us and come from us in conferences and in our journals, but students like these challenge their unrestrained application. When we talk about masochism and hear the words "acting-out" we are challenged in our nouns, too, by these students. Are they "acting-out", are they masochistic, are

they troublesome deviants? Or are they other words we use, like well-integrated (they are, of course!) or "mature", with "good defenses" and highly developed sublimations? Finally, what do we do about applying what we know about people, what is healthy and sickly in them, to these problems? These students are denounced and praised. Should we, can we, evaluate their actions with some sense and fairness? Or do we find such problems too prickly, too dangerous to our positions in society, too risky for involvement? Perhaps these students challenge us and make us troubled about our concepts and language, about our present ability to answer many problems, about some of our limitations of service for society despite some of its importunate requests and some of our indiscreet replies. If so, they will have given us a measure of humility. This would be a large gift. With humility, we need not apologize for some of our present ignorance. Ignorance, for man, is a challenge, and it is a high honor to engage with it. We lose honor only when we see victory when there is still a long struggle ahead. Perhaps these students of social change and we students of human nature can meet in that struggle.

For, there can be no doubt that many of their problems are with us, too. Daily they show us how they must refuse the arbitrary and absurd confinements of skin color. Each of them is an individual, and they hope that some day they will be known to their fellows by themselves, by who they are and what they do. Pigment seems to them, to those who are white as well as black, a frivolous and tragic standard for human knowledge of one another, an irrelevant

distinction, indeed. It is, then, the meaningless word, the hollow hurtful evocation which bothers them. Similarly with us do categories and labels of soothing certainty abound. We have no little ability or wish to add to these terms and to these conceptual separations of the mind within a person and of people from one another. Our peril is that, driven by the need to find out about ourselves, we may find ourselves more puzzled than ever by our own thinking and the conflicting faiths which may adhere to our thoughts. We must challenge our concepts and categories just as the non-violent youth of our South challenge those of others. If our terms fail to describe what is happening in the world of people and their lives, they must leave us. If they are contradictory, inadequate, misleading, they must go. If they fail to account for human effort and courage and man's deeds toward a more decent world, if they fail to envision and honor the reality of the heroic in the smallest quietest assertion of a deeply ethical youth at a Southern lunch counter or in a Southern jail, they must depart. What we may need now very much is some rope from our ideas about people to these same people, walking in a world in which we seem so very prominent today. If these students can help us with some of that cord, their efforts will be our gain.

August 7, 1962

RECEIVED
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Dear Leslie,

Thanks for your letter. I plead guilty; of being a vagabond doctor;of leaving my patients arbitrarily and capriciously; and of some of my equivocations in the enclosed report.

I don't know what to say about it...It is fairly clear, I hope, that I am trying to present some observations without getting involved in defense or attack of positions. I have tried to write fairly, and to tone down charged words. I always get depressed after I write, and so, right now, I feel failure with this. I thought of enumerating recommendations, but then I have trouble with that, and would much rather suggest in a narrative, and let people come to their own conclusions, hoping that I have led them there . Also, I thought it wise to hold off for a while until "the study ends", and I've had time to decide myself whether, in fact, I want to get embroiled in haggling about what to do under what situation, and such things as preoccupy the damn profession of educational psychology, or whatever.

Any way, this is a first try. If you want changes, corrections, or want the whole thing scrapped and rewritten, let me know , and I'll oblige. Jane, and a shrewd old Shady Hill teacher friend of hers (not Katharine Taylor) like the thing...but I, frankly, have a bad headache, and have been having one every page of the way, because I keep on writing with people like Letsonx and his ilk in small towns in Alabama in my mind...hoping to persuade them, when I'm basically happier shouting. In any case, my head is better, and I'm starting a very strong drink, now. I hope you had a good time in North Carolina. Maybe I'll call you next week. We'll be leaving soon.I"chickened out " on the profligate trip to Atlanta, coward and puritan that I am..... Best from Jane and me,

Bob

Monday, July 30, '62

Dear Leslie,

Here is an article which will appear in a book in mid winter, I think. I don't know what to say. I fluctuate. It will be in a book on Youth, of all things! I like the idea of youth, and of keeping it, but, beyondthat, it's really very treacherous going. There will be chapters on this and that, and they tell me that Labor Secretary Goldberg is writing on Industrial Youth and some one on the Peace Corps, and all such manner of things. Erik Erikson, editor of the book, went into a wild fit of glee and delight over this, which 1.) amused me, 2.) made me feel very good and proud of myself, and 3.) by the way he talked, persuaded me that he doesn't know what's going on in the South....and made me worry whether I do, either, since ignorance has a way of communicating itself in most beguiling ways...even amongst those beleagured with pretty sentences and words.

Let me know , very candidly, what you think. I mean every word of the footnote, so let me know.

I may come down there one of these days. I mean, we'll be coming back , soon, but I may come down there , anyway, on various and sundry missions.

I hav e written some more things, which I'll inflict on you later. The last thing to write about is the Report for SRC. I'm debating whether to finish it now, or wait for a few weeks in September, after I've seen how things go this year. I've got an outline, and filled a lot of it in...we'll see.

Anyway...my best to all of you.

Bob

~~Lead~~

SB

SOUTHERN CHILDREN UNDER DESEGREGATION*

BY

ROBERT COLES, M. D.

*THIS REPORT IS TO BE PRESENTED TO THE
AMERICAN PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION
AT ITS
ANNUAL MEETING, MAY 6, 1963

SOUTHERN CHILDREN UNDER DESEGREGATION*

ROBERT COLES, M. D.

INTRODUCTION

Confronting certain children in the South today are the tasks of getting an education under unusual conditions of social stress. These children, their families and teachers, have happened upon a moment in historical change, and their behavior in such circumstances deserves our attention. For nearly ten years now the deep South has faced increasing national pressure upon its avowedly segregated system of public education, and slowly, with stated reluctance, it has been forced to begin to permit the entry of a few Negroes into its colleges first, its high and elementary schools later.

We need not doubt the highly charged and symbolic meaning of desegregation for many people in the cities of the South. The mere approach of one six-year old colored child toward a white school could arouse so old and sophisticated a city as New Orleans for weeks, bringing in its

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*This study has been sponsored by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, a group of prominent Southerners, white and Negro, whose purpose is "to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all people of the South." I am deeply grateful to them.

wake unease all over the city, with mobs, vandalism, and international notice as expressions and consequences. Atlanta spared herself what other cities had experienced in this regard only through the most careful and determined planning of an alerted police force thoroughly supported by the local political leadership and the newspapers.

What has happened again and again is the explosion of words of hate and deeds of violence by certain white people, these in turn prompted by fears and anxieties. Public disorder, organized scorn, or, under conditions of order, carefully patrolled calm, such are the external conditions somhow faced and managed by those scatterings of Negro children who continue to press their admission and attendance upon formerly all white schools; and these dark children are received by their waiting white classmates in various ways. As psychiatrists, we must look further, trying to find out how these several groups of people think and feel, looking at their responses under tension, evaluating their survival and manner of accommodation with new realities daily urged upon them. In any crisis of society are the individuals who enact it, seeking it, caught in it, attempting to flee it. This particular struggle has many roots in our history and culture, many implications in our current political and

economic life, all of them beyond the present concerns of this paper, which must be with the individual child and his psychological development and adjustment. We may only emphasize that such distinctions are arbitary if necessary. No child can be separated from the history of his people, from their lot and their condition. This is not the place to chronicle the fate of the Negro in America, nor to trace the development of the white man's attitudes in the South, or North likewise, toward him. Such has been done by historians, (1-4), sociologists (5), psychologists (6-8), and psychiatrists (9-14), and, as we take up our work here we are forced merely to mention these facts of "culture" or "environment", or "socio-economic context." It must be obvious, however, that at every moment in the life of these children, such facts are firm realities for them.

Nature of This Study

Our Negro children have been selected by others, by themselves and their parents by virtue of application, by federal judges by virtue of decision, by school boards by virtue of compliance and permission. Our white children have been those who attended class with these Negroes, in the beginning simply living their normal lives of growing and being schooled; suddenly finding themselves with new questions of attitude and behavior. Finally, the parents of all these children, white and colored, and their teachers,

all of them white, have been a part of our study, supplying valuable observations about their children and students, talking a good deal about their own problems in what is for many of them, of both races, a critical adjustment in habit and thought.

We have tried for lengthy acquaintance with children of several ages. They have been as young as five and as old as eighteen. In New Orleans they were the little ones, entering first grade, attending second and third grades. They included the four Negro girls, who at age six, first entered two white schools in 1961, and four of their classmates; the six additional Negro children who entered the same and other schools the next year, and seven of their white classmates. In Atlanta they were the ten Negro children who were selected for that city's first year of desegregation, five to enter the twelfth grade and five the eleventh of four high schools, and ten of their white classmates.

All of these children have been followed for two full school years. We have seen the children in Atlanta at least once a week, often twice weekly, depending upon the child and the circumstances at work in his personal and school life. We have visited the children in New Orleans every month, seeing them two or three times in a period of a week's stay. With the teen-agers and their parents we have come to their homes and talked with them; with younger children we

have come supplied with toys, crayons, and paints. Though regular home visitors, we have also been to their schools, talked with their teachers separately and in groups. We have known many of them months before schools opened, watched them enter on their first day, and graduate or be promoted on their last. Among white children we have aimed at diverse opinions on segregation. In both cities we have children from families actively in favor of desegregation and very earnestly opposed. In Atlanta one family is connected with the Klan, two others militantly segregationist; in New Orleans four families of like mind.

In brisker fashion we have journeyed to other cities, other Southern regions where desegregation has begun, hoping in a few interviews with children, parents, teachers for comparative information on adjustment and progress. Little Rock in Arkansas, Clinton and Oak Ridge in Tennessee, Burnsville, Asheville, and Charlotte in North Carolina, have offered rural and urban contrasts, and information from a more northerly South than Georgia and Louisiana.

Observations and Discussion

Our chief concerns have been what color means to a child, how these children, Negro and white, see themselves and respond to one another, how they handle the strains of desegregation, the shock of one another's presence, the anxiety and anger on the streets or the fear inside their

homes; finally, how their attitudes and feelings change or persist over the months of these eventful and unusual school years. It would be fatuous indeed to ignore the separate nature of existence for the black and white child in the South. We must therefore, tell their fate and our findings separately, starting, in each case, with the young and moving on to the older child.

Negro Children

We may note, initially, that there are no obvious social or economic ways to distinguish these families whose children participated in the first years of desegregation. These children have come from all classes, the very poor to the comfortable, the educated to the barely literate, long time city dwellers and recent arrivals from fast disappearing farms, and a wide variety of motives have pressed upon them or their parents, most especially the desire for better education, and the advancement of their people's struggle for equality. In no case were they cajoled, rewarded, or even asked to apply.[1] In both Atlanta and New Orleans many

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[1]One of the most common beliefs I have met in the South, held not only by segregationsits, but by many people very sympathetic to desegregation, often by many kind teachers, is that the NAACP in some way recruits these children, then rewards them, pays them, bribes them, the verb depending on the attitudes of the particular person. I have yet to see evidence of this with any of our children.

were eager, but only very few chosen. Selection was based in both cities upon the declared regard of school officials for seeking children able and capable of surviving an obviously special and possibly traumatic experience. In both cities and in others over the South, psychological tests were given, personal interviews held. Four in New Orleans, ten in Atlanta, survived these for first year desegregation. These children represent, therefore, a residue deemed by educators fit and superior to other aspirants.

We have seen, and we must emphasize, heavy and hard, that each of these Negro children must learn and has learned how to manage in the white world of the South. From their first years they must be taught, and, slowly begin to realize fully for themselves, what they may do, where they may go, how they must behave. These dusky children of six, their yet smaller brothers and sisters of three or four, are fast learning such facts of social life, and their older kind in Atlanta have already mastered these childhood lessons quite well.

Drawings of these young children reveal their emerging sense of shame and worthlessness, their feelings of weakness before white skin and their envy of it. While all children have their troubles with many of these emotions, early sorrows, frights, rivalries and angers, for the Negro child, in contrast with the white child's experience, they

have a real basis in the world outside the home, regardless of the pleasure and happiness within.

For instance, a six year old boy, several months at a heavily boycotted but desegregated New Orleans school, draws his view of himself and one of his few white classmates, and, in another picture, sketches his idea of his place in school. Another child, a girl of seven, having faced daily mobs, draws her school and herself. The boy leaves some white on his right arm and leg, draws himself smaller, more bound and animal-like than his blond classmate, who, in reality, is smaller and much less active and darting. He puts himself in one part of his school, his white schoolmates in another, although, he assures me, in actual fact they are together in classes. ("They say we're not supposed to, but we are.") The girl pictures herself a lonely blackbird, cautiously winging her way toward the school, hesitant, fragile before white mankind as birds generally are before people, a host of her black kin segregated in distant knots of black upon a blue sky. Another of the four girls, one who saw a whole school empty in the face of her admission, draws her school with bright flowers on one of its sides, a stealthy brown squirrel on another. Again, she draws a white girl friend as large, smiling and blooming with cheer, while a colored child ("it's not me," she hastens to tell me with no prodding) appears in a corner

of the paper, dour and droopy, lips puckered, legs looking lamed.

In these homes I have seen white dolls kept separated from colored ones, called, in two instances, King and Queen. On the other hand I have seen our same children eventually feel free enough to hit, crush, or shatter these small white worlds of dolls and toys, looking at first fearfully or guiltily at me, later able to talk rather clearly about their deep feelings of resentment and hurt. ("If the white hits the colored, the colored has to hit him back." Or, "The white people call us bad, but they are the real bad and we never get bad enough to be bad like them, so I'm just fooling." He had just been rather merciless with a white boy in a coloring book, crossing him out with giant strokes of his black crayon.)

In her very overworked and overstated affection for whites in paper and in play a five year old girl shows other, contrary attitudes at work. She never quite felt free enough to express them directly, but their symbolic presence could not be concealed. She had always given white people features, had drawn carefully and precisely their blue eyes, had marked their fine noses by thin pink lines, had outlined their slim, curved lips, jarred only rarely by all too excessive teeth which loomed larger than the mouth which presumably contained them, and almost threatened the entire face. Negroes never

had eyes, noses, mouths, only large ears. They were anonymous, and would thus not reveal their true feelings, though they were listening all the time. One day she looked furtively at me as she started drawing eyes and a nose for a colored mother and her daughter, then quickly left her crayons for the escape of skipping and dancing. We both knew why. She had always been able to talk about how white children played and felt, telling me stories to go with her drawings, telling me thereby about many of her own normal problems of growing and getting along with her mother, her father, her sister and brothers. What she feared talking about was one problem, how she felt about being a Negro, how she felt about the restrictions and prohibitions which even then she was learning, which even then were being reinforced in their power over her spontaneous urges, in busses, in stores, in movie houses, in lunch counters. At school she could play with white children and study with them, but she knew this condition was special, and precarious at that. She found attendance at a desegregated school much easier, however, than revealing her private, her family's private fears and hates, of those white children, of their parents, of their entire world. Several months later she again drew a Negro woman, again gave her eyes and a nose and lips which were surely, widely Negro. She was able to finish her work, filling in details of sky and ground, and, in reply to my

hesitant question, "What does the woman see?" I heard "The dark, 'cause the sun isn't out." She laughed and pushed her paper with its nicely done picture aside; then volunteered "one more." It was an obvious witch, broom and all, under a black sky, over two buildings of red and orange brick, similar to ones she had done before of her house and her school. Halloween had passed by three months. I noted that to her. She replied, "Some witches are always alive, and this one just stayed around." This particular sorceress was brown-skinned. At this point I felt I could mention that to her, and did. She replied, "Oh, yes." I pressed with "Why?", and she eventually explained that some people, she knew it, didn't like Negroes. Here she was showing what others thought, but also what she thought, with ugliness and isolated eccentricity the image held of them by whites, but also by themselves, by herself, too; and with shrill vengeance the Negro's secret fantasy.

Positive feelings toward this white doctor, occur. Apart from an occasional doorstep visit from an insurance salesman or such, these children and their parents have never before acted as friendly host to a white guest in their home. Real trust must, therefore, be distinguished from early, anxious, fearful ingratiation, just as these must be differentiated in older children and adults, race apart, too. In three children, particularly expressive with crayons and

paints, lessened distrust and fright seemed to appear with pictures of me, to which they would hastily add brown skin or coloring. First my tan or dappled complexion would be erased with a new picture started, or an apologetic remark indicating an error voiced. After a while I could be left colored, and they learned that it caused me no pain. Two asked me if I minded. No, I didn't, they found out, then tested my words and tried their freedom to make us seem more alike by embarking upon a spate of such drawings for a few months. Eventually they abandoned this game. One of them was able to tell me once that she was soiling me, for which she was very sorry. I remarked to her that she had painted a large shining sun, and that, perhaps I was being sun-tanned. Yes, she murmurred, that, too. Those children who found desegregation a happier experience than expected drew schools progressively less forbidding and impersonal, played games less hectic or guarded. Those whose school experiences had been frought with much tension expressed much of this in our games, trying, oftentimes, to make sense out of the experience by re-enacting it. One girl would imitate the crowds, the unfriendly crowds, then turn on them, disperse them in a model of police efficiency painfully in contrast with what had actually happened on the streets. "I'm better than the police," she told me once.

These angry crowds took on highly individual implications

and meanings for each child. Mob reproaches are fitted into the normal problems of growing. A child who feels guilty about her wishes to hurt or eliminate her brothers and sisters can wonder whether the epithets of street walkers are not really designed to punish her for her secret, and sometimes not so hidden, fantasies. At five, six, or seven, they are very much involved in the rights and wrongs of the world, how to tell them apart, how to mediate between their evolving conscience and quick-rising wishes. One six year old boy, whose mother was pregnant, drew his large bellied mother standing near his desegregated school, a fire hose nearby, a few whites standing afar. Asked for his rationale, he explained the story he was drawing, "They're mad (whites) because we are going to their school, and they want the fire hose back, but it's ours, too." Oedipal strivings and the realities of dealing with mob dispersal are fixed neatly together here.

What the parents intuitively knew was that they must acknowledge their children's perceptions of a sullen or hostile world, all the while assuring them that there were other worlds of affection, and, even among whites, support. One mother put it this way, "I tells her that she's right and those folks don't like her nor me either just 'cause we're colored. But I say that me and her daddy went against worse in the older days, and we is going to go right through this, and, we got a lot of the whites who are helping us all the way." For many

parents this was a forthright chance to talk openly with their children about their problems as Negroes. By no means is it easy for Negro families to talk with one another about such matters. Shame, self-hatred which can express itself in contempt for one another, these make such open talk hard. A father illustrates this: "Before I tried to fool them maybe a little, because I figured there'd be plenty of time for them to find out what the world is like, and, besides, I figured we'd take each situation as it comes up. Sometimes they'd try to get me to take them into a restaurant or a movie, and I'd invent all kinds of stories and try to take their attention away, divert them you might say; but I kind of knew they were too smart underneath. First they'd keep on asking, or ask questions like 'why not?' and then sometimes I'd lose my temper and tell them to shut up. Then they'd give you that look that makes you feel stupid, or maybe like crying, and I'd hear them later on, telling one another the truth .... 'because we're black' they'd say. They say you can't fool children, and I guess they is right, but can you blame a parent for trying?... Now we can relax, and it's all in the open, and it's easier with the other kids just as with her" (the girl in the desegregated school.)

Balancing outside threats and anxiety were the inside supports of the school as well as the home. While these

children were applauded by their own communities, and many people all over the world, they also received help from their teachers and white classmates, few to many in number, depending upon the year and the school involved. Three of them, learning their letters in an abandoned school, had no white classmates the first year and about fifteen the second. One of them studied largely alone at first, though she always had about five, then about ten white students with her at the beginning, and later, in the second year, over one-hundred returned to school with her. Perhaps if we hear two recorded comments, from a Negro and a white mother, we will understand what happened inside these battered schools. A Negro mother told us "Ruby came home the other day and told me that a new white girl came and she came right up to Ruby and told her in the middle of the recess that she wasn't going to play with her, 'cause her mother done told her to stay clear of niggers, but Ruby said they played together right afterwards." A white mother, who kept her children in school under constant threat and intimidation commented: "Once they were in school, it was fine. Why, they practically worshipped that little girl (Negro) After all they'd never had it so good ... so few of them to a teacher, and all that excitement. They loved it. I got scared, all the calls and their faces ... but the kids kept me calmer than I kept them. They weren't afraid...they had a real school spirit... they

sang songs like "Frantz School Will Survive"...they became real close together... Yes, it was like a family, and I guess the police were like their fathers, and they even joined in with the singing. I think the teachers became more determined than ever to stick it out and protect the children after they saw what those people were like. I've never heard such foul language..."

We saw evidence of anxiety, nervous loss of appetite, fretful disposition, unusually scrappy behavior with brothers and sisters, rare tearfulness before going to school, and one temporary episode of bed-wetting, but never were these crippling in length or severity, similar to the kinds of complaints which bring children to child guidance clinics. Parental anxiety could trigger a child's, but none of these parents ever seemed near collapse in their ability to cope with daily living. Subjected to curses, warnings of attack and death, job loss, these people drew close together, inside their own families, and within the shared assurance of a group. Very important, often overlooked, is the fact that theirs has been a life time of adaptation to what they know and feel to be unfair treatment. A father put it this way: "It's not new, and it won't be the last time, but now my child is closer to me than ever before, and we both are going to get through this, because at last we've got a reason for our hardship, and, Lord, that makes it easier

than ever before." We heard similar sentiments over and over again, in every city visited, from our teen-aged children in Atlanta particularly, able as they were to talk for themselves.

If the young child can draw and play his sense of himself and the white world outside, draw and play his fears and tensions under desegregation, and how they fit into his problems of growing up, the older child will have a style of living, a manner of thinking and feeling and acting which do likewise. In our adolescent children we have heard over the months conscious and unconscious expressions of lessons learned earlier, now organized into patterns of behavior: meekness masking rage, anger expressing shame or anxiety, fearful guilt following expression of frustration or humiliation, and, in general, a thicket of rationalizations, apprehensive controls, and bland denials, covering sadness, bitterness, and, always with "the Man"[2] around, uncertainty and fear.

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[2]Negroes often refer to the white world as "the Man" or "The Bossman." A fine coat might be called a "Boss Coat." When I went on vacation I was told several times to have a "Boss Time." Words used by whites and Negroes in the South to describe Negroes are associated with all kinds of social and cultural variables, often hard neatly to categorize. I have heard Negroes and whites use different terms to describe Negroes depending upon where they are and with whom, as well as their feelings behind the words. Poor white people generally use the word "nigger," and I have heard many Negroes do likewise, in serious and humorous self-description or derogation. Many middle-class southerners use the term "nigra," and it often emerges in quiet, honeyed fashion, with no mean intent, but simply a natural derivitive of the southern accent. Many southerners, much conscious of race relations or interested and responsive to northern custom use the word "Negro," sometimes, I feel, a little awkwardly and unnaturally, because it is not a word until recently used by most southerners to describe the Negro. I feel that the word "colored" is more often used by gentle white northerners, but I have heard it used by many Negroes in the South, and more rarely by white southerners. Of course, the "black man" the "dark people" and the "Africans" also have usages which are perhaps too specialized to discuss here.

We must emphasize, again and again, that for many of these conscious feelings of rage or intimidation to be revealed, for many dreams and fantasies to be spoken, much time and development of trust was needed. The parallel with any psychotherapy is obvious, but the contrast between these "healthy" Negroes, these "normal," even "superior" teen-agers and their white classmates in ease and freedom of social expression is startling. White children, can, and often do, say what they feel about Negroes to themselves and, often, to Negroes, say friendly things, say hurtful things. Negroes not only have no such relatively ready confidence or articulation with a white person, a fact which is obvious to many people but still denied by many more, but Negroes often are unable to talk with one another about their lot and problems as Negroes. Self hate, learned from a culture which has bound, ostracised, and proscribed them, becomes a hate for one another. The dreams, associations, comments and written remarks, drawings and paintings, and letters of these children richly illustrate such developments.

Of course, all adolescents have their problems, of quick growth and heightened awareness, of torn feelings, of doubts and dreams charged with new hormonal strength; but, again, the Negro adolescent has a special problem with the all too real social and cultural truth of his past exploitation and still curbed apartness. The whole play of the mind will be

seen in these youths, their projections and introjections, their distortions and excuses, a host of justifications and remedial responses to the lessons of inferiority, well learned by them, gathered by them from the white ocean of habits, customs, its culture which surrounds them and controls them from their first years to their last moments. From tapes we can hear their words: "I'm glad I'm not white, all that worrying about losing Atlanta's reputation if a riot comes when we desegregate," or "I don't think there's any real difference between white and colored, except that we're lazier most of the time." Or, "We deserve what we get, and until we work harder, we'll just have to take it." Again, after a year and a half, "I never told you the truth, because I never trusted a white man before... Why should we?... Sometimes we hate all of them, it doesn't make any difference who they are, it's the whole race... You know, sometimes I could just kill every white man in sight, whether I knew them or not, but that's more like what you call a daydream. I'd never really do it, it's just when you get so frustrated and they treat you like an animal, that's when it comes out..." A boy who had been at a white high school for months, and seen a Negro wield a knife in the downtown section of his city remarked to us: "Negroes are uncivilized more than whites... Sometimes they behave like animals... I feel ashamed of them... Yes, I guess it makes

me feel ashamed of myself, too." Finally, "The whites are scared of us. They've always been. That's why they have to try so hard to keep us down... Yes, I guess I think their fears are justified, because I think most of us do, way down, hate them... Well, it's like the cart and the horse, I mean whether they're scared of us because of the way we feel toward them, or if we were made to feel that way and then they get scared because of what they did to us." Little psychiatric interpretation is necessary here.

At fifteen, old ideas, old experiences, racially tinged admonitions from parents, racially connected epithets from the outside world, bulk larger and stronger. Negro adolescents in Atlanta met no mobs, but their age and its own burdens, as with the younger children in New Orleans, merged with the stresses of desegregation. Months before nine of them entered four high schools their names and pictures were in the local papers. While police can deter public throngs; threatening, highly abusive phone calls, similar messages by mail, pressures on employers, pressures by employers, these are less easily contained. Night after night calls came, menacing, foreboding ill, and, in the morning, special deliveries of the same kind appeared. Atlanta was determined to have law and order, but during that anxious summer before initial desegregation was under way, no one could really know what bomb and dynamite threats, what murderous innuendo,

might materialize even with the most elaborate precautions. Nor was the heritage of these families, several poor and recently from farms, conducive to reassurance and thoughtful serenity.

Among the children and their parents, too, anticipatory anxiety and defenses against it were quite prominent. Especially common were the use of denial and rationalizations, such as "I'm not worried about anything," or, "What's there to worry about?" or, "They'll bother the boys" from a girl and "at least we can protect ourselves" from a boy. Frequent projective maneuvers were seen, like "I'll bet they're plenty scared (the whites) of what'll happen," and, "It's nothing for us to worry about; it's their problem, not ours." Loss of appetite, migraine headaches, insomnia were seen. One boy read a law book, versing himself on "assault and battery" sections particularly, but he "just happened to be" doing this, then. Another boned up on kerate, keeping his once slack muscles newly poised. Many, wishing for a foreseeable end to increasing tension, trapped themselves into forecasts of early ease once the first few days of school were over.

Such, sadly, was not to be the case. Long moments of history may disappear, bur not necessarily at the speed hoped by an anxious child. During the school year the trials of hard work, frequent loneliness and isolation, and occasional insult had to be met, and each child had his

or her own way of dealing with these pressures. One of the original ten selected, a very bright girl of seventeen, dropped out just before school opened, she and her family unable and unwilling to bear the daily, rising tension ("We're too far out from the police, and it's too exposed here. They could shoot to kill or dynamite us, and I'm not going to take the chance," the girl admitted, guilty about her decision, but more afraid of what would happen were it not made.) Another slightly younger girl, also quite intelligent, asked to return to her old Negro high school a short while after her first report card showed two A's and three B's, the highest grades of all the Negro students, obtained in a tough academic program. A well spoken, attractive girl, from a middle-class family, of the three Negroes, probably the favorite of teachers and students alike, her withdrawal for what she called "an emotional upset" confused her city a great deal. Front page publicity, local and national, with editorials and heavy television coverage, remarks of concern by the Governor of Georgia, conflicting explanations of the cause, such attention gives some hint of the interest, hopes, the fears, and guilts attached by so many to desegregation in the South.

Having known her for six months, I had seen her respond to apprehension with heavy reliance upon detailed, increasingly burdensome rituals. She was getting little

sleep, eating sporadically and excessively of sweets, and not simply studying but exhausting herself in tangled, midnight minutiae, in unrealistic and obviously hurtful anticipation of all of the next day's possible recitals. While these classrooms were, in fact, for these children, an awkward, silent, closely watched and often fearful stage, this girl could not handle her role as easily as the eight others who stayed and survived. The reasons seemed more connected with her fragile personal and familial history, frought with divorce and parental strife, than desegregation alone. A crisis had sharpened old angers and sorrows, had upset a precariously balanced relationship with her father and sister, and had found her abilities, even assisted by a relatively friendly school body, newly weakened by rigid and frail defenses.

Depressions, headaches, stomach aches, all these were seen with some frequency. Three of the five girls developed definite increase in premenstrual pain, and, thereby temporary absence from school. All three boys seemed prone to headaches and dreams of thinly disguised rage: "I dreamt I was in Little Rock,[3] and they (whites) were coming after

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[3]Events like Little Rock stick fast to these children. They were eleven or twelve at the time, awakening to themselves and their world. All refer to memories of Little Rock on television and identification with the Negro students there. No less than four have used that even in their dreams, to symbolize such feelings as isolation, determined resistance, anger, etc.

me... I started to run, then I found I had a gun, and I turned and it turned out to be a machine gun, so I fired away; I opened up right at them, and I think they stopped... I had another dream later that night. I dreamed I got arrested for driving too fast, and my father said I'd better go to jail because he didn't have the money to pay the fine, and then I woke up ... what a night, it was as bad as school!" This dream-pair of anger, of crime and punishment, was followed weeks later, in the same boy, with "I was running real fast, but then I looked around and no one seemed to be chasing me, so I relaxed. Then I saw a girl walking down the street. She was a white girl, so I looked the other way. You know. Then, a funny thing happened. She told me it was O. K. to look, 'cause I was white, too, and she smiled at me. I think we talked for a while or something, but suddenly she turned Negro and ran from me, and I felt bad, like I'd done something wrong. Then I woke up. I couldn't get the dream out of my mind, it was one of those that stick with you real clear all day... Mostly the feeling of doing something wrong ... I think I woke up before I could get caught or something, maybe the police were around the corner." Sexual identity, racial identity, fears, hopes, guilts, all raw and sharply summoned.

Though harassed, these children were also honored, and, just as the New Orleans parents averred, so did they, that

here was a chance for purposeful stress in contrast to the arbitrary stresses of the daily rejections and exclusions encountered by the Negro in his living and working. Indeed, eight out of ten selected in Atlanta successfully finished these last one or two years of their high school education, though not without signs of tiring and of strain. As wearying as their psychological problems were their academic ones. They come from overcrowded, poorly equipped schools, from years of education in a separate school system which reflects inevitably the position of the Negro, the restricted hopes, the frequent poverty and the precarious affluence, (16) the continual fears, the lessened pace, the boredom, apathy, and that, too, the reactive rage and its impulsive, expressive violence. One says what many have said, "More kids dropped out because they had to go to work, and they didn't think they'd do much better even if they stayed and graduated. Even if they graduated from college, they might end up not any better than if they left in the 9th grade... Man, it's a white man's world all the way. You sure can see it when you get to an integrated school. These white kids have hope, I don't know how I know it, but they do, you can just feel it... I almost feel as if I've been let out of jail and let into America, like walking into one of those TV programs, you know, where people seem free and kind of happy...it's like feeling you're participating, not just always watching and peeking around."

They studied hard, curtailed social activities, graduated. Those who followed them the next year, over forty in number, less carefully picked, struggled even harder with some of these problems of academic adjustment required at so late a time as the last years of high school.

One of the most common difficulties encountered by these colored students was their own ambivalence, their pride of person and new self-respect as Negroes, their identification with changes in Africa, in Asia, in their own country; but also, along side such feelings, the results of their ancient exile from American culture, a sense of their own lowly, tainted nature, an aloof, hesitant, distrust of whites, a self-hatred appearing as suspicion of them even when they are kindly and affectionate: "I don't know what to do when they get nice. It's easier when they ignore you, at least then you're used to it, and we know what to do...when they get friendly, I feel as if they've got some angle to it, or trying to pull something... I guess I don't really believe we've got some equality now...I finally got up enough courage, and walked over and sat with them... Oh, I knew they were friendly, and they wanted me to come over...but you know how it is... But it all went good. I think they were as nervous as I was, but now when I sit with them, no one thinks anything of it." A less successful outcome, in a school less hospitable to its two Negro children, shows one way of dealing with daily rebuke and insult: "I don't care what they say, or what they think of me,..

I'm going to graduate from that school if it's the last thing I do. They can all leave if they want... Man, that's my school as much as theirs, and they don't scare me, and if I scare them, they can go... go and give me the whole school to myself.."

White Children

Since the white children mostly do not leave these schools, or, when they do, usually return after the crisis of violence or mob action subsides, they, too, have reactions to desegregation, a new and often surprising reality to them.

Born and reared in a region which has, however recently, (2) as successors to slavery, developed an elaborate array of social customs, strongly bulwarked by law, which regulate from birth to death doings, if not feelings, between the races, these children are now asked to participate in the beginning of the end of these ways. For the young white child, this ordinarily requires little effort. His age and its momentum appear to overcome even parental injunctions. I have watched them play, children from segregationist homes, urged by their mothers to keep good distance from the one or two colored children among them, yet forgetful of these ideas and pleas in the abandon of play. Teachers say as this one did: "They forget what they're told at home when they start playing. You can't expect children of this age to worry about skin color when they want to play a game or jump rope... I

suppose if their parents scare them to death about it (skin color) they'll remember, but it'll take work to prevent children from being friendly one minute and nasty the next regardless of what color they are."

Two such children and their parents showed us how dark skin can, in fact, become an object of anxious avoidance, a focus for emotions communicated from parents to child by daily example, by daily intimacy of phrase and example. Their parents were not simply voting segregationists, but preoccupied segregationists, fervently involved believers in distance between the races, in Negro inferiority and harmfulness. Their mothers' associations, culled from many interviews, indicate that for them, the Negro is dirty, diseased, promiscuous, a source of contamination, and that all these thoughts, held by many others in a casual or quiet fashion, are of strong, constant concern to them. Joining together the words of one mother from several tapes, we must emphasize the urgency and passion of her delivery: "They're dragging us down, and you know why? Because they're made lower and they're born with less intelligence than we have. Just look at them...[4] they're more animal than spiritual, and the Bible tells us not to mix the two if we can help it...They have their place, and

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[4]There is no absence of curiosity in people like her, albeit from a distance.

it's not anywhere near us...they're dirty, they're drunks, and they slash one another with razor blades and flood Chairty Hospital with their V. D. and illegitimate children... I don't think they know what family life is, and now they want us to catch it from them, get all our children sick, and start them off with little nigger kids in school. I sent him back there (Frantz School) because I figure there's only one or two, and we can get by if he stays away from them, but what about our grandchildren, when they flood us in twenty years?...I get sick near them, because they smell and I almost want to vomit..."

She had felt sick in the past, with nausea, cold sweats, loss of appetite, in a northern restaurant, seeing them nearby. She and her husband and two children had hastily left. She avoided them, particularly any chance of touching them or being touched, and she had taught this to her young girl and boy. In turn, her son, aged six, could draw a desegregated school under dark clouds, brown colored with black smoke emerging from its chimney. In one of its corners, encircled by a black line, the thinnest skeletal outlines of a Negro child could be seen. He drew another picture of his school, the same school, but of orange brick under a blue sky and full sun, scarcely any brown there but the land (dirt) under the flowers and grass. The two separate drawings had come about through the following conversation: (Dr.) "Would you want to

draw a picture of your school now?" Nodding, "Should I draw the whole school?" Hesitating a moment, (Dr.) "As much as you want to." He sketched one, then another picture, telling me it was a big school, "except it still isn't filled up again." (The boycott by whites had collapsed, and he, like other white children, had not been allowed to attend.) He was a sturdy and tidy boy, well mannered, rather close to his mother, bright and a good talker, a good artist, too. He wanted to be a doctor, had so for about a year. Doctors, he told me once, had to be clean, and had to scrub their hands very hard before they cut into people. We had embarked on that line of thought after a small discussion of the little Negro girl in his school. "I don't go near her, because I don't like her looks and she's a bad girl... My best friend is Jimmie and he said he wouldn't play with her either because she'd ruin the game, but I don't like her around anyways." He did indeed stay away from her, and sought friends who did likewise, or simply were doing likewise not in any exclusiveness, but in the natural order of play. His mother, affectionate toward him and truly confident of his loyalty, felt that his assurances to her that he remained clear from the Negro child were unnecessary. "Sometimes he tells me he hasn't gone near her when he comes home, but I know he hasn't regardless." He hasn't, but he is not without a silent interest, a certain preoccupation. He will draw the

colored child, then cross her out, he will wipe her out in play and shoot her, but not fail to mention her, bring her into his assertive, frolicsome games.

Other children seem less anxious to draw the Negro into our talk and play. Their parents may have welcomed desegregation, and there is no issue for them, though several of them are very much aware at five or six what it means in our country to be a Negro. One girl at school and in class with a little Negro girl informed me that "most white people don't like them, but I don't mind them." Their parents may not have welcomed desegregation at all, but may place little emotional store in its slow onset. A mother told me she did not want her children at desegregated schools, but she wanted them attending school, and there seemed little alternative but certain private schools, which, she felt, were not the best choice, educationally, for her children. "If I had a lot of money, I'd send them to real good private schools; this way, I figure it's best to keep them in school even with the two nigras... I tell them (her two children involved) to keep away from them and never to play with the,...Well, maybe they do, in the yard sometime, but I don't think that'll cause any trouble. I'm not against young children playing, I mean nigras and whites. I'm against giving them equality in schools and restaurants and things like that, because I don't think they're equal, to be truthful. I just don't believe any fair minded

person can look at them and the way they live and believe they are. I just don't." Attitudes like this, long held and deeply, honestly believed, are less likely to kindle a young child's resolute fear and horror. This woman states her opposition, but her capacity to weigh other values and concerns in determining her position. Unlike several of our parents, she will not march out on any street in agitated demonstration. Her children, therefore, duly understand her views, and adopt them as their own, but her daughter occasionally will acknowledge a rope game with the little Negro girl in her class, and one day, settled the entire problem for herself by telling me she'd let one Negro girl into her doll house, but no others, "I mean all the others will have to be maids, but she (the one) can have a cup of tea with us." (She loved serving tea in her doll house, and was a most gracious hostess.)

With adolescence, old ideas, stored but forgotten in games, emerge newly influential. In Atlanta, the problem of white boys and girls, now fast growing, struggling with problems of identify, of belief and career, were aptly summarized for me by a high school senior who found a Negro in several of his classes, and felt torn by old traditions and perceptions and new realities: "It's a shock to us, I'll have to say that. I mean, I'm not against Lawrence. I've grown to respect him; but it's like this...they were slaves here and we had them in bondage. We fought a war over the

thing and got beat, but even so, we've all grown up with them living one way, and us another...they've worked in our kitchens and taken care of us, and suddenly you wake up and find them in your schools sitting across from you... It's not the way we've ever lived with them before, and you can't expect us not to find it hard for a while."

Attitudes varied from immediate sympathy through indifference to marked hostility. One form of hostility was the direction of overworked attention and conversation to the Negroes with a paternal attitude which they could scarcely not notice and frequently describe: "I'd rather have them swear at us than all that fake sympathy she gives out. She thinks she's big-time roylaty, doing us a favor with her friendship. She tells us how much she likes us, but how does she know if she does, when she doesn't know us at all?" Others, less impelled by unconsciously wrought reaction-formations, developed slow sympathy with these children, often identifying with them in their loneliness or suffering. One adolescent boy of fifteen, in so many ways reminiscent of Anna Freud's (15) description of the teen-aged youth in all his ambivalent turmoil, remarked feelingly, "I know what it is to be alone... they must be boiling underneath, but I guess they know how to keep up a good front. I think I was against desegregation, and I still am in a way, but I really feel for those two kids, and I've got to admit I like both of them in spite of what I

thought I'd feel...you know, you've got to hand it to them... sometimes I see them just sitting at the table, and I say to myself, we're rotten animals, us human beings are just mean all over. Then I want to go up and sit and talk with them, but I don't dare...you know why, I'll have to be honest, it would just make it too hard for me. I'd have to take more than they do, I think."

Slowly, as the months go along, many of these white students, less and less afraid of social ostracism, have made overtures to their Negro schoolmates, words, a smile, a question, a nod. Desegregation has then moved from its legal and physical reality to its emotional onset.

Others feel and continue to feel differently: "They're no damn good, and never will be...just look at Africa...All they do is sit and drink...They live like animals and they sure look like them, too. Have you ever smelled them, real close? They make me sick just to go near them!" Strong are the words and feelings these young men and women have and much the notice they are willing to give the Negro: "Most kids ignore us, and a few are really nice, but there are three or four who won't leave us alone. They just stare all day long... I think they've got a kind of 'thing' about us, and it won't let them alone, so how can they let us alone?"

Three of these young people, two boys and a girl, have never felt unwilling or unable to describe their anger and

scorn for the two Negroes at school with them. Listening to their words, and feelings underneath those words, one finds, however, sensitivity and guilt as well as rage, revealing them, unconsciously, troubled and conscience stricken by the very harm they would so freely cause. One would describe with apparent pleasure the isolation and fear experienced by a Negro girl in his class, then wish, always after telling of her painful moments, that she go to Africa, surely an escape as well as an exile. Another talked quietly about his segregationist views, becoming loudly, angrily, critical when he described a bullying word or deed toward a Negro in which he shared. He always had to fend off his own sense of right and wrong in these specific situations by such excesses of rationalized pique. One rather bright and athletic boy, with no significant medical or psychiatric history, revealed the clashes and contradictions of sympathy, fear, and hate within himself: "I don't hate Martha. Fact is, I feel sorry for her, and for the other one, too. She's pathetic, the way she just sits there all alone, smiling at you if you look at her, and working away all the time, trying to prove something, I guess. It's the NAACP and the professional nigger lovers I'm against, because they're taking advantage of Martha just like the rest of us to cause trouble between the races... We've had a lot more use for the nigger here than up North... I've gone up there and I know how they live there... Here,

we've got respect for one another, and most niggers will tell you they don't want to be with us any more than we want to be with them...This is an insult to them as much as to us, and I think Martha is a dupe, and even if I feel sorry for her, I can't forgive her for letting herself be used."

Our Negro and white children, regardless of their differing views and hopes, all agreed on the interesting point that most white children, despite their declared opinions, in practice were indifferent to the Negroes who entered their schools. Over and over from the Negroes we heard, "They couldn't care less." Time and again we heard from white children, "I've got more on my mind than a couple of niggers... my work and basketball are what I think of all day...who cares? I mean, they're here, and we didn't want it, but what difference does it make, now? I don't think <u>any</u> in your everyday life."

Changes in feelings are reported and observable, too. Several of our high school juniors and seniors have noted changes in sentiments from mild antipathy or disinterest to respect or even affection, often to their own surprise. The unpredictable nature of human behavior, the accumulative effects of conscious and unconscious guilt and atonement, of changed perceptions and newly developing social customs, are all perhaps summarized in the experience of a Negro girl who went through a year of silence and sometimes much worse, only

to be herself surprised in her last day of school at the requests of eighteen white classmates to autograph her yearbook. Their messages, from "best wishes" to "I am sorry for my silence, but you will understand why," from "I know you have had an unpleasant time, but we have all had a difficult year, and we have come through it successfully" to "you have proven yourself a fine person, and I have been sorry we could not know you better," speak for themselves, self-evident examples of changing emotions, slowly incubating amid the complicated silence of an unusual school year.

Parents and Teachers

We may only briefly here refer to the parents and teachers of these children. It is a commonplace that these children are much affected by the attitudes of both. We have been particularly interested to note, in city after city of the South, that teachers may have felt tension between their roles as teachers and their private feelings. In the two battered schools of New Orleans, in Central High School in Little Rock, in the unharassed but tensely protected (some police scruntiny all year long) high schools of Atlanta, we have heard teachers reflect what their society obviously faces, the anxieties and mixed feelings of social and cultural change. One teacher put it very well, speaking to me in a group of several teachers meeting to discuss their observations of how desegregation was

proceeding: "We felt betwixt and between our traditions as southerners and the Law. I wouldn't disobey my school board, because I know I have responsibilities as a teacher, but I had my private opinions about this, of course. You know, we were as nervous as the students were... you could hear a pin drop... I think I've learned as much this year as my students, and maybe a little more... You can't change a whole way of living without a little trouble here and there, but I'm right proud of our children here in Atlanta."

Parents, of course, will vary, and teach their young children what they themselves feel, from kindness to fear. Many children in Atlanta obviously reflect their parents' views. Many don't, however. A white boy, son of a militant segregationist father, found friendliness toward Negroes, spoken and acted, a means of teen-aged rebellion. Several young students differentiated most precisely their views from those of their parents. "We're from another generation," a refrain as old as man himself, was not absent among these youths. Nor do Negro students heed their parents so resolutely. Often their parents, all too aware of past hurts, all to fearful and suspicious, had opposed letting their children transfer to white schools. Family splits, mother approving, father dissenting, or vice-versa, were not rare, with younger and older children alike. Once under the crisis of actual participation, however, these splits seemed to be welded together in

the common familial need for mutual support against an outside world potentially harmful.

The Psychiatrist's Roles and Reactions

We can only mention in passing at this time some of the problems encountered by a psychiatrist working in the midst of active social and political crisis, though this subject deserves to be pursued further. For a white psychiatrist to go to Negro homes in the deep South, regularly and over a two-year period of time, was, in itself, as unusual as desegregation. We met apprehension and fright; their expression in suspicion, in ingratiation or withdrawal, in awe or in ire, and slowly, in testing and teasing. We found that the more freely these people felt they could talk with us, the more honestly they could express their feelings, their fears, angers, sorrows, and the more frankly they could acknowledge their initial, conscious deceptions. In several instances, as in individual psychotherapy, long standing grievances were slowly mentioned, and attitudes of docility, followed by those of resentment and deeply felt hostility appeared and yielded slowly to a sustained relationship coupled with discussion of these very feelings, for these Negroes the first time they had such an opportunity with a white person. Well over a year after we had started our visits, we began to hear in many homes remarks like "now we're telling youwhat we really think," or "we just didn't know at

first what to say, and to be honest, we just don't trust any white people to be really truthful to them..." Increasing involvement between these children and their parents and me allowed them to forego many of their stylized maneuvers of dealing with what they most often feel to be the alien white lord. They felt free to share their phrases, their humor, their bitterness and sadness at their fate, and they felt able to talk about how they mask these feelings, summoning constant energy in conscious guile, bluff, and falsehood: "Tell them what they want to hear," or "Smile and hope they die on the spot." Such searing wrath demands constant vivilance lest it escape in open violence, sometimes against whites, though this is made hard by the very nature of the society which legally, socially, politically, enconomically subordinates them, more often against themselves, in quick fury, in long self-hatred and despair.

As with any group of people, different types of relationships developed, depending upon the child and his or her family, and the investigator. This was a study to determine attitudes, reactions, adjustment in a crisis for presumably "normal" people, but the therapeutic quality in the work soon appeared. For Negroes under stress to talk with a white psychiatrist about their feelings, their trials and hopes and tensions, over a long enough period of time for a firm relationship to develop is obviously of some value

for them as well as for the psychiatrist. Briefer contacts in several southern cities helped us obtain information and make observations less intimately related to the child's life history, but more pertinent to his every day experiences and adaptations. An effort was made to achieve both, general information about daily psychological phenomena, and the deeper, longer investigation of the individual personality and life history.

With white families, particularly segregationists, we had a different order of problems, not racial, but idiosyncratic, our initial reception varying from the friendly to the suspicious and guarded. We had expected difficulty talking with segregationist, but soon learned that those strongly moved and agitated by this issue wanted very much to talk about it, indeed, need to do just that. Changes among white children both did and did not occur, and do and do not occur in those children untouched by studies like this. Several of our children attribute new feelings to talks with us: "I think just thinking about all these things when you come makes you see more of what's going on... I've wondered how I'd feel about them if I hadn't talked to you this year." We have met children in small rural towns, in larger cities, who have come to new ideas and responses to the Negro children beside them by themselves, through their own experiences and thinking, through discussions with friends and relatives, out

of their own life history with its development of conscience, awareness, available intelligence, vitality and quiet of mind.

The psychiatrist, as always, must learn from his own anxieties, his own affection, angers, and depressions, as they arise in his work with other people. In a study such as this, these feelings are sure to be met, telling us, all along, about the range and intensity of the emotional forces hugging racial attitudes hard; showing us, surely, how such forces derive much of their powerful and persuasive momentum from sources deep within the individual's emotional life.

Conclusions

From our work, we would venture the following impressions:

1. Negro children, young and old, in most cases, endure the stresses of initial desegregation in Southern cities without evidence of significant psychiatric illness. In order to understand why this occurs, the general problems of adjustment required of the Negro in his daily life, from birth to death, must be considered. Many of the strains met by these children and their families are similar to those often encountered elsewhere. In order to cope with such conditions, these children must learn, must be also taught, a variety of psychological maneuvers, and these will serve in desegregated schools as well as on busses, outside theatres, and restaurants. These

defenses described in this paper agains anxiety, fear, retaliatory anger, shame, and guilt, develop slowly, require constant emotional energy, the continual vigilance of a precarious position in our society. For these children, therefore, desegregation is an opportunity, a kind of trouble which, in contrast, to other experiences, makes sense and offers hope of a better life with less hurt in the future. So long as their home life is reasonably satisfactory, so long as they do not have serious personality disorders stemming from their personal psychological development, they seem able to withstand mobs, and the variety of pressures arising from their entry into white schools. We have tried to document some of these pressures and responses to these pressures, and we have seen that the trials of desegregation fit into the other problems of the growing child, reflecting them, increasing them, or serving their expression.

2. For the white child, desegregation will have a variety of meanings, depending on his family, his age, and his own nature, needs, and wishes. Compassion, lack of interest, annoyance, strong aversion, all these reactions have been seen, and their roots traced in individual children and their parents. We can clinically distinguish between those families where segregation is a consumming, highly charged interest, a passionate expression

of other problems, and those where it is less integrated in earlier, more basic emotional troubles; thus more changeable as a social habit or custom, strongly and long held, but slowly dispensable when opposed by other wishes or customs. Even among the poorest and most insecure, of our families, socially and economically, these differences obtain.

3. Some of the meanings of color, of black and white, to children have been explored. Deeply present in our culture, they indicate the developing sources of later attitudes and behavior in both whites and Negroes. We have attempted to convey the feelings of these children toward one another, helped by their actual words, their dreams and drawings, their play. We have also tried to indicate some of the ways their parents and teachers choose to behave, how they, too, get along in these tense situations. Finally, we have indicated some of the hurdles along the path of such study of active social and political crises by a psychiatrist.

4. We have seen changes in these southern children, in Negroes toward less doubt and more trust, in whites toward less hostility and more freedom to see another person as a person, regardless of skin color. We have also seen hardening of suspicion, congealing of hatreds. Since we are dealing with a problem in human development,

in stress and response to stress, in early anxieties, rivalries and strains within the family becoming reflected and expressed in later social and economic realities, there is every reason for both hope and despair. Genes do not present an ineradicable barrier, grounded in biochemistry, against easing conflicts or or harsh legal and social inequalities among individuals and groups; but the fatal and reciprocally stimulating engagement of private disorders, personal anxieties, fears, and frustrated hopes, with publicly sanctioned expressions for them, solidified in history, allowed by law, encouraged by communities for their various reasons, is not easily broken. These children have shown us both possibilities, of growth and of continuing affliction.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The American Negroes commit more than their share of crimes.

However, this does not eliminate the need for further study of the relationship between Negroes and crime. At least, two fundamental questions remain:

To what degree do Negroes surpass whites in the perpetration of crimes?

Why do the Negroes commit more than their share of crime?

As we shall see, criminal statistics are insufficient to give a precise comparison of the races. The data are not complete in coverage of all crimes. They do not afford the basis of a valid sample of all factors involved in the relationship between race and crime. Criminal statistics can reflect general trends, but their efficiency deteriorates when the study of a sub-group (such as Negroes) requires more exact control of factors extraneous to the specific relationship under scrutiny.

This does not mean that use of statistics is merely an evasion of research responsibility and a rationalization. The difficulties of the statistician are inherent in the problems of seeking objective answers in the highly subjective area of human behavior. Actually, the statistics are a valuable tool in revealing the superficiality of demands for snap answers to complex, multi-factor problems. They offer a means of moving nearer the truth.

Chapter 2 offers a description of crime among Negroes on the basis of the best statistical sources available. Chapter 3 reviews and briefly assesses the major explanations offered for the patterns revealed by the description.

CRIME AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Let us pause to consider the place of criminal law within the broad structure of social control. The significance of Negro crime rates is that they reflect the deviation of individual Negroes from these standards. The rates also reflect the decisions of authorities as to the propriety of this behavior in relation to standards furnished by laws.

To answer our two fundamental questions, we must realize the reason for the standards which are the basis for labeling certain kinds of behavior as crime

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~~CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION~~

~~The American Negro commits more than his share of crimes.~~

~~To let the matter rest with this bald statement would deny the complexity and significance of the causes behind this high crime rate. The difficulty and fascination of criminology stem from its vast scope. Anything affecting human behavior is pertinent to the study of crime and the criminal. The Negro and his place in American society are major research areas in themselves. Therefore, these few pages will survey only the general aspects of the relationship between the Negro and crime.~~

~~To understand this relationship, we should consider the social meaning of crime.~~ Strange as it may seem, crime exists because man has a conscience. We differ from other creatures in that we have a sense of right and wrong. Every human society has norms which are "measuring sticks" against which its members are expected to judge objects and behavior as desirable or unfit, admirable or despicable, moral or immoral, legitimate or illegitimate.[1] Our consciences use these "measuring sticks" to make us proud or ashamed of our behavior.

Words like "murder," "rape", and "theft" reflect violations of norms in our culture. Most of us are trained in childhood to consider such violations to be too heinous to be attempted by the "decent" people we conceive ourselves to be. We become our own policemen. If we are tempted to risk the lash of our own conscience, the fear of losing the respect of neighbors and friends serves as an effective policeman.

What if a person does not act as his own policeman? Then formal controls must backstop the conscience. Some authority outside the person steps in to enforce rules which often have been written down. The employer fires the disobedient worker. The principal expels the rowdy pupil. More to our purpose, the policeman arrests, ~~the judge and~~ the judge sentences, jury convicts, and the prison guard clangs the gates behind the culprit.

Do the formal controls of law enforcement, courts and prisons bear on all types of misbehavior? No, the society, through its legislative bodies, enacts laws which apply to those forms of misbehavior most injurious to the orderly functioning of human groups. The selection of subjects for laws depends on the nature of the society. Embezzlement, theft, fraud, and counterfeiting are dangerous threats to the concepts of private property and credit so vital to our capitalism. Rape, incest, and other sexual offenses imperil the foundations of our family life.

Do all societies use these formal controls to the same extent? No. Our urban-industrial society has such large population clusters and such intricate social arrangements that we can not depend on the ridicule and gossip of kinsmen and neighbors to keep all of us in line. Because of the sheer number of people about him, the urbanite knows few of those he encounters. He can escape censure by allowing himself to be swallowed up in the crowd. Often the apartment-dweller knows next to nothing about the fellow next door. He minds his "own business." This permits him to escape largely the subtle controls experienced by the rural and village person. This means that urban life must depend more on the policeman for social control of the deviant person. Urban-industrial life has made it necessary to regulate such matters as public sanitation, traffic, factory safety, and commercialized vice. Such problems have expanded the scope of legalized control of behavior because the persausion of tradition and individual conscience is not sufficient to maintain the group discipline essential to the social order.

~~This raises the interesting point that our increasing crime rate may reflect the greater complexity of our way of life. Probably, the average citizen is no more dishonest or immoral inherently than his grandfather in spite of the dismal comparisons suggested by crime rates.~~

Crime is a cultural phenomenon. ~~This means that~~ It is defined by the given society as behavior which threatens the fundamental norms serving as

the basis for social cooperation. These norms are communicated down through the generations to serve as the raw materials for the development of conscience in the course of personality development. When voluntary compliance with these internalized norms is not enough to assure social discipline, we turn to written laws as enforced by the policeman, judge, and prison warden.

SIGNIFICANCE OF NORMS TO CRIMES AMONG NEGROES

As the basis for the application of formal control, criminal law is a creation and part of culture. It differs from the other aspects of our normative order in that its punishment of violators is in the hands of an organized and recognized body of official administrators with a more or less consistent system of procedures. This has important implications for our subject. Is there something about the position of the Negro in his social environment and in the larger community which creates excessive criminality? Are the norms applied to Negroes by these administrators in some special manner? Is there an inherent biological quality which makes the Negro less likely to conform to legal norms?

Another point: Because it is defined by law, crime can vary from place to place and from time to time to the extent that such variations in the law occur. Comparison of jurisdictions reveals wide variations in the definition of crimes and their penalties within American society.[2] Any explanation for crime must account for this variation. The failure to meet this challenge is a major defect of the simple biological explanation.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. For fuller discussion of norms, see: Kingsley Davis, Human Society, Macmillan, 1949, Chapter 3.

2. This point is considered by: Sophia M. Robison, Can Delinquency Be Measured? New York: Columbia University Press, 1936; Robert S. Bensing, "A Comparative Study of American Sex Statutes," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 42: 57-72, May-June, 1951.

CHAPTER 2: PATTERNS OF CRIME AMONG NEGROES

Although the American Negro commits more than his share of crime, we cannot be certain how much more. Later [redacted] this chapter [redacted] will mention ~~shall~~ comment briefly ~~on~~ the difficulties of obtaining reliable and valid statistics. When the circumstances behind the higher crime rate are considered, some readers will wonder that the difference between the races is not even greater. The next chapter will review these circumstances. Crime rates reflect arrest policies which select out only a fraction of all offenders who are candidates for arrest. Therefore, differences in crime rates are not a perfect image of relative criminality. But the fact remains that Negroes do commit more crimes than their relative proportion of the total population would cause one to expect.

EVIDENCE OFFERED BY ARREST STATISTICS

Arrest statistics gathered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation are our best source of data. Because the information is gathered from local police departments on a voluntary basis, this data must be viewed as the best approximation, rather than a perfectly reliable and valid [redacted] description of American crime. Areas failing to report information to the FBI are found to the greatest extent in the South and in rural areas. Therefore, the description is strongly influenced by the patterns of urban crime in the North and West. The affects of recent heavy Negro migrations to the North and West are emphasized. Similarly, the affects of rural life in inhibiting criminal behavior favor the whites more than the Negroes because the rural Negro is largely a phenomonon of the South.

The arrests of Negroes are greater than their share of the total population would indicate, but this difference is greater for urban areas than for rural areas.

Of the city arrests reported to the FBI in 1960, the racial distribution was 66.3% white, 30.4% Negro, 2.1% American Indian, 0.2% Chinese and Japanese, and 1.0% all other races. Similar percentages for rural arrests were white 83.4%, Negro 13.6%, American Indian 2.1%, and all other races 0.9%. The 1960 Census reports the total [redacted] urban population was 88.2% white and 11.0% Negro. The total rural population was 89.5% white and 9.4% Negro.

TABLE A: ARRESTS OF NEGROES AND WHITES, BY RURAL AND URBAN AREAS, 1960.

Type of Population	Number of Crimes Reported (a)	Number of Crimes Per 100,000 Population (b)	Crime Ratio: Negro Rate Divided By White Rate
URBAN			
White	1,936,581	2,988.4	3.7
Negro	895,513	11,080.8	---
RURAL			
White	240,906	1,119.9	1.6
Negro	40,356	1,786.3	---

(a) Uniform Crime Reports for United States, 1960, Washington: Federal Bureau of Investigation; Table 20 based on 2,446 cities with population of 73,473,751; Table 26 based on 963 rural agencies with area population of 24,034,796.

(b) Base of rate is computed by estimating racial distribution of reporting areas' total population from 1960 Census reports for total U.S. population.

Table A offers more specific comparisons. In the cities, there were 2,988 arrests for every 100,000 urban whites and 10,786 arrests for every 100,000 urban Negroes. In rural areas, there were 1,120 arrests for every 100,000 rural whites and 1,786 arrests for every 100,000 rural Negroes. The urban Negro rate is 3.7 times greater than that of urban whites. The rural Negro rate is only 1.6 times greater than that of rural whites.

The Negro arrest rate is increasing more rapidly than that of the whites. Negroes represented 23.5% of all reported urban arrests in 1941, 29.8% in 1958, and 30.4% in 1960. Some of this gain represents improved reporting. Migration is removing Negroes from police jurisdictions with inferior statistical reporting to jurisdictions likely to have better reporting procedures.

Because urban crime reports are more complete, Table B limits analysis of specific crimes to urban areas. Two statistical tools are employed. For each race, the percentage distribution by type of crime tells how the races compare in relative chances of arrest for certain kinds of misbehavior. Another tool is used to cancel out the confusion resulting from the differences between the races in the size of total population who could have committed a crime to become eligible for inclusion in the criminal population of that race. Because there are more whites, there are more white criminals without indicating a higher degree of white criminality. The crime rate relates the number of arrests of a racial group to the total population of that group.

Offenses symptomatic of personal disorganization compose the bulk of crimes for both races. These are law violations which stem from the individual's failure to organize his life effectively within the scheme of social norms basic to a moral order. In seeking our own purposes, each of us must fit our behavior to our society's code of right and wrong if we are to have a place in that society. These crimes are symptomatic of the offender's failure to organize his life within the cultural restrictions which forbid vices and require responsibility in work and family roles. The dominance of these offenses for both races demonstrates the dependence of urban society on formal law to control personal pathology.

TABLE B: URBAN ARREST RATES OF NEGROES AND WHITES BY TYPES OF CRIME, 1960(a)

Type of Crime	Negro Arrests Pct.	Negro Arrests Rate(b)	White Arrests Pct.	White Arrests Rate(c)	Crime Rate (b) divided by (c)
TOTAL CRIMES	100.0	11,080.8	100.0	2,988.4	3.7
PERSONAL DISORGANIZATION	67.6	7,489.1	70.4	2,108.7	3.6
Drunkenness	34.0	3,760.1	49.1	1,467.2	2.6
Disorderly Conduct	17.9	1,979.4	11.9	356.7	5.6
Gambling	6.7	739.5	1.0	31.2	23.7
Vagrancy	4.3	481.3	4.9	146.7	3.3
Sex, Other than Rape	1.3	147.2	1.4	42.9	3.4
Offenses Against Children, Family	1.3	144.5	1.1	33.9	4.3
Prostitution, Commercialized Vice	1.3	143.4	.6	17.0	8.4
Narcotic Drugs	.8	93.7	.4	13.1	7.1
CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY	15.1	1,674.5	15.0	444.3	3.8
Larceny, Theft	7.3	805.0	6.7	199.3	4.0
Burglary, Break-Enter.	3.7	414.9	3.4	102.1	4.1
Robbery	1.6	175.2	.6	17.0	10.3
Auto Theft	1.2	131.2	1.9	57.5	2.3
Embezzlement, Fraud	.7	77.1	1.3	37.2	2.1
Stolen Property	.3	36.7	.3	8.4	4.4
Forgery, Counterfeit,	.3	34.4	.8	22.8	1.5
CRIMES AGAINST PERSONS	9.8	1,079.4	4.7	140.9	7.7
Assaults	9.1	1,009.1	4.4	132.7	7.6
Forcible Rape	.3	34.4	.1	3.8	9.1
Murder, Nonnegligent Manslaughter	.3	31.1	.1	2.4	13.1
Manslaughter by Negligence	.1	4.8	.1	2.0	2.4
OTHER CRIMES	7.5	837.8	9.9	294.5	2.8
Liquor Laws	3.1	345.6	2.9	86.4	4.0
Driving Intoxicated	2.5	281.8	6.2	185.4	1.5
Weapons	1.9	210.4	.8	22.7	9.3

(a) Uniform Crime Reports for United States, 1960, op. cit., Table 20. These crime categories were omitted: All Other Offenses and Suspicion.

Arrests for drunkenness, vagrancy, and for sex crimes other than rape compose a greater share of white arrests than of Negro arrests. Several explanations are possible. The lower average socio-economic status of the Negro encourages police to consider such misbehavior as typical of the Negro. This relative status makes it a simpler matter to arrest the Negro on a more serious charge when temporary holding of a suspect is deemed necessary. Drunkenness and vagrancy are charges most likely to be applied against members of the lowest classes. Therefore, the white arrest rates probably reflect the actual incidence of such crimes more completely than do the white rates for other less serious crimes.

Arrests for disorderly conduct and gambling are more characteristic of the Negro offenders. Disorderly conduct is a catchall term covering a variety of modes of breaching the peace for a variety of motives ranging from rebellion against one's lot in life to ignorance of the ways of an unfamiliar urban culture. Frequently, this charge is used for action against female sexual offenses. Gambling is an important Negro recreation, especially for young adults in an urban slum.

Although only 11% of all urban arrests were of females, 73% of arrests for prostitutions and commercialized vice were of women. The use of sex for illicit gainful purposes is more typical of females, especially those with inferior economic opportunities otherwise.

Although the arrest rate is low, Negroes have a higher rate for unlawful possession, sale, or use of narcotic drugs. These crimes are largely concentrated in the major cities. Drug addicts tend to come from deteriorated areas where narcotic usage is more prevalent.

Nonsupport, neglect, desertion, or abuse of family and children represent almost the same proportion of arrests for both races.

Negroes are more likely to commit crimes against persons than is the white. Of the total arrests of Negroes, 9.8% were for murder, manslaughter, assault, and forcible rape. Of the total arrests of whites, 4.7% were for these crimes. The combined rates of Negro arrests surpasses that of the whites more than seven-fold.

Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter make up only a small proportion of total crimes among Negroes, but the Negro arrest rate surpasses the white rate to a degree second only to gambling. Forcible rape and assault also show very high ratios. The relatively greater importance of manslaughter by negligence among whites suggests a combination of two factors. The reduction of murder and manslaughter charges to manslaughter by negligence occurs more often among whites. The situations encountered in daily life by members of the two races differ sufficiently to give less chance that a Negro will behave in the specific manners described by the charge of manslaughter by negligence.

The crimes against persons by Negroes are directed largely against members of their own race. For example, of 108 Negroes admitted to North Carolina prisons for first degree murder between 1950 and 1960, 96 had been convicted of slaying another Negro.

For both races, crimes against property were 15% of total crimes. Robbery, which has elements of aggression against persons, shows the greatest difference between the races. The relatively low rates for forgery, counterfeiting, embezzlement, and fraud reflect less opportunity for Negroes to commit white collar crimes because few Negroes hold white collar jobs. The relatively smaller importance of automobile theft among crimes of Negroes reflects the greater likelihood of the white to define the automobile as a prestige symbol within his peer group.[1]

Driving intoxicated is a crime more characteristic of whites. The Negro is less likely to be able to own an automobile. The middle and upper class white is more likely to be arrested for this offense than for many others.

PATTERNS OF PRISON ADMISSIONS

Another type of criminological data is prison commitments collected by the Federal Bureau of Prisons from various adult correctional systems. The most recent report shows that Negroes make up 31% of the male commitments and 41% of the female commitments.[2] Of every 100,000 Negro males 15 years of age or more in the nation, 304 entered prison in 1950 compared with a similar rate of 67 for whites. For females, the equivalent rates were 16 for

Negroes and 2.3 for whites. Compared with whites, the Negro male is four and one-half times more likely to be imprisoned and the Negro female seven times more likely. The difference between the sexes is inconsistent with a simple biological explanation of the high Negro crime rates.

Why do the female imprisonment rates by race differ more than do the male imprisonment rates? Racial discrimination deprives the Negro female offender of some of the protection given the woman by the chivalrous attitudes expected of the man in our culture. Victims are reluctant to report her transgressions. Police are hesitant to arrest her and juries to convict her. Apparently, such reluctance does not protect the Negro woman as much as the white woman.

The passive and dependent roles assigned the females in our culture gives them opportunities to commit crimes in the privacy of the home or tends to cause them to have accessory roles in the perpetration of crimes. On both scores, the female crimes are often more difficult to detect and prosecute. These advantages for the female offender protect the whites more than the Negroes because of the affects of greater family disorganization and inferior socio-economic status. The Negro female is more likely to have to leave the home and role of housewife to support herself and her dependents. Her greater entrance into the job market, the greater Negro family disorganization, and inferior racial status has given the Negro female greater freedom than the white female, on the average. The same chivalry which protects the white female offender places the white female in the role of dependent. Therefore, the denial of the full protection of such chivalry also increases the opportunity of the Negro female to commit those crimes open to the Negro male. The inhibitions against aggressive crimes against persons are reduced. Much of Negro female employment is in domestic service which has special vulnerability for sexual delinquency and which creates the opportunity for frustrations stemming from comparison between her level of living and that of her employer.[3]

Since the South has the largest share of Negroes, it is not surprising that the absolute number of prison admissions of Negroes is concentrated in the South to a greater extent than of whites. Of all felons received by state prisons in 1950, 35.3% of the white males and 60.1% of the Negro males entered southern institutions. Southern prisons received 27.4% of the white female felons and 54.2% of the Negro female felons. However, more careful analysis shows the chances of a Negro going to prison to be least in the South of all regions.

To cancel out the affects of regional differences in size of total Negro population, the number of Negro male offenders received by the prisons of each region is divided by the number of male Negroes ages 15 years or more. These rates reveal the South has the lowest Negro prison admission rate among the regions, although it is second only to the West in white prison admission rates. For white female commitments the regions have little differences in rates, but again the South has the lowest rate for Negroes.

The Negro prison admission rate surpasses the white prison admission rate in all regions. In which region is this difference the greatest? When the Negro admission rate is divided by the white admission rate, these answers for males are obtained: Northeast 7.8, North Central 6.1, South 3.1, and West 3.1. The similar ratios for females are Northeast 10.0, North Central 7.8, South 5.3, and West 11.7. The difference is the largest in the Northeast for males and in the West for females. For both sexes, the South has the least difference between the races in relative chances of imprisonment.

Of the total increase of male felony admissions between 1950 and 1956, southern prisons received 74% of the gain in white admissions and 49% of the gain in Negro admissions. Similarly for females, the South had 69% of the gain in white admissions and 51% of the Negro increase. Although the South had a larger share of total white male and female admissions in 1956 and in 1950, the proportion of Negro female admissions declined slightly and of Negro male admissions held constant.[4]

TABLE C RACE AND SEX, BY REGION, OF FELONY PRISONERS RECEIVED FROM COURT IN STATE INSTITUTIONS; 1950*

Sex and Region	White		Negro	
	Pct.	Rate@	Pct.	Rate@
Male				
Total U.S.	100.0	67.0	100.0	304.3
Northeast	16.4	36.7	15.3	284.5
North Central	26.8	62.3	18.3	382.0
South	35.3	90.0	60.1	275.3
West	21.5	96.7	6.3	298.5
Female				
Total U.S.	100.0	2.3	100.0	16.0
Northeast	28.7	2.2	22.6	22.0
North Central	29.4	2.4	16.2	18.8
South	27.4	2.5	54.2	13.3
West	14.5	2.4	7.0	28.1

*Source: Federal Bureau of Prisons, Prisoners in State and Federal Institutions, 1950, Washington, 1954, Table 21.

@ Number of admissions per 100,000 population of given race and sex in region in age group 15 years and over.

The Negro felon serves a longer time in prison on the average than the white felon.[5] Nationally, this is true for all major crimes except for murder and sex offenses other than rape. This is true generally for all regions. Exceptions are automobile theft and weapons in the South, escape and sex offenses other than rape in the West, and murder in the Northeast and North Central. The South imposes the shortest period of imprisonment for vittually every offense and for both races. Southern Negroes serve longer average sentences than southern whites except for automobile theft and weapons. However, Southern Negroes spend less time behind bars on the average than Negro felons of other regions with the single exception of rapists in North Central.

The time spent in prison depends on both the length of sentence imposed by the court and a host of factors affecting the proportion of the sentence actually served. Comparisons of sentences imposed by several judges for the same crimes have demonstrated important differences. Sellin notes that the judge is subject to many social psychological influences when the offender stands forth for sentencing. As a person he represents a class or group in society toward which the judge may have feelings of approval or disapproval. Racial stereotypes can be one of the aspects.[6] Good conduct and extraordinary work effort can earn the prisoner "gained time" rewards toward earlier release. Racial discrimination may be a latent factor by affecting the vocational experience necessary to be eligible for work tasks qualifying for such rewards.

PROBATION AND PAROLE

The Negro offender is less likely to receive probation or parole.[7] The significance of this statement is difficult to determine because of the inadequacy of the limited data available. Omitting race as an administrative criterion contributes to the spirit of racial equality, but it handicaps evaluation of efforts to achieve such equality.

The fundamental difficulty, however, is the problem of capturing the unique and personal qualities of each decision on granting of probation or parole. Because of the complexity of personality, such decisions involve risk in choosing a reasonable compromise between protection of society from further crimes and the

necessity to place trust in the convicted offender if he is to play his vital part in the rehabilitative process. The decision-maker must be free to use his discretion within broad principles. Racial prejudice may play a latent and unconscious factor in such discretion. It is more likely that racial discrimination has affected the personality and vocational qualifications of the Negro which, in turn, are legitimate criteria for probation and parole selection.

On the other hand, race is only one of the characteristics of the offender. Racial discrimination affects the socio-economic status, job opportunities, general environment for social activities, and status in the total community. Because these and similar factors are appropriate criteria for evaluating eligibility for probation and parole, racial discrimination largely is an indirect factor. The offender is stigmatized to some degree, especially if he serves a prison sentence. The white offender, therefore, shares the experience of discrimination. It may be that his previous lack of such experience may make this stigmatization a more telling blow than for the Negro offender. In this narrow sense, racial prejudice may be a relatively minor matter in probation and parole, if the comparison is made in terms of the difference in experiences before and after conviction for a crime. Because the Negro generally has less opportunity for top-notch jobs, the Negro offender is more likely to be able to obtain and be willing to accept the lower level jobs which the prisoner would be able to obtain [redacted] to qualify for parole. Louisiana firms were found to be only slightly more favorable toward hiring white than Negro ex-prisoners.[8]

The several states and the jurisdictions within the states vary greatly in the degree of use of probation. The states vary similarly in their use of parole. In Vermont, only 9.5% of the releases from prison are by parole, while New Hampshire paroles 95.9% of its prisoners. Similar percentages for the regions are 76.3% for Northeast, 69.4% for North Central, 36.9% for South, and 78.1% for the West.[9] The lower degree of probation and parole for the Negro is explained partially by the location of the bulk of the Negro population in states where treatment programs are available to a [redacted] limited degree to all races.

DOWN THAT LAST, LONG MILE

Capital punishment falls with greater impact on the Negro than his share of the total population would indicate. If we ignore the 82 members of other races who have been executed since 1930, 54% of the capital offenders executed by states through 1960 were Negro.[10] The races were executed for murder in about the same number, but 90% of the executed rapists were Negro. Except for seven executions in Missouri, all executions of rapists were in the South.

The deterrent and eugenic arguments in favor of capital punishment rest on a consistent and certain application according to carefully formulated principles. Such consistency, certainty, and principles are lacking. The study of death row data in North Carolina reveals the racial differences are narrowing.[11] Furthermore, in keeping with the nation trend, the absolute number of executions has decreased drastically in the last decade.

Among the regions, the South continues to have the largest number of executions for both races and to have the greatest proportion of Negroes among executed offenders. However, these regional differences are narrowing. In the last ten years, 77.0% of all executed Negroes were in the South, compared with 81.3% in the 1930-1952 period. The equivalent percentages for other regions are 11.4% and 8.0% for the Northeast, 6.5% and 7.1% for the North Central, and 5.1%and 3.6% for the West. In contrast, the South has increased its share of white executions. In the 1930-1950 period, 36.7% of the executed whites were in the South, compared with 38.0% for the 1951-1960 period.

Executed Negroes tend to be younger than executed whites in all regions. Because executions for rape are almost exclusively limited to the South, the regional comparisons by age are largely for murderers. For executed murderers, the age difference between the races is greatest in the Northeast and least in the North Central. The average age of executed Negroes appears to be increasing, but in the South the increase is greater for whites than for Negroes. The concentration of Negroes in the younger age groups partially explains this pattern.

CRITIQUE OF STATISTICS ON CRIME

Can we trust the statistical evidence offered on the relationship between race and crime? A simple "yes" or "no" would conceal the difficulties and using criminal statistics.

Although very useful, criminal statistics must be employed with caution not realized by the person who is impressed by the mere citation of numbers. On the other hand, constructive criticism does not imply denial of the value of statistics intelligently applied and interpreted.

The perfect statistical "yardstick" would include all law violators. Unfortunately, "offenses known to the police," the most inclusive of such yardsticks, does not meet such a standard of perfection. The police do not arrest every violator when they know of a crime. Some arrested persons do not end up in court. Some defendents are not convicted, and it is probable that some of the guilty ones are found innocent. Some convicted persons avoid imprisonment. Each of these stages takes us farther from the description of all crime.[12]

At each of these stages, there is a selective process which alters the quality of the persons who are defined as criminals. Assuming that we could put all law violators in a big room, we would permit certain persons to ~~xxxxxxxx~~ leave the room to indicate that they would not be included in the group representing "crimes known to the police." If we [redacted] were clever enough to excuse only those persons who are not criminals, the "crimes known to the police" would give us a better approximation of the "true criminals" than we had [redacted] initially. But what if we excuse some of the criminals and retain some of the non-criminals. What if we do our selecting on the basis of behavior or personality qualities which have very little to do with crime? What if we keep the loud and obscene talkers and excuse the quiet persons? After our selection, the type of people in the room will be different than the type before we began our work. But we will have succeeded in isolating out the true criminals only to the extent that quiet persons are non-

criminals and the loud and profane persons are criminals? Since this is only accidentally true, we should expect that we will be lucky if we have not turned all the criminals loose and kept only the innocents.

Actually, the police and courts do a better job of selection than this example suggests. But some unknown proportion of crime is never reported. The chance of being reported increases with the difficulty of concealing the crime, with the seriousness with which society regards the particular anti-social act, and with the lesser degree of possible embarassment to the victim. Automobile theft and murder are more likely to be reported to the police. Blackmail, confidence games, and some sexual offenses are less likely to be revealed by the victim. On the other hand, sometimes crimes are reported falsely. A misplaced article is reported as stolen. An unfaithful wife cries "rape" when found out. Even when accurately reported, some kinds of crime are more difficult to solve than others.

An unknown number of individuals are arrested more than once during the year, thereby causing the crime rates to exaggerate the number of persons who are offenders. Do the races differ in multiple arrests. In 1960, 560 per 100,000 urban Negroes and 124 per 100,000 urban whites were arrested on "suspicion." This means arrests for no specific offense and released wihtout formal charges being placed. This suggests Negroes are more likely to be subject to multiple arrests, thereby exaggerating their crime rate.

For minor crimes, arrest policies vary among jurisdictions and from time to time. A drive against speeders or an increase in patrol cars can increase arrests without a rise in actual offenses. The patrolman has a margin of discretion in choosing between a "ticket" or a reprimand. The arrest policy, the regional culture, and the officer's attitudes influence the degree of discretion and its application to various socio-economic-racial groups.

Similar selection affects other stages of the process of dealing with offenders. Alternatives are fines, suspension of sentence, probation, imprisonment, and, later, parole. Qualities of the offender affect such selection, including his financial status and his personality. The background and personality of the decision-makers and the treatment resources available also enter the picture.

The lack of comparable data among jurisdictions handicaps criminology. States, and even jurisdictions within a state, differ in their definition of crimes and the possible penalities attached. For example, 18 states make it possible to be executed for rape; yet it is possible in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Vermont to receive only a monetary fine. Statutory rape varies even within a state on the basis of age of victim. Delaware sets the age of consent as low as seven, while Tennessee defines 21 as the minimum age of consent.[13]

The affect of variation in definition of crimes and penalties is suggested by the complexities of a hypothetical attempt to compare the work efficiency of a bus driver and an airplane pilot solely on the number of miles covered per hour of work. Apart from his own efforts and skill, the pilot will cover more miles because of the qualities of his vehicle. Similarly, apart from the criminality of its population, the state which defines a given social act as a felony will have more criminals of that type in its prisons than the state which considers that act as a misdemeanor.

Statistics are only as valid and reliable as the skill and conscientiousness of the persons who collect and record them. Assume there are 15 thieves. If the governmental agency has little interest in criminal statistics and the data collection is prefunctory, the reports (if they exist at all) may indicate there are 5, 13, 15, or 17 thieves. Such incidents have created "increases" and "decreases" in crime rates without any change in actual crimes.[14] This is one of the reasons for the FBI's remarkable comment in <u>Uniform Crime Reports:</u> "In publishing the data sent in by chiefs of police in different cities, the FBI does not vouch for their accuracy."

~~Although these comments apply to all criminal statistics, our major interest has been crime rates.~~

Statistics on crime use a frenzy and unscientific conception of race. They Census and criminal statistics are based on the popular [redacted] classification of a person as Negro if there is any degree of known Negro ancestry. On the basis of Herskovits' estimates of the mixture of races in the general American population, almost 40% of the "Negro" offenders are either half or more than half white.[15] Adjustment of crime rates in line with anthropological concepts of race would transfer a considerable proportion of "Negro" population to white statistics. We can only guess the results. It may be that racial marginality creates additional frustrations which would increase the probability of crime by hybrids. Acceptance for membership in the dominant white group might decrease such frustrations from the experiences of socio-economic discrimination and not cause them to contribute unduly to white crimes. However, as "Negroes," the hybrids now may be pushed towards crime [redacted] by the additional frustrations of their marginal status.

In general, the [redacted] crimes among negroes tend to be concentrated in offenses against persons to a greater degree than do white crimes. Although crimes against property make up more than 90% of all crimes reported to the police each year, such crimes have the lowest percentage cleared by arrest of the person or persons responsible. In 1960, the percentages were 25.7 for automobile theft, 20.1 for larceny-theft, and 29.5 for burglary and breaking and entering.[16] Crimes against persons had these percentages cleared by arrest: murder and nonnegligent manslaughter 92.3, manslaughter by negligence 83.3, forcible rape 72.5, and aggravated assault 75.8. ~~For those crimes most character-istic of the Negro,~~ The likelihood of arrest is greatest for crimes for which the negroes have the highest rates. To a modest degree, this causes the gross crime rate to exaggerate the differences between the races when arrest statistics are used.

Probably the major latent defect in unqualified comparison of white and Negro crime rates is the failure to adjust for differences in economic, educational, and other characteristics influences exposure to the risk of crime. Objective and reliable criminal statistics await the creation of opportunities to compare white and Negro criminal behavior on the basis of similar backgrounds and environments. Such research probably would reveal that alleged differences between the races is at least as much a product of underprosecution of white crime as it is the demonstration of unusual degree of criminality among Negroes.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. William F. Wattenberg and James Balistrieri, "Automobile Theft: A 'Favored Group' Delinquency," American Journal of Sociology, 57: 575-579, May, 1952.

2. Based on Federal Bureau of Prisons, Prisoners in State and Federal Institutions, 1950, Washington, 1954, Table 21. The assistance of James A. McCafferty is acknowledged.

3. See Otto Pollak, The Criminality of Women, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950, pp. 115-119.

4. Source of 1956 statistics is unpublished data from Federal Bureau of Prisons.

5. Federal Bureau of Prisons, Prisoners Released from State and Federal Institutions, 1952 and 1953, Washington, undated, Table 83.

6. Thorstein Sellin, "Racial Prejudice in the Administration of Justice," American Journal of Sociology, 41: 212-217, September, 1935.

7. Donald R. Taft, Criminology, 3rd edition, New York: Macmillan, 1956, p. 134; Richard R. Korn and Lloyd W. McCorkle, Criminology and Penology, New York: Henry Holt, 1959, pp. 239-243.

8. D.A. Dobbins and Bernard M. Bass, The Louisiana Ex-Prisoner: Employment Opportunities, Baton Rouge: Department of Institutions, Research Report No. 4, June, 1956, pp. 12-13.

9. Federal Bureau of Prisons, Prisoners in State and Federal Institutions, 1960, Washington: No. 27, September, 1961, Table 3.

10. Federal Bureau of Prisons, Executions, 1960, Washington: No. 26. March, 1961, Table 4.

11. Elmer H. Johnson, "Selective Factors in Capital Punishment," Social Forces, 36: 165-169, December, 1957.

12. For a more extensive treatment, see: Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, Principles of Criminology, 5th edition, New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1955, pp. 25-30.

13. Robert C. Bensing, op. cit.

14. For elaboration of this topic, see Sophia M. Robison, op. cit.

15. M.J. Herskovits, The Anthropometry of the American Negro, New York: Columbia University Press, 1930, p. 177.

16. Uniform Crime Reports, 1960, Table 8.

Chapter 3: CAUSES OF CRIME AMONG NEGROES

The reasons for the higher crime rates among Negroes interest us from two points of view. Naturally, we are curious about prospects for the future. But there is the possibility that the higher rates reflect factors other than criminality in and of itself. Are the crimes among Negroes symptoms of something inherent in the Negro or do they reflect something which the Negro experiences in a special way or to an unusual degree. Therefore, we seek explanations for the greater incidence of crime among Negroes.

IS "RACE" THE FUNDAMENTAL CAUSE?

Can the relationship between the Negro and crime be explained as a simple and direct biological one? No.

Race, as a biological concept, is a plastic and relative term. Migrations and other contacts between peoples have eliminated pure races and complicated the problems of physical anthropology. In fact, Herskovits has described the American Negro as a new racial type.[1] A case can be made that race is more myth than scientific fact.[2] However, the fact remains that color causes the Negro to be treated as a separate social entity.

Therefore, the fundamental question is posed: do the higher crime rates of Negroes reflect a correlation between their biological qualities as a race and criminal behavior? Let us list the requirements to prove such a correlation.

First, it would be necessary to demonstrate that the Negro exists as a single personality type. Even casual examination reveals vast differences among Negroes. There is no single "criminal type." But, if there were, he would be only one type found among many kinds of Negroes or any other racial group.

Secondly, to compare the criminal tendencies of several races, it is necessary to rule out the influence of factors other than race. Objective proof of criminality as a Negro racial trait awaits comparison with whites of the same economic, educational, familial, and other characteristics. There would have to be equal chance of arrest, conviction, and imprisonment before assurance could be felt that differences in criminal rates reflect racial differences.

Thirdly, it would be necessary to rule out personality tendencies directly related to minority-group status, rather than coming from innate racial qualities. As a way of adjusting to discrimination, the Negro may bow and scrape, or he may show his resentment in ways which minimize personal peril. The loud, high-pitched cackle has been sterotyped as the "Negro laugh." Pretense of stupidity is a familiar technique of subordinates to avoid difficulties with paternalistic superiors. The Negro habit of lying has been explained as an accommodative technique whereby the insecure Negro tells the white man what the white man will accept.[3] Such habitual responses may result from the inferior place of the racial minority, rather than reflecting personality qualities stemming from a racial heredity.

Fourthly, since criminal and other anti-social behavior may come from social forces which create such behavior in all races exposed to them, it would be necessary to disprove such influences on other races. The rural Southern Negro who migrates to the Northern city may become criminal because, as a ruralite, he finds adjustment to an unfamiliar environment to be difficult. It is the <u>migrant</u>, not the Negro, who turns criminal.

Fifthly, it would be necessary to cancel out social class differences which are only thinly concealed in racial comparisons. Since law tends to reflect middle-class norms, the lower class person may be defined as an offender because his experiences have not taught him to behave the way the law prescribes. The higher crime rates of the Negro may reflect his greater chances of being a member of the lower socio-economic classes than his white equivalent.

Sixthly, objective standards must be developed for defining "inferior" behavior. If tall people define stature as the mark of "superiority," it is inevitable that short people will be "inferior" by this standard. Negro behavior often is judged relative to white middle-class norms of thrift, ambition, abstinence, and sexual behavior. Because white lower classes are likely to deviate from these norms as much as Negro lower classes, such "inferiority" is not proof of racial [redacted] factors. More importantly, however, such lack of social acceptability is not proof of criminality.

Seventhly, the assumption of innate Negro criminality requires the demonstration of traits impervious to environmental changes. Biological factors influence personality, but the influence does not vary with race to any important degree. Under conditions of population and cultural change, personality characteristics of minority groups have been altered. The Germans, Irish, Italians, and other ethnic groups have been labeled as inherently criminalistic as they have successively occupied northern urban slum areas. As they have moved up the economic ladder and out of the slums, they have merged into the total community and lost this criminal label. Unchangeable criminalistic traits of a given population group can not be demonstrated.

In conclusion, if the relationship between Negroes and crime is a simple, direct, biological one, it would be necessary for race to demonstrate the capacity for change with the differences in the definition of crime over time and space. Racial changes are accomplished through mutation and amalgamation, processes which are relatively slow. Furthermore, crime is only a segment of nonconforming behavior and an even smaller segment of total behavior. Montague has pointed out that mind is created through social organization of previously unorganized nervous tissue, and behavior is the expression of that nervous tissue according to the cultural pattern of that social organization.[4] Therefore, biology

provides only the cellular elements from which the cultural organization creates mind. Since race as a biological concept cannot explain total behavior, it can hardly explain the specifics of criminal behavior which is only a fraction of non-conforming behavior and which varies in time and place.

IS CRIME THE RESULT OF A "NEGRO CULTURE"?

The cultural hypothesis would have us believe that crimes among Negroes stem from unique personality traits to be traced to special social and family traditions brought from Africa and nurtured by the institution of slavery. It is contended that unique Negro patterns of thought have been handed down through the generations to make Negroes more emotional, less provident, and more inclined toward violence and unrestrained sexual behavior.

Contrary to these contentions, slavery stripped the American Negro of his African heritage, although many African traditions were perpetuated in the West Indies. Frazier has documented several pertinent points.[5] The disproportionate number of males in the early slave population broke the continuity of family life so vital to transmission of culture. The fundamental social distinction between field hands and house servants caused a conflict among slaves through a difference in degree of assimilation of white culture. The scattering of slaves widely among the relatively small plantations broke up kinship groups.

The Negroes' acceptance of American culture has been evidenced by their recent efforts to gain the socio-economic privileges esteemed in that culture. A study of a southern piedmont community ~~found~~ finds the significant values and goals of its Negroes to be essentially those of the American culture.[6] Lewis reports that the local Negro ~~is~~ not disposed to hold to Negro ways and values as such but rather regards them with shame. There ~~is~~ are a major split between "non-respectables" and "respectables." The former has a reputation for excessive drinking, nonconventional family life, sexual promiscuity, an arrest record, and habitual frequency of "piccolo joints." The relative amount of respectability ~~is~~ found to increase as education and economic status increases, but a significant number ~~o~~ at each socio-economic level chose respectability. The "non-respectable"

Negro suffers little social stigma from imprisonment. The "respectables" see local government and law as part of a system of white dominance and adjust by exaggerated avoidance of the law and its agents. Therefore, Lewis sees the general attitude of Negroes toward law enforcement as more of a response to white dominance than an expression of a unique Negro culture.

LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AS AN EXPLANATION

This is consistent with Myrdal's assessment of Negro crime as the affects of inferior socio-economic status.[7] He reports the upper and middle classes among Negroes to be at least as law abiding as their white equivalents. In part this is the result of a conscious effort to demonstrate non-identification with racial stereotypes associated with Negro lower classes.

Deviancy patterns, associated with criminality on the basis of superficial examination, are to be found in lower class Negro life. Lewis describes the Negro recreational patterns of hanging around "piccolo joints" and idling which are created by the caste status assigned. Crap shooting, razor carrying, and use of violence in settling disputes are to be observed. Toland finds the Negro alcoholic offender to be less likely to face ostracism from his kindred group because of his drinking or imprisonment than the white alcoholic offender.[8] He believes that lower class urban Negro life encourages excessive use of alcohol.

Since similar patterns are to be found in lower class white life, a biological or unique cultural hypothesis is inappropriate. Race is a factor in defining socio-economic class status, thereby isolating a racial minority from the main stream of everyday life. Social meanings attached to race create problems for all Negroes in accommodating themselves to the social situations that result. Qualities of impulsiveness, irresponsibility, and laziness exist as personal traits among racial minorities, but they are also to be found among lower class whites. Furthermore, such personal traits and the behavior stemming from them are not necessarily criminal.

MIGRATION AND URBAN DISORGANIZATION

Since World War II American Negroes have shaken loose to an unprecedented degree from previous localism to migrate to cities and to the North and West. The movement has reduced the proportion of Negroes living in the South from 92% in 1860 to 63% in 1950.

Certain types of persons are more likely to migrate. It takes a more individuated, less rooted, and, perhaps, more discontented personality to accept the major changes in one's life and the uncertainties of an unfamiliar land. These personal qualities tend to be found more often among offenders than among social conformists. The age groups 20 to 45 years generally have a greater tendency to migrate. These are the ages which include the bulk of offenders. Therefore, factors which favor migration also favor criminality.

Studies of the northward migration of the southern Negro have indicated an increase in Negro crime because of the maladjustment of strangers with a rural background to the complex urban culture.[9] Frazier finds personal disorganization highest in areas of recent Negro settlement and lowest in areas where Negro residents had adjusted to northern urban life.[10] The assimilation of the migrant rests in part on his acceptance by the host community. The American Negro migrant is a special problem for assimilation because his obvious racial characteristics mark him as a social stranger.

As a stranger marked by his racial characteristics to be of inferior status, the Negro migrant risks unwarranted arrest. Without the social and economic resources for protecting his interests during the various stages from arrest to conviction, he faces the greater risks of conviction and imprisonment which are the lot of the underprivileged. Racial discrimination may make his risks greater than that of his white counterpart. The rarity of Negro officers, judges, lawyers, or jurymen may be contributing factors. Johnson cites the police custom of arresting Negroes on slight suspicion or of staging mass roundups of Negroes.[11] This partially is the result of the inferior capacity of the Negro to exert pressure against such abuses.

The adjustment to the urban North and West is a greater challenge to the southern rural Negro than his white equivlanent because the southern rural racial caste system handles informally many of the vices to be found in the lower class Negro groups. One study asserts that it is not unknown for rural justice to advise planters to whip Negroes for theft rather than to bring them into court.[12] Therefore, the minor Negro offender would face the adjustment to formal police reaction to his transgressions in addition to the more obvious problem of adjusting to urban life.

The possible affects of migration on Negro crime rates are intertwined with urbanization. In general, the number of serious crimes in proportion to population tends to increase with size of community.[13] It has been contended that this is the result of greater migration of persons most likely to commit crimes. However, this explanation is not sufficient.

Migration and urbanization are twin forces behind social changes which create social disorganization and reduce the influence of informal social controls on the individual. Sociologists cite the heterogeneity of urban population and the shallowness of urban social contacts. The lack of moral consensus falls with greater impact on the deteriorated areas where the low rents of substandard housing attracts the migrant because of his inferior economic means. These areas are characterized by economic insecurity, poor housing, [redacted] low standards of living, family disintegration, racial and ethnic heterogenity, high residential mobility, truancy, and cultural conflict. Here environmental factors encourage any personal tendencies toward crime. These influences are not limited to Negroes, but racial [redacted] discrimination increases the likelihood that the Negro migrant will be thrust into such areas.

~~A study of Negro juvenile delinquency in Chicago reveals a resemblance to white delinquency in its patterns of geographical distribution, in the pattern of decline with distance from the central "Loop" district, in the importance of juvenile gangs as a contributing factor, and in the variation of the pattern of delinquencies between areas. Moses finds that, of the total~~

Wolfgang finds that Philadelphia Negroes committed twice the murders in the 1948-1952 period that would be expected if the Birmingham, Alabama, Negro homicide rate were used as a standard. He suggests that [redacted] killings by Negroes should be assessed with the context of the regional cultural environment which affects all races and which affects the status and motivations of the Negro. In the latter sense, he refers to the convergent result of discrimination, restricted interclass mobility, and conflicting moral norms. His Philadelphia data suggest a subculture of violence exists among a certain portion of the lower socio-economic group, including [redacted] Negroes but not limited to them. The social controls of the larger community are weakened in this sub-cultural milieu.[14]

A study of Negro juvenile delinquency in Chicago reveals a resemblance to white delinquency in its patterns of geographical distribution, in the pattern of [redacted] decline with distance from the central "Loop" district, in the importance of juvenile gangs as a contributing factor, and in the variation of the nature of delinquencies between areas.[15] Moses finds that, of the total

Negro delinquents appearing before the Juvenile Court, 77.2% were born in the South and more than a fourth were born in Mississippi. These migrants did not become delinquent immediately upon arrival in Chicago, but, after they were settled, they assumed the behavior patterns pre-existing in their slum area.

To afford a basis for assessing the probable future course of Negro crime in urban areas, let us consider the implication of several facts about the relationship between earlier immigration and crime.

1. Studies in Chicago have found that areas of high delinquency rates in 1900 also had high rates in 1930, but the type of population had changed in the interim. Successive waves of German, Swedish, Polish, Italian, and other nationality groups had occupied these areas near the center of the city. Nevertheless, the juvenile delinquency rates remained about the same.[16]

2. Studies of the criminal records of the American-born children of immigrants have found them with crime rates markedly higher than those of the native-born of native parentage. This has been explained by the vulnerability of the immigrants' child to cultural conflict. The old-world social norms taught by the immigrants clash with the behavior patterns his children experience in their contacts with their own age group among natives of the area.[17]

3. Immigrant groups tend to emphasize the types of crime which are characteristic of their home country. The second generation generally change to the crimes characteristic of the native born.[18]

4. The isolation of immigrants from the total community protected many of them against crime. The relatively homogeneous culture of immigrant ghet tos enabled them to maintain the ways of their native culture and to assimilate American ways more gradually. This gradual assimilation has been cited as an important barrier to the development of criminality.[19]

The entrance of the Negro into new residential and occupational areas involves a "re-education" program of greater scope than converting the alien ways of the ethnic stranger into the familiar behavior and dress of the native son. Additional complexities are the social visibility of racial

characteristics and the heritage of racial discrimination which he brings with him to the urban slums. The Negro migrant is a sociological stranger in his own land, facing obstacles poses by the traditions which assign him an inferior status. Therefore, assimilation to the culture of the host community requires modification of the attitudes of his hosts to a greater extent for the Negro migrant than for the ethnic immigrant. Although the assimilation of the immigrant is not the exact precedent for the problem of assimilating the Negro migrant, general similarities can be seen.

The Negro crime rates are high in residential areas where the crime rates of previous migrants were high. This suggests that the Negro migrant is a criminal because he is a Negro migrant, not because he is a biologically member of a certain social group. The precedent suggests that the crimes of urban Negroes will become more numerous as the children of Negro migrants become the equivalent of second-generation immigrants. However, the stimulus will be growing impatience with the disparity between democratic ideals and the realities of assigned inferior status, rather than cultural conflict between generations.

Initially, the type of crimes of urban Negro migrants will resemble those of rural Negroes, with the increased resort to law enforcement masking the difference between rural and urban crimes of Negroes.[20] With attainment of fuller socio-economic opportunity, the crimes of urban Negroes will become more similar in quality to those of urban whites. The rate of increase in Negro crime rates will depend on the pace and effectiveness of integration of the Negro into the host community. The internalization of the informal controls of the host culture probably will lag behind the gaining of socio-economic opportunity. The abolishment of racial segregation, unfortunately, will contribute to the social and personal maladjustments which contribute to criminality during the interim before the Negro is assimilated in terms of a new role and status consistent with the responsibilities and privileges of full citizenship.

FAMILY DISORGANIZATION AND POVERTY

Family disorganization probably has been a more important contributor to crimes of Negroes than of whites. Since the family is the cradle of personality and a primary vehicle for the learning of socially approved adjustments to the problems of life, it is not surprising that studies have found a high proportion of offenders come from disorganized families. Family disorganization among Negroes has stemmed from slavery, its influences on the contemporary racial caste system, the effects of the southern plantation and sharecropper economy, the instability deriving from emancipation and migration, and the low average socio-economic status.

Under slavery, the mother was the pivot of the Negro family, with the role of the father rather casual and easily interrupted. The survival of the matriarchal family is shown by the larger proportion of families with a female head among Negroes than among whites. However, the matriarchal family is not characteristic of all Negroes. In fact a variety of family types is present. The small patriarchal family is found particularly among middle class Negroes with father assuming economic responsibility and authority. The extended family, encompassing four generations, exists among many families in the South, partially because of its economic value for farm labor. The upper and middle class Negroes have accepted the equilitarian family.

The effect of family disorganization on Negro crime rates appears to be no different than those of whites. The uniqueness of the relationship for Negroes is the greater impact of socio-economic influences, past and present, on family life. Increased mobility has exerted new pressures on family stability and has exposed Negro families disproportionately to the disorganizing effects of defective community life.

Statistics on arrests, convictions, and prison commitments show a heavy concentration of offenders in the lower socio-economic classes. Warner and Lunt found that 90% of the arrests were of members of the two lower economic classes

which constituted only 57% of the population of a Massachusetts community.[21] However, this is not a simple and direct relationship between [redacted] poverty and crime.

Poverty affects the quality of family life, educational opportunity, and physical and mental health. It means segregation in urban low-rent areas where social status is low and possibility of contact with criminal influences high. It limits social and economic participation. However, [redacted] poverty is a relative matter. Its psychological impact can not be measured purely in terms of a given individual's material possessions. Many underprivileged persons abstain from crime while others more fortunate do not abstain. The degree of discrepancy between aspiration and economic resources is the crucial factor. Even the economically "well-to-do" may feel "poor" because he sees himself as the victim of such a discrepancy. The apparently poverty-stricken person may not feel "poor" in terms of his own values.

The importance of such self-conceptions is demonstrated by successful efforts to reduce delinquency and crime without change of economic status. There are cases where parole, probation , and prisoner rehabilitation programs have succeeded. The Chicago Area Project used neighborhood councils to have similar affects in urban deteriorated areas.[22]

For the Negro, the burden of racial discrimination supplements the affects of poverty in creating objective conditions which enhance the possibility of an individual turning to crime because of a discrepancy between his own aspirations and his resources for attaining them. Compared with whites, a greater proportion of Negroes live in dilapidated houses or houses lacking facilities, are unemployed, have less job security, hold low-paying jobs, and have low incomes.[23]

Average educational attainment of Negroes is lower than that of whites.[24] However, recent progress of Negro education is indicated by the decline of such inferiority with age of person. Since education is a resource for promoting the social adjustment of those with the capacity and will to join in the educative process, the inferior educational opportunities of the Negro are related to crime. Although one can not contend that inferior formal educational level is a direct cause of crime, schooling does promote social graces, vocational skill, factual knowledge, and intellectual [illegible] [illegible] to the social [illegible].

~~Age is an important factor for studies of crime.~~ Arrests tend to be concentrated in the younger ages to a greater extent than the proportion of these age groups in the total population would cause one to expect. The coneentration of offenders in the younger ages is even more marked in prison admissions. Because of a greater death rate among Negroes than whites, Negroes are concentrated in the younger ages in greater proportions than the whites. The difference in the age distribution of the two races is especially great in age group 20 to 25 years which contributes the greatest number of felony prisoners. Age as a demographic characteristic is a factor in explaining the higher crime rates among Negroes.

~~PRISON AS A TREATMENT EXPEDIENT~~ COMPETITION FOR TREATMENT RESOURCES

The higher prison commitment rates of Negroes reflect in part the inferior community facilities and specialized institutions for those Negroes who personify social problems not usually included within the scope of crime. The prison serves as a dumping ground [redacted] as a prelude to the process of recognizing and meeting social problems previously ignored. Increased urbanism has required the community to take formal action to deal with the mentally defective, the sexually deviant, the alcoholic, the irresponsible parent, and the psychotic. When there is no specialized institution to deal with such deviants [redacted] under a treatment philosophy and the informal [redacted] techniques of rural days no longer suffice, the community must develop such institutions for effective action. When such institutions are lacking and the deviant qualifies as a law violator in any respect, the jail or prison is pressed into service as an expedient.

The socially and economically underprivileged are more likely to be subjected to such action because their families lack resources for undertaking an alternative on their own. Even after specialized institutions are developed, any discrepancy between need and treatment resources will cause the underprivileged to be defined as criminals as an expedient to a relatively greater degree than the persons who are more fortunate [redacted] economically and socially. Since a greater proportion are underprivileged, Negroes are more likely than whites to be defined as prisoners rather than patients.

In a study of 300 institutionalized delinquents, Axelrad found Negro juvenile inmates to be younger on the average, to have been institutionalized after a smaller number of court appearances, to have had less exposure to probation, and to have had more of their number committed for less serious offenses.[25]

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 3

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11. Guy B. Johnson, op. cit., p. 89.

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13. See Richard R. Korn and Lloyd W. McCorkle, op. cit., pp. 18-23.

14. Marvin E. Wolfgang, Patterns in Criminal Homicide, Philadelphia: University Pennsylvania Press, 1958, pp. 43-44, 330.

15. Earl R. Moses, "Community Features in Negro Delinquency," Journal of Negro Education, 5: 220-227, April, 1936.

16. Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.

17. Donald R. Taft, op. cit., p. 157. [illegible] of a Russian religious group in [illegible] found the [illegible] children [illegible] Sociologists, Pauline V. Young ([illegible]) [illegible] who [illegible] 145 [illegible] 59% [illegible] and 83% of [illegible] of 154 [illegible].

18. Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, op. cit., p. 145.

19. Donald R. Taft, op. cit., pp. 159-160.

20. Analysis of Crime in the United States, [illegible] Tables 20 and 26, indicates rural [illegible] arrests of Negroes [illegible] than urban arrests [illegible]: less emphasis on crimes [illegible] on [illegible], [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

21. William Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941, pp. 372-377.

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25. Sidney Axelrad, "Negro and White Male Institutionalized Delinquents," American Journal of Sociology, 57: 569-574, May, 1952.

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Chapter 4: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Compared with whites, the [redacted] status of being Negro means a greater risk of involvement with the law. The difficulties of obtaining complete and reliable information prevent a conclusive decision on the precise degree of additional risk and on the [redacted] subtleties of the reasons for it.

The higher crime rate among Negroes suggests three possibilities. First, the higher crime rates reflect accurately a real difference between the races in terms of the responses of some of their members to the norms of society. The second possibility is that the status of the Negro exposes him unduely to being included in the various [redacted] statistics used to measure crime to a greater degree than his actual behavior would justify. The third alternative is that the first possibility is further exaggerated by the second possibility.

The third alternative appears the most acceptable. Distortions in statistical reporting exaggerate crimes of Negroes. Racial prejudice has similar effects. But allowance for these factors, if such could be made, probably would not cancel out the first possibility.

Racial prejudice has conflicting results. It contributes to excessive arrests, but it also is the basis for acceptance of social pathology as "natural" to a minority assumed to be inferior. Racial prejudice acts in a less direct manner. It tends to deny the Negro offender the alternatives to full implementation of formal sanctions which cause underprosecution of the white. The inferior status of the Negroes exposes them [redacted] disproportinately to the socio-economic conditions favoring the development of criminality. Earlier pages have documented this. Taft has pointed out that Negroes are asked to be virtuous without the chief reward of virtue--the grant of appropriate social status.[1]

Crime among Negroes appears to be a product of [redacted] a host of factors related to the inferior socio-economic status assigned disproportionately to this racial minority. This is the nub of the matter, rather than any unique biological or cultural predilection to crime.

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It is likely that further increases of crime will come. The continuation of Negro migration to cities and to the North and West is to be expected. Social disorganization will continue to result from the demographic, social, and economic changes incidental to a mass movement of a population unfamiliar with the urban environment, possessing ways alien to the host community, and having inferior economic resources. If socio-economic inequalities between the races are narrowed, this may cause temporary increases in crime rates among Negroes. For example, opportunities to commit white collar crimes will come. This narrowing of qualitative differences between the races in specific crime rates probably will precede the reduction of the present high rates for crimes of personal disorganization and against persons among Negroes. The reduction of these latter rates requires the creation of a new psychology which motivates conduct consistent with the roles of full and responsible citizenship. Unfortunately, the internalization of new norms is a process even more difficult than the winning of the privileges of full citizenship. The loss of the influence of the racial caste system will not be quickly supplanted by another informal control system. The increased use of formal controls in the interim will increase arrest rates, especially for the offenses of personal disorganization.

To an important degree, the future course of crime rates depends on the success of various efforts to meet problems fundamental to the administration of justice. Judicial and correctional procedures should be correlated more effectively with advances in the understanding of human misbehavior. Increased use of probation and parole would reduce reliance on prisons. In some prison systems, there is a significant trend away from a philosophy of custody as an end in itself. It is probable that these changes will affect the Negro offender more tardily than the white, creating an exaggeration of relative Negro criminality.

Crime among Negroes increasingly is a national problem as migration and urbanization of Negroes reduce the degree of concentration of this race in the rural South. Description of crime among Negroes as the exclusive product and burden of the South is untenable.

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FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 4

[redacted]

1. Donald R. Taft, op. cit., p. 148.

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Jan. 1960
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A COMPARISON OF MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL SERVICES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGROES AND WHITES IN THE SOUTH

This is a proposal for a study which will indicate in concrete terms the discrepancies still to be overcome between medical services for whites and Negroes in the South. The proposal includes a request for financial assistance. The estimated duration of the project is one year.

In proposing a study of medical services and opportunities for Negro and white Southerners, the Southern Regional Council is mindful of certain criteria which have always guided its work. First, the subject - medical care - is a basic practical concern. Second, it is a major factor affecting the growth and welfare of the South. Third, satisfactory health care for the people of the South cannot be attained if it is unequally available to sections of the population. And fourth, there is a realistic prospect that a description of the existing conditions will, in the present climate of opinion, motivate improvements.

Health services in all their forms have been surveyed in the United States for many years and on many occasions. The particular situation in the South has been likewise investigated and documented by frequent studies. This continuing scrutiny of American health services has been a principal force in their progress. Perhaps in no other social or economic field has there been greater receptivity for searching, informed analysis of inadequacies.

Studies of the medical care generally available to Negroes have now culminated in Dietrich C. Reitzes's Negroes and Medicine (Harvard, 1958). Professor

Reitzes's book, which was assisted by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, provides an analysis which will be, for some time, an authoritative examination of the medical education available for Negroes. The book's principal object, however, is a survey of medical care for Negroes in 14 cities, including three of the South (Atlanta, Nashville, New Orleans). The two factors chiefly dealt with are hospital facilities, and the situation of Negro physicians. The survey of the cities was based on interviews, most of which seem to have been completed before 1957; in Atlantaand Nashville the largest number of interviewees were Negro physicians, and in New Orleans 19 of 32 interviewees were informed, non-medical persons. The result is an impressionistic but highly rewarding picture of the 14 cities studied. The survey "had as its primary objective the identification and analysis of the specific processes which brought about or blocked integration in medicine."

The findings of the Southern portion of the study are "the futility of attempting to develop first-class medical care for and by Negroes within a rigid system of segregation" in Atlanta and New Orleans; and the existence of "opportunities for the professional advancement of young Negro physicians and for status and recognition of the established Negro physicians" in Nashville. Except as regards medical education, the Reitzes study is primarily a report on conditions as seen by Negro physicians and lay spokesmen. This results in a certain tentativeness and even disagreement in the description. Moreover, it does not permit specification of what exactly are the elements of "first-class medical care" which are lacking (the Nashville chapter of the study treats almost exclusively of the professional status and problems of Negro physicians). This is not said

in deprecation, but to note that there is still a need for a factual survey of the specific adequacies and shortcomings of the medical care available to Negroes in the South. Furthermore, the three cities of the Reitzes study are commonly regarded as among the most progressive in the South. An analysis, especially if it is intended to be a basis for action, should go beyond these three locations in order to be definitive.

Our aim is, therefore, not to duplicate the Reitzes study, but to further the knowledge of Negro medical services and opportunities in several ways.

First, it would be our intent to measure the existing inequalities as exactly as possible. To this end, the study would, instead of surveying facilities, focus exclusively on the individual Negro patient and physician, and the services and opportunities open to them, compared with those open to white persons in similar situations. The plan for doing so is outlined below, and we hope by it to get findings which permit explicit and indisputable conclusions. This approach does not directly raise the issue of integration; but by delineating inequalities the logic of integrated facilities can be made clear. Moreover, we believe that there is in the South now, because of a general defensiveness on the schools problem, a prevalent mood in favor of eliminating inequalities where they are pointed out.

Second, we propose to cover in our study a representative selection of Southern cities and non-metropolitan areas . The study is motivated by a concern for practical reform, and it is our experience that a fact-finding venture must have a wide base if Southerners generally are to regard it as pertinent to their local situation.

Third, we propose to give careful, thorough attention to presentation and distribution of the study, using a portion of the funds allotted to the project for free distribution to pivotal persons and organizations. The presentation will be in pamphlet form, and we contemplate two or perhaps three publications.

The Southern Regional Council has had long experience in fact-finding studies and the presentation of their results. Methodological skills of research, writing, and distribution have been built up. The Council's publications have achieved a reputation for objectivity and for striking a balance between popularization and technical presentation. The Council has always been able to enlist for its fact-finding projects qualified specialists from Southern campuses and other sources. Its bi-racial composition gives it access to the confidence and cooperation of a wide range of Southerners.

General Plan of the Study

The first object of the study will be the individual Negro patient, and his opportunity to obtain medical and hospital care equal to that available to whites. The general level of services will not be evaluated nor studied except incidentally in relation to the question of discrimination. The study will not be concerned with the adequacy of any health programs, public or private. It will, instead, focus on the question whether Negro and white patients, in similar economic circumstances, can get equal treatment.

The second object will be the individual Negro pursuing a physicians career. Again, there will be no concern with the general adequacy of medical education or practice. The study, instead, will be devoted to Negroes's opportunities for

beginning and following the career, as compared with opportunities available to whites.

Topical Outline

A. Comparison of medical services (non-hospital) for Negroes and whites at two economic levels.

1. The purpose will be to describe the respective situations of individual patients who differ only in race, and to do this in a number of representative Southern localities. Two general economic categories will be used: the indigent patient, and the self-supporting. For greater precision, the study will be limited to selected types of cases, such as accident and other emergency; pediatric; venereal; mentally ill; cardiac.
2. Typical of the information to be sought will be:
   - the access of Negroes to specialists;
   - waiting room practices;
   - house call practices.
3. It is realized that reliable information on patient-doctor relations is exceedingly difficult to obtain. These are often not matters of record. If information is sought from interviews, widely varying impressions will be encountered. If case studies are used, there can be no positive assurance that they are typical. It is at the same time true that for the majority of persons, doctor care is the crux of their medical needs; no survey and appraisal of medical care which omits it is complete.
4. For this reason, the questions indicated above in (2) have been limited to those which are susceptible to clear-cut fact-finding. If in the

course of the study other practices (e.g. fees for office visits, or differences in pre- and post-operative attention for Negro and white patients) can be submitted to objective comparison in some localities, that will be done. But the three questions shown in (2) would yield significant results: the availability of specialists is certainly, for example, a key determinant of the adequacy of modern medical service.

5. By thus limiting the information sought, objective data should be obtainable through interviews with informed persons in the localities, such as Negro and white physicians, social workers, Negro leaders, hospital administrators and public health officials.

6. The scope of the study will include:

- at least six principal cities. Atlanta, Nashville, and New Orleans should be included, in order not to waste the opportunity of gaining depth for our survey by building on the Reitzes work. The other three cities would be selected from (in order of preference),

  Birmingham,
  Houston (or Dallas),
  Jackson,
  Norfolk (or Richmond),
  Jacksonville (or Miami),
  Durham (or Winston-Salem),
  Columbia;

- three non-metropolitan counties with a principal city in the 25,000 population range;

- three non-metropolitan counties with a principal city in the 5,000 population range.

7. The types of cases will include at least one whose treatment is heavily supported by philanthropy.

B. Comparison of hospital services for Negroes and whites at two economic levels.

1. The same localities will be studied, and the same types of patients and illnesses.

2. Typical of the information to be sought will be:

- facilities and beds available;
- ambulance service;
- nursing arrangements;
- admission to specialty clinics and wards;
- free choice of physician.

3. Objective data can be and will be systematically gathered, and be supplemented by interviews.

4. An analysis of the hospitalization insurance situation in the locality will be separately made to determine if insurance is readily available through non-commercial plans (e.g. Blue Cross-Blue Shield), and the extent of coverage of Negroes as compared with whites.*

5. As a corrolary subject, the use of Negro patients for clinical instructions and experimentation will be explored, and findings included in the study if they warrant it.

C. Comparison of opportunities and rewards for Negro and white physicians.

1. Again, the intent will be to describe the situation and prospects confronting the individual Negro in comparison with those of the white

* When O. W. Anderson took a random sample of Blue Cross/Blue Shield "standard" contract subscribers in Birmingham for his study, Voluntary Health Insurance in Two Cities (Harvard, 1957), it turned out to be only 14% Negro, in a city whose population is about 40% Negro.

person in the profession. It is believed that the factual data in Negroes and Medicine on medical education will not need up-dating. One topic concerned with medical education will be explored in some additional detail; i.e., the role and accomplishments of the Southern Regional Education Board. Other than this, the study will be devoted to the physician after graduation. The same localities will be used as in A and B.

2. Typical of the information to be sought will be:
   - availability of internships for Negroes (a) in the localities; or (b) if there are none or but few for whites or Negroes in the particular localities, the opportunities elsewhere;
   - opportunities for continuing education;
   - membership in local and state medical associations;
   - staff and courtesy privileges in hospitals (here an item of specific interest will be the policies of Hill-Burton and other federally-aided hospitals);
   - opportunities for specialty practice.
3. Objective data will be supplemented by interviews.

Personnel

A. The Southern Regional Council's Research staff will administer the study in all phases, will prepare the interviewers' questionnaires in order that they be uniform, will assemble the findings and prepare the reports, and will plan their distribution. It will be necessary to secure part-time professional assistance for these administrative and editorial functions.

B. An advisory panel of recognized experts will be formed to review the soundness of the conclusions.

C. For each city of the survey, a chief reporter and at least one other reporter will be recruited; in each non-metropolitan county, at least one reporter will be appointed.

To whatever extent possible, persons with previous experience in this sort of study will be selected.

D. The hospitalization insurance analysis will be contracted to a firm of economic consultants, or to an appropriate academic researcher.

E. The role of the S.R.E.B. will be studied by an outside consultant.

Budget

S	Staff assistance	$3,000.
	Consultant fees for advisory panel, Five, at $40 per day for five days each	1,000.
	Reporters, 18-24, at $40 per day for 10 days each	9,600. (maximum)
	Commission for insurance analysis	2,000.
	Commission for S.R.E.B. study	500.
	Travel, for consultants and reporters	1,000.
	Printing and distribution	3,500.
		$20,600.
	Overhead, 10%	2,060.
		$ 22,660.

January 25, 1962

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Harold:

I think this will just about get under the deadline. If I've forgotten anything do drop me a note and we'll be glad to incorporate it for you before you distribute the memorandum to others for comments.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl
enc.

January 25, 1962

Memorandum

To: Harold C. Fleming
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

From: James A. Moss
Southern Regional Council

Subject: Outline for Revision of Integration North and South

INTRODUCTION.

This project has its origin in a publication entitled, Integration North and South, by David Loth and Harold Fleming. Issued in 1956 under the imprint of the Fund for the Republic, this document is now out of print. It is proposed that a complete revision of this document be undertaken. The publication, as conceived, will provide within a single framework a factual summary of the major civil rights gains affecting the Negro for the period 1954-1962. A document such as the one proposed seeks to meet the demand for an authoritative progress memorandum in civil rights for use both in the United States and abroad.

SCOPE.

The South, for the purposes of this report, is geographically defined as the following 17 states: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia. Serious efforts will be made to draw upon already collected data from as wide a range of reliable sources as feasible in terms of time and expense. No special studies or surveys are contemplated for the express purpose of inclusion in this report; however, field sources will be used as needed to verify or complete data from SRC files and published materials.

METHOD.

The section on the South will include:

1. a brief historical discussion on the background of civil rights developments in the South,

METHOD (cont'd)

2. a description of recent events that directly bear upon the direction, pace and areas of racial change in the South,

3. a profile for each state pointing up the status of civil rights within the state in 1954, civil rights changes since 1954, methods used in effecting change and areas of civil rights still unaffected by change, and

4. special attention to change in such fields as education, voting, employment, public accommodations, and medical care.

SOURCES OF DATA.

Press clips, organizations' reports, federal and local government reports, and SRC surveys and reports.

TIME.

March 1 - August 1, 1962

COST.

Expenses involved will include a full-time research worker for the duration of the project, clerical costs, and a small charge for SRC overhead. We estimate $2,500. We ask, however, that this figure be regarded as an estimate, subject to adjustment up or down after a final accounting.

JAM:jl

B4
3-12-62

March 7, 1962

Dr. W. Montague Cobb
Chairman
Department of Anatomy
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

Dear Dr. Cobb:

We have recently received at least three requests for information from southern communities seeking to desegregate their hospital facilities. Our research staff, here at the Council, views as a responsibility and privilege, the ability to make available to members of the communities, both Negro and white, information that may serve to facilitate positive racial changes in the South. We are confronted, however, with a paucity of information on community activities in hospital desegregation, particularly in the South.

Dr. Albert Dent, President of Dillard University, and a member of our Board, has suggested writing you for information on methods and approaches to hospital desegregation in both the North and the South where it has occurred. If you wish we would be very pleased to follow up any published references and other sources which you might suggest to us.

The current interest in this subject prompts us to urge as early a reply as may be convenient for you.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

COLLEGE OF MEDICINE
DEPARTMENT OF ANATOMY

March 12, 1962

Dr. James A. Moss
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Moss:

In reply to your letter of March 7, may I begin by extending a most cordial invitation to you and any members of your staff or Board who would be concerned, to attend the Sixth Imhotep National Conference on Hospital Integration, which will be held at the 15th Street Presbyterian Church here in Washington, D.C., May 25-26, 1962. There you will be able to gather first hand a comprehensive perspective on all that is afoot in this area.

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of the Proceedings of our First Imhotep Conference in 1957, a leaflet describing this Conference and marked copies of the recent issues of our Journal, which carry relevant information on the subject.

I do not know whether you have copies of two pamphlets of mine, "Medical Care and the Plight of the Negro," and "Progress and Portents for the Negro in Medicine," published in 1947 and 1948, respectively. These might have some value as background material for your work in which we naturally have the deepest interest.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

W. Montague Cobb, FEJ

W. Montague Cobb, M.D.

Dictated, but not read.

Dr. Cobb had to leave the city, but asked me to sign and mail this to you. F.E.J.

March 14, 1962

FACT SHEET

1. Available Hospital Facilities
   - total number of hospital beds in Atlanta: 4000*
   - of which 638 are for Negroes
     - 457 at Grady and Hughes Spalding
     - 135 at private Negro hospitals
     - 16 at DeKalb General Hospital
     - 30 at Aidmore Hospital for Crippled Children (admits Negroes under 15 years of age).

   TOTAL 638 beds

Therefore 1 private hospital and 2 public hospitals in Atlanta accept Negro patients.

2. Need For Expanded Medical Care
   - Negro death rate is higher (11.7) than that of whites (8.3)**
     - for every 8 out of 1000 whites who die, almost 12 Negroes die.
   - Although better than 1 out of 5 (27%) persons in Atlanta is Negro, only 1 out of 7 hospital beds is available to him, and these, for the most part, are concentrated in a single hospital (457 at Grady and Spalding).
   - Yet Negroes are more likely to suffer sicknesses requiring hospitilization than whites.

Diseases	Deaths	White	Non-white
Heart	1608	1089	519
Vascular Lesions	733	384	349
Cancer	716	463	253
Infant Deaths	404	166	238
Influenza and Pnuemonia	226	100	126
Accidents other than motor vehicles	171	105	66
Birth Injuries	91	42	49

   - Although Negroes comprise 1/5 of the population in Atlanta, they account for ½ and upwards of deaths from more serious illnesses.

---

* Information about hospital beds is taken from a fact sheet of the Greater Atlanta Council On Human Relations, October 18, 1961, except for the information about DeKalb General Hospital and Aidmore Hospital which was received through telephone conversations with hospital personnel.

**The death rate was found in A Second Look published by the Atlanta Committee For Cooperative Action, January, 1960. The number of deaths from various diseases was gotten in a telephone conversation with the Health Department of Fulton County.

- Per capita income for Negroes in Fulton and DeKalb counties is between $700 - $800 as compared with $1800 - $2400 for whites***
  - this reflects an expanding need of Negroes for hospital facilities and care, particularly among lower-income groups.
- In addition to the shortage of space for medical care, Negro patients suffer an acute shortage of trained professional personnel to service their needs:
  - while there is 1 white doctor for every 469 white patients in Atlanta,
    - there is 1 Negro doctor for every 4500 Negro patients, and,
  - while there is 1 white dentist for every 1708 white patients,
    - there is 1 Negro dentist for every 12526 Negro patients.
- This situation is aggravated by the fact that:
  - there are no facilities for the training of Negro doctors or dentists in Georgia although there is both a medical and dental school for whites at Emory University in Atlanta,
  - only 1 Negro doctor has been accorded visiting privileges in a public hospital in Atlanta, and that is in a hospital that has approximately 500 white doctors and dentists who have the same privileges,
  - both Negro doctors and dentists are denied full membership in their respective professional societies
    - these limitations seriously restrict and hamper the Negro physician's professional career.
- The employment of Negroes as technicians and technologists in public hospitals is extremely limited:
  - 1 Negro tissue technician at Grady****
  - 2 Negro laboratory technicians at Spalding
  - 2 X-Ray technicians at Spalding.

***The per capita income was arrived at by finding the average median family income for all the census tracts that were predominantly white or Negro and dividing this by the average number of people in a family. Data was obtained from the Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission and the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.

****

Obtained from telephone conversations with hospital personnel.

FACT SHEET
(On hospitals)
March 15, 1962

1. AVAILABLE HOSPITAL FACILITIES:

Total number of hospital beds in Atlanta		4,000*
Available for Negroes:		
At Grady and Hughes Spalding	457	
At private Negro hospitals	135	
At DeKalb General Hospital	16	
At Aidmore Hospital for Crippled Children**	30	
Total Number Available for Negroes		638

Therefore, only one private white hospital and two public hospitals in Atlanta accept Negro patients.

2. NEED FOR EXPANDED MEDICAL CARE:

Negro death rate***	11.7
White death rate***	8.3

Therefore, for every eight out of 1,000 whites who die, almost 12 Negroes die.

Although better than one out of four persons in Atlanta is Negro, 27%

only one out of seven hospital beds is available to him, 14%

and these, for the most part, are concentrated in a single hospital (457 at Grady and Spalding).

YET NEGROES ARE MORE LIKELY TO SUFFER SICKNESSES REQUIRING HOSPITALIZATION THAN WHITES.

---

*Information about hospital beds is taken from a fact sheet of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations, October 18, 1961, except for the information about DeKalb General Hospital and Aidmore Hospital which was received through telephone conversations with hospital personnel.

**Admits Negroes under 15 years of age.

***The death rate was found in A Second Look published by the Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action, January, 1960.

Diseases*	Deaths	White	Non-white
Heart	1608	1089	519
Vascular Lesions	733	384	349
Cancer	716	463	253
Infant Deaths	404	166	238
Influenza and Pneumonia	226	100	126
Accidents other than motor vehicles	171	105	66
Birth Injuries	91	42	49
	3949	2349	1600

Therefore, while Negroes comprise only one-fourth of the population in Atlanta, they account for almost one-half of deaths from more serious illnesses.

PER CAPITA INCOME IN FULTON AND DEKALB COUNTIES**

White	Negro
$1,800 - $2,400	$700 - $800

This reflects an expanding need of Negroes for hospital facilities and care, particularly among lower-income groups.

In addition to the shortage of space for medical care, Negro patients suffer an acute shortage of trained professional personnel to service their needs:

While there is one white doctor for every 469 white patients in Atlanta,

there is one Negro doctor for every 4,500 Negro patients, and

*The number of deaths from various diseases was obtained in a telephone conversation with the Health Department of Fulton County.

**The per capita income was arrived at by finding the average median family income for all the census tracts that were predominantly white or Negro and dividing this by the average number of people in a family. Data was obtained from the Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission and the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.

While there is one white dentist for every 1,708 white patients,

there is one Negro dentist for every 12,526 Negro patients.

This situation is aggravated by the fact that:

There are no facilities for the training of Negro doctors or dentists in Georgia although there is both a medical and dental school for whites at Emory University in Atlanta.

In a public hospital in Atlanta:

only one Negro doctor has been accorded visiting privileges, and

approximately 500 white doctors and dentists have the same privileges.

Both Negro doctors and dentists are denied full membership in their respective professional societies. These limitations seriously restrict and hamper the Negro physician's professional career.

The employment of Negroes as technicians and technologists in public hospitals is extremely limited as evidenced by the following figures:*

1 Negro tissue technician at Grady.
2 Negro laboratory technicians at Spalding.
2 X-ray technicians at Spalding.

*Obtained from telephone conversations with hospital personnel.

March 21, 1962

Dr. W. Montague Cobb, M.D.
College of Medicine
Department of Anatomy
Howard University
Washington 1, D.C.

Dear Dr. Cobb:

Thank you for your very prompt and informative letter which you sent to me on hospital discrimination. We are currently working on the report and we will be very pleased to send you a copy as soon as it is completed.

Thank you for your invitation to attend the Sixth Imhotep Conference. I have urged attendance on the part of one of the local organizations active in the desegregation of Grady Hospital and something may materialize.

Again thank you for all your help.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl

March 21, 1962

Eliza,

Do you think that this meeting might be brought to the attention of all of the organizations involved in the desegregation of Grady?

Jim Moss

April 10, 1962

W. Montague Cobb, M.D.
College of Medicine
Department of Anatomy
Howard University
Washington 1, D.C.

Dear Dr. Cobb:

Thank you for the materials which you sent us in response to our request for information on hospital desegregation. It all arrived in good condition and we are particularly happy to have the marked copy of the Journal of the National Medical Association. It will be most helpful to us.

As I stated before we will send you a copy of our report when we have completed it.

We are grateful for your thoughtfulness.

Sincerely yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl

64 hospitals in 26 cities

This survey included every hospital in 12 southern states (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia) that was affiliated with a medical school. The original request for the research came from an organization in Atlanta that was interested primarily in opportunities for Negro interns, therefore Atlanta hospitals and any hospitals affiliated with a medical school through a nursing program only was not included. The 64 hospitals were located in 26 cities.

S.C.; Tenn.; Miss.; Ga. and Ala.

The states surveyed can be ranked into three categories: border states, Deep South ~~"Progressive" states and Deep South "Traditional" states. The border states are Kentucky~~ and Maryland, "Progressive" states are Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Texas and Virginia ~~and the "Traditional" states are the remaining ones. This division is based on the records~~ of medical schools withing the states and their admittance and attempts to get ~~Negro students. In Maryland and Kentucky we sent questionnaires to 7 hospitals located in~~ Baltimore and Louisville. Six were returned, three from each city. In Arkansas, North Carolina, Florida, Texas, and Virginia we sent questionnaires to 36 hospitals in 15 cities. We received 18 (a little less than 50%) replies. In the states we sent out 25 questionnaires to 10 cities and received eight answers. The willingness to reply seems to be directly correlated withthe amount of integration of Negro professional personnel ~~that has been~~ achieved the state.

Every hospital replying from Baltimore and Louisville reported complete integration of all training opportunities, personnel ~~and bed space~~.

In the "Progressive" states there was a widely varying pattern. At least one hospital in every large city either admits Negro interns, residences or nurses to training, or has Negro doctors on the staff. Many hospitals, including those maintained by religious denominations and those for children, have not ~~a single~~ Negro professional person or ~~a single~~ bed for Negroes.

In Texas, where 5 cities - Austin, Dallas, Galveston, Houston, San Antonio, were surveyed, ~~at least one hospital in every city except Austin answered. Of the 8 answering hospitals only~~ two (one in Galveston and one in San Antonio) admitted Negroes into training as interns, residents or nurses ~~and only two hospitals (in the same two cities)~~ had Negro doctors on the staff. All but one hospital employed Negro nurses. But of these none indicated that they had Negro nurses as supervisors.

In Florida the only hospitals to answer were those in Miami and Miami Beach. We sent out questionnaires to 6 hospitals in three cities and got three replies. One hospital said it's policy was not to admit Negroes into training. It employed two Negro nurses. Another hospital said it had no statement on the race of staff or trainees but has had Negro doctors on the staff for 10 years. The third hospital has also been admitting Negroes into training for 10 years but has none at present.

In North Carolina we sent out 5 questionnaires to three cities and got 3 replies. From the North Carolina Commission on Civil Rights report we found there are only 2 hospitals within the state that have approved intern and residency programs open to Negroes, and these are in Surgery. From our replies we didn't learn much else. One hospital didn't indicate the number of Negroes on the staff or in training, one has no Negroes in any capacity, and the third was a predominantly Negro hospital.

In Arkansas the Univ. of Ark. Medical Center, as female interns and nurses go, is integrated in training personnel

In Virginia we received three questionnaires back from the 6 we sent out. In Richmond one hospital trained Negro interns and nurses and employed Negro nurses. The other hospital did not have any Negroes in it at all, unless he was as a janitor or maid. A third hospital, which was a state hospital for Negroes, employed 70 Negro nurses. It has no training program for Negro interns and nurses.

train Negro interns and nurses. It is not indicated whether such training is conducted under integrated circumstances

In the "traditional" statesput of 24 questionnaires we ~~got~~ received 4 answers. Two were from Tennessee, one from Mississippi, one from Alabama and none from Louisiana, Georgia or South Carolina. The City of Memphis Hospitals said it could not answer as to interns or any residents since they were appointed by the medical school. They did say they employed Negro nurses. The Vanderbilt Hospital trains and employs Negro nurses. Negro doctors are permitted to use the hospital facilities - the medical library, staff meetings, etc. In the Miss. hospital, ~~although they only~~ replied for the Negro ~~part~~ patients, there ~~xxxxxx~~ was no nursing or intern training program. They had one MD and 3 duty nurses as the rest of the Negro personnel. In the Children's Hospital of Birmingham there are 2 Negro practical nurses employed.

The ~~comments were very interesting~~ comments. 9 hospitals said they had no limitations as to the use of Negro professional personnel. ~~xxxxxx~~ Four of these hospitals had no traing programs of any kind for Negroes, 3 ~~and~~ not employ Negro doctors for their staff. These hospitals had 5274 beds for Negroes in both integrated and segregated wards and employed only 25 Negro R.N.'s.

This survey included every hospital in 12 southern states (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia) that was affiliated with a medical school. The original request for the research came from an organization in Atlanta that was interested primarily in opportunities for Negro interns, therefore Atlanta hospitals and any hospitals affiliated with a medical school through a nursing program only was not included. The 64 hospitals were located in 26 cities.

S.C.; Tenn; Miss.; Ga. and Ala

The states surveyed can be ranked into three categories: border states, Deep South "Progressive" states and Deep South "Traditional" states. The border states are Kentucky and Maryland, "Progressive" states are Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Texas and Virginia and the "Traditional" states are the remaining ones. This division is based on the records of medical schools within the states and their admittance and attempts to get Negro students. In Maryland and Kentucky we sent questionnaires to 7 hospitals located in Baltimore and Louisville. Six were returned, three from each city. In Arkansas, North Carolina, Florida, Texas, and Virginia we sent questionnaires to 36 hospitals in 15 cities. We received 18 (a little less than 50%). In the states we sent out 25 questionnaires to 10 cities and received eight answers. The willingness to reply seems to be directly correlated withthe amount of integration of Negro professional personnel achieved in the state.

Every hospital replying from Baltimore and Louisville reported complete integration of all training opportunities, personnel and -

In the "Progressive" states there was a widely varying pattern. At least one hospital in every large city either admits Negro interns, residences or nurses to training, or has Negro doctors on the staff. Many hospitals, including those maintained by religious denominations and those for children, have no Negro professional personnel or bed for Negroes.

In Texas, where 5 cities - Austin, Dallas, Galveston, Houston, San Antonio, were surveyed, at least one hospital in every city except Austin answered. Of the 8 answering hospitals only two (one in Galveston and one in San Antonio) admitted Negroes into training as interns, residents or nurses and only two hospitals (in the same two cities) had Negro doctors on the staff. All but one hospital employs Negro nurses. But of these none indicated that they had Negro nurses as supervisors.

In Florida the only hospitals to answer were those in Miami and Miami Beach. We sent out questionnaires to 6 hospitals in three cities and got three replies. One hospital said it's policy was not to admit Negroes into training. It employs two Negro nurses. Another hospital said it has no statement on the race of staff or trainees but has had Negro doctors on the staff for 10 years. The third hospital has also been admitting Negroes into training for 10 years but has none at present.

In North Carolina we sent out 5 questionnaires to three cities and got 3 replies. The North Carolina Commission on Civil Rights reports we only 2 hospitals in the state that have approved intern and residency programs open to Negroes, and these are in surgery. One hospital indicate the number of Negroes on the staff or in training, one has no Negroes in any capacity, and the third is a predominantly Negro hospital.

In Arkansas the Univ. of Ark. Medical Center, Virginia we three questionnaires from the 5 we sent out. In Richmond one hospital trains Negro interns and nurses and employed Negro nurses. Another hospital does not have any Negroes at all, A third hospital a state hospital for Negroes, employed 70 Negro nurses. It has no training program for Negro interns and nurses.

) trains Negro interns and nurses. It does not indicate whether or not training is conducted under integrated circumstances

[illegible] "[illegible]" states out of 24 questionnaires we [illegible] received 4 answers. Two were from Tennessee, one from Mississippi, one from Alabama and none from Louisiana, Georgia or North Carolina. The City of Memphis Hospitals said [illegible] interns [illegible] appointed by the medical school. They [illegible] they employ [illegible] Negroes. The Vanderbilt Hospital trains and employs Negro nurses. Negro doctors are [illegible] to use the hospital facilities - the medical library, staff meetings, [illegible] class. [illegible] hospital, [illegible] replies for the Negro [illegible], there [illegible] no [illegible] or intern training program. They have one RN and 3 duty nurses as the [illegible] personnel. In the Children's Hospital of Birmingham there are 2 Negro practical nurses employed.

[illegible] hospitals said they have no limitations as to the use of Negro professional personnel. [illegible] Four of these hospitals [illegible] no traing program of any kind for Negroes, 3 do not employ Negro doctors for their staff. These hospitals have 527 beds for Negroes in both integrated and segregated wards and employed only [illegible] Negro R.N.'s.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

QUESTIONNAIRE

_____ (name of hospital) _____ (date)

1. Please indicate in the blank spaces below the number of Negro staff personnel.
   Interns _____
   Residents _____
   Nurses _____

2. For how many years has it been the policy of your hospital to admit Negro personnel into training?
   Interns _____
   Residents _____
   Nurses _____

3. Are all areas of service in your hospital open to Negro personnel in training?
   Yes _____ No _____ If No, please indicate in the blank spaces the areas not open to Negro personnel.
   Anesthesiology _____
   Medical Technology _____
   Medicine _____
   Nursing _____
   Obstetrics-Gynecology _____
   Oral Surgery _____
   Orthopedics _____
   Pathology _____
   Pediatrics _____
   Psychiatry _____
   Radiology _____
   Surgery _____
   Urology _____
   Other _____

4. Please indicate in the blank spaces below the number of positions held by Negro doctors on your staff.
   Permanent positions _____
   Attending Physicians _____
   Visiting Physicians _____
   Other _____

5. Please indicate in the blank spaces below the number of positions held by Negro nurses on your staff.
   Supervising Nurses _____
   Duty Nurses _____
   Other _____

6. What limitations if any exist in the use of professional Negro personnel in your hospital? Please explain.

7. Is the pay of Negro personnel less than, more than, or equal to the pay of white personnel employed in comparable positions? _____

8. Please indicate the bed capacity of your hospital. _____ Please indicate the number of beds, if any, reserved for Negro patients. _____

Check here if you wish a copy of our report. _____

Research Department
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 6, D.C. • DEcatur 2-5566

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

October 9, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Rm. 201
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

This is merely to confirm our discussion by telephone of a possible updating of Integration North and South. The main points are these:

(1) I hope that Potomac can secure the funds and serve as sponsor and publisher of the survey. At a meeting last week, Stephen Currier and Lloyd Garrison reacted favorably to the idea, but reserved decision until we have an estimate of the cost.

(2) The original survey covered May 1954 - May 1956; the proposed survey would cover April 1, 1956 to some appropriate cut-off date in the near future. In view of the longer time period and the much greater number of developments, we might need to limit the scope or modify the methods of the second survey.

(3) According to Morris Ernst, David Loth would be interested in undertaking the survey of Northern desegregation again. I have written Loth, asking for his views and estimated costs.

(4) We would expect the booklet to have wide international, as well as domestic distribution, and would try to persuade appropriate Federal agencies to order it in quantity.

(5) I very much hope SRC can undertake the Southern survey if we can get the money to finance

the project. If you feel you can, please let me have your notions about scope, method, and estimated cost of the project. If the project pans out, the sooner we get started, the better.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice-President

HCF/mf

JM
return to MBB for file

October 11, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute, Inc
1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Harold:

As you probably guessed my note of the other day had already gone out before you called. We should be able to have something fairly definite to say regarding an updating of Integration North and South some time next week.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

Memo from JAMES A. MOSS

October 26, 1961

I know this is a monster, but I am so rigid that I insisted that Dotty spell out the job in all its gory details. If you will look over the outline and include any items which you think are missing and perhaps delete some which you feel could well be eliminated, then I shall reduce this working outline to its barest essentials and incorporate it into a research memorandum. We will be in a position at that time to estimate costs involved.

I believe that we can do the job on the South as well if not better than anyone else. If the job is to be done in less than a year, I know that we will need the services of either a part-time or whole-time person in research. If the South can be done in a year, we may be able to do it with existing staff.

For the North, I feel this ought to be dne by somebody else. I think that Frances Levinson of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing might be willing to do this or June Shagaloff of the NAACP staff.

Well, let's get started!

October 31, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
The Potomac Institute
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

We think we can undertake the up-dating of Integration North and South, if you decide to go ahead with it and can find someone to do the northern part.

I think we would need $2,500.00. The biggest expense to us will be the salary of a research worker. Our thinking is that there is about three months full time work involved. We cannot squeeze an assignment like this out of anyone's regular duties.

If our estimating is anywhere near to the fact we should be able to do the job within three months of finding a researcher.

I think you were right in your letter of October 9 when you suggested that, because of the longer span and the more rapid developments, the up-dating might have to be done according to methods other than those of the first book. After we get this moving I think you would want to have the north and the south do some joint planning in the interest of uniformity of approach. I might mention that there seems to be sentiment here for reversing the form, and instead of treating states under topics, to treat topics under states. Part of the reason is that, for the South at least, each state section might begin with a brief description or characterization of where the state stood in 1956.

Let me know what you would like for us to do next and when.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

JM-

December 13, 1961

Mr. David Loth
South Boulevard
South Nyack, New York

Dear Dave:

At last, further word about the proposed up-dating of Integration North & South.

Les Dunbar and his research director are planning to be here for a meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference (to be held at the Potomac Institute) on January 11 & 12. It is his hope and mine that you might arrange to be here, preferably on the morning of the 11, so that we can talk out a workable plan for the survey. Of course, the Potomac Institute would pay your expenses.

Would this be possible for you?

Sincerely,

HCF

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice-President

HCF/mf
cc: Messrs. Dunbar and Ernst.

FINCH COLLEGE
53 EAST 76 STREET
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

JM

Dec. 19.

Dear Harold,

Yes, I can be in Washington on Jan. 11 and will be very glad to. I delayed writing you because I have been retained as an expert witness in a Federal obscenity trial in New Hampshire which was set for Jan. 8, and I wanted to be sure they would be through with me in a day or two. I just got a call from the lawyers that they have won a postponement until March, so I have no problem.

I have talked a little bit with Morris Ernst about the project, and he seems to think that there is a considerable interest in the government, especially by Senator Humphrey. I suppose you will know all about that.

Anyway, I will be prepared to be in Washington on Jan. 11, and meantime I hope you have a very happy holiday season.

I write on this stationery because I do some part time work for this college, and am here at the moment, but my South Nyack address is still the one to use.

Sincerely,

Dave

DAVE LOTT

OUTLINE AND PROSPECTUS FOR Integration North and South 1961
I suggest it be called ~~INTERG~~ Integration U.S.A. and you will see why when you see how many states we are covering (50)

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose

a. To bring material and survey range presented in Integration North and South up to date from 1956.

b. To give the present situation

c. To indicate areas of desegregation in the future

B. General statements of changes in the South since 1956

C. General statements of changes in the North since 1956

II THE NORTH

A. Introduction

a. Selection of fields of inquiry: Education, Private Employment, Public Employment, Housing, Organizations, Public Accommodations, Recreation and Entertainment, Health Facilities, Religion, Mass media

b. ~~Explanation of research~~ Sources of data: ~~utilization of~~ press, ~~cooperation with~~ Protest organizations, intergroup organizations, Periodicals, ~~and~~ books, Journals, Govt reports (State, Federal)

c. Time factor. Since there has been much ~~progress~~ change in the last five years we will illustrate change in terms of contrast, and not make an attempt to give a year-by-year, or city-by-city summary.

d. The states studied: Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, ~~Iwa~~ Iowa, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, Nevada, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming

B. THE NORTHERN STATES

a. Alaska

1. Education

(a)situation in 1956 (not contained in I.N.S.)

(b)changes since 1956: federal laws, local laws, voluntary ~~in~~ organizations?

(c) areas still untouched

(d) sources of information

2. Private Employment

(a) same as above

3. Public Employment

(a) same as above

4. Housing

(a) same as above

5. Organizations

(a) same as above

6. Public Accommodations

(a) same as above

7. Recreation and Entertainment

(a) same as above

8. Health Facilities

(a) same as above

9. Religion

(a) same as above

b. Arizona

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, or voluntary organizations?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, or voluntary organizations?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   (a) same as above
4. Housing
   (a) same as above
5. Organizations
   (a) same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   (a) same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   (a) same as above
8. Health Facilities
   (a) same as above
9. Religion
   (a) same as above

c. California

1. Education

(a) situation in 1956

(b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, or voluntary organizations?

(c) areas still untouched

(d) sources of information

2. Private Employment

(a) situation in 1956

(b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, or voluntary organizations?

(c) areas still untouched

(d) sources of information

3. Public Employment

(a) same as above

4. Housing

(a) same as above

5. Organizations

(a) same as above

6. Public Accommodations

(a) same as above

7. Recreation and Entertainment

(a) same as above

8. Health Facilities

(a) same as above

9. Religion

(a) same as above

d. Colorado

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced By federal laws, local laws, or voluntary organizations?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956.
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   (a) same as above
4. Housing
   (a) same as above
5. Organizations
   (a) same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   (a) same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   (a) same as above
8. Health Facilities
   (a) same as above
9. Religion
   (a) same as above

c. Connecticut

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced By federal laws, local laws, or voluntary organizations?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956.
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   (a) same as above
4. Housing
   (a) same as above
5. Organizations
   (a) same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   (a) same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   (a) same as above
8. Health Facilities
   (a) same as above
9. Religion
   (a) same as above

f. Hawaii

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced By federal laws, local laws, or voluntary organizations?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956.
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   (a) same as above
4. Housing
   (a) same as above
5. Organizations
   (a) same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   (a) same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   (a) same as above
8. Health Facilities
   (a) same as above
9. Religion
   (a) same as above

g. Idaho

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, or voluntary organizations?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956.
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   (a) same as above
4. Housing
   (a) same as above
5. Organizations
   (a) same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   (a) same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   (a) same as above
8. Health Facilities
   (a) same as above
9. Religion
   (a) same as above

h. Illinois

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced By federal laws, local laws, or voluntary organizations?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956.
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   (a) same as above
4. Housing
   (a) same as above
5. Organizations
   (a) same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   (a) same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   (a) same as above
8. Health Facilities
   (a) same as above
9. Religion
   (a) same as above

i. Iowa

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, or voluntary organizations?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956.
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   (a) same as above
4. Housing
   (a) same as above
5. Organizations
   (a) same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   (a) same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   (a) same as above
8. Health Facilities
   (a) same as above
9. Religion
   (a) same as above

j. Indiana

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, or voluntary organizations?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956.
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   (a) same as above
4. Housing
   (a) same as above
5. Organizations
   (a) same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   (a) same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   (a) same as above
8. Health Facilities
   (a) same as above
9. Religion
   (a) same as above

K. Kansas

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced By federal laws, local laws, or voluntary organizations?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956.
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   (a) same as above
4. Housing
   (a) same as above
5. Organizations
   (a) same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   (a) same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   (a) same as above
8. Health Facilities
   (a) same as above
9. Religion
   (a) same as above

l. Maine

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, or voluntary organizations?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956.
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   (a) same as above
4. Housing
   (a) same as above
5. Organizations
   (a) same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   (a) same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   (a) same as above
8. Health Facilities
   (a) same as above
9. Religion
   (a) same as above

m. Massachusetts

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced By federal laws, local laws, or voluntary organizations?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956.
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   (a) same as above
4. Housing
   (a) same as above
5. Organizations
   (a) same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   (a) same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   (a) same as above
8. Health Facilities
   (a) same as above
9. Religion
   (a) same as above

n. Michigan

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, or voluntary organizations?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956.
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   (a) same as above
4. Housing
   (a) same as above
5. Organizations
   (a) same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   (a) same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   (a) same as above
8. Health Facilities
   (a) same as above
9. Religion
   (a) same as above

O. Minnesota

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federa laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   (a) same as above
4. Housing
   (a) same as above
5. Organizations
   (a) same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   (a) same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   (a) same as above
8. Health Facilities
   (a) same as above
9. Religion
   (a) same as above, etc.

p. Montana

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   (a) same as above
4. Housing
   (a) same as above
5. Organizations
   (a) same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   (a) same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   (a) same as above
8. Health Facilities
   (a) same as above
9. Religion
   (a) same as above, etc.

g. Nebraska

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federd laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   (a) same as above
4. Housing
   (a) same as above
5. Organizations
   (a) same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   (a) same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   (a) same as above
8. Health Facilities
   (a) same as above
9. Religion
   (a) same as above, etc.

r. New Hampshire

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federd laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   (a) same as above
4. Housing
   (a) same as above
5. Organizations
   (a) same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   (a) same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   (a) same as above
8. Health Facilities
   (a) same as above
9. Religion
   (a) same as above, etc.

S. New Jersey

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Inducmed by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federd laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   (a) same as above
4. Housing
   (a) same as above
5. Organizations
   (a) same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   (a) same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   (a) same as above
8. Health Facilities
   (a) same as above
9. Religion
   (a) same as above, etc.

t. New Mexico

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, or voluntary organizations -- other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Accommodation
   same as above
4. Housing
   same as above
5. Organizations
   same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   same as above
8. Health Facilities
   same as above
9. Religion
   same as above

u. New York

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, or voluntary organizations -- other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Accommodation
   same as above
4. Housing
   same as above
5. Organizations
   same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   same as above
8. Health Facilities
   same as above
9. Religion
   same as above

V. Nevada

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, or voluntary organizations -- other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Accommodation
   same as above
4. Housing
   same as above
5. Organizations
   same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   same as above
8. Health Facilities
   same as above
9. Religion
   same as above

w. North Dakota

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, or voluntary organizations -- other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Accommodation
   same as above
4. Housing
   same as above
5. Organizations
   same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   same as above
8. Health Facilities
   same as above
9. Religion
   same as above

X. Ohio

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, or voluntary organizations -- other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Accommodation
   same as above
4. Housing
   same as above
5. Organizations
   same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   same as above
8. Health Facilities
   same as above
9. Religion
   same as above

X. Ohio

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, or voluntary organizations -- other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Accommodation
   same as above
4. Housing
   same as above
5. Organizations
   same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   same as above
8. Health Facilities
   same as above
9. Religion
   same as above

7. Oregon

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   same as above
4. Housing
   same as above
5. Organizations
   same asabove
6. Public Accommodations
   same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   same as above
8. Health Facilities
   same as above
9. Religion
   same as above

PAGINATION INCORRECT

2. Pennsylvania

1. Education

(a) situation in 1956

(b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(c) areas still untouched

(d) sources of information

2. Private Employment

(a) situation in 1956

(b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(c) areas still untouched

(d) sources of information

3. Public Employment

same as above

4. Housing

same as above

5. Organizations

same asabove

6. Public Accommodations

same as above

7. Recreation and Entertainment

same as above

8. Health Facilities

same as above

9. Religion

same as above

aa. Rhode Island

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   same as above
4. Housing
   same as above
5. Organizations
   same asabove
6. Public Accommodations
   same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   same as above
8. Health Facilities
   same as above
9. Religion
   same as above

bb. South Dakota

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   same as above
4. Housing
   same as above
5. Organizations
   same asabove
6. Public Accommodations
   same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   same as above
8. Health Facilities
   same as above
9. Religion
   same as above

cc. Utah

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federd laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   same as above
4. Housing
   same as above
5. Organizations
   same asabove
6. Public Accommodations
   same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   same as above
8. Health Facilities
   same as above
9. Religion
   same as above

dd. Vermont

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, or voluntary organizations?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956.
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   (a) same as above
4. Housing
   (a) same as above
5. Organizations
   (a) same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   (a) same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   (a) same as above
8. Health Facilities
   (a) same as above
9. Religion
   (a) same as above

ee. Washington

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, localx laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   same as above
4. Housing
   same as above
5. Organizations
   same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   same as above
8. Health Facilities
   same as above
9. Religion
   same as above

ff. Wisconsin

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   same as above
4. Housing
   same as above
5. Organizations
   same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   same as above
8. Health Facilities
   same as above
9. Religion
   same as above

gg. Wyoming

1. Education
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
2. Private Employment
   (a) situation in 1956
   (b) changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, localx laws, voluntary organizations, other?
   (c) areas still untouched
   (d) sources of information
3. Public Employment
   same as above
4. Housing
   same as above
5. Organizations
   same as above
6. Public Accommodations
   same as above
7. Recreation and Entertainment
   same as above
8. Health Facilities
   same as above
9. Religion
   same as above

hh. Analysis of Change

III. THE SOUTH

A. Introduction

a. Selection of fields of inquiry: Public Schools; Private and Parochial Schools; School-Related Groups; Higher Education; Elections and Appointments; Employment; Housing; Health and Medicine; Transportation; Sports and Recreation; Religion; Military; Hotels, Restaurants, and Theatres; Legislation Organizations; Other Public Facilities; The Nation's Capital

b. ~~Explanation of research~~ Sources of data: ~~utilization of~~ press, ~~cooperation~~ protest organizations ~~with~~ intergroup organizations, periodicals, books, journals, Gov't reports (State and Federal)

c. Time factor. Since there has been much change in the South in the past five years, we will illustrate this change more in terms of contrast than ~~inxxx~~ by a year-by-year or city-by- city summary.

d. The states studied: Alabama, Arkansas, ~~Delaware,~~ Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, ~~Maryland,~~ Mississippi, ~~Missouri,~~ North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, ~~West Virginia,~~ [Washington, D.C.]

B. THE SOUTHERN STATES

--continued--

1. Alabama

a. Public Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

b. Private and Parochial Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

c. School-Related Groups*

d. Higher Education

e. Elections and Appointments

f. Employment

g. Housing

h. Health and Medicine

i. Transportation

j. Sports and Recreation

k. Religion

l. Military

m. Hotels, Restaurants, and Theatres

n. Organizations

o. Other Public Facilities

* same questions for each succeeding field of inquiry

2. Arkansas

a. Public Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

b. Private and parochial schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

c. School-Related Groups*

d. Higher Education

e. Elections and Appointments

f. Employment

g. Housing

h. Health and Medicine

i. Transportation

j. Sports and Recreation

k. Religion

l. Military

m. Hotels, Restaurants, and Theatres

n. Organizations

o. Other Public Facilities

* same questions for each succeeding field of inquiry

3. Delaware

a. Public Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

b. Private and parochial schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

c. School-Related Groups*

d. Higher Education

e. Elections and Appointments

f. Employment

g. Housing

h. Health and Medicine

i. Transportation

j. Sports and Recreation

k. Religion

l. Military

m. Hotels, Restaurants, and Theatres

n. Organizations

o. Other Public Facilities

* same questions for each succeeding field of inquiry

4. Florida

a. Public Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

b. Private and parochial schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

c. School-Related Groups*

d. Higher Education

e. Elections and Appointments

f. Employment

g. Housing

h. Health and Medicine

i. Transportation

j. Sports and Recreation

k. Religion

l. Military

m. Hotels, Restaurants, and Theatres

n. Organizations

o. Other Public Facilities

* same questions for each succeeding field of inquiry

5. Georgia

a. Public Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

b. Private and parochial schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

c. School-Related Groups*

d. Higher Education

e. Elections and Appointments

f. Employment

g. Housing

h. Health and Medicine

i. Tansportation

j. Sports and Recreation

k. Religion

l. Military

m. Hotels, Restaurants, and Theatres

n. Organizations

o. Other Public Facilities

* same questions for each succeeding field of inquiry

6. Kentucky

a. Public Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

b. Private and parochial schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

c. School-Related Groups*

d. Higher Education

e. Elections and Appointments

f. Employment

g. Housing

h. Health and Medicine

i. Transportation

j. Sports and Recreation

k. Religion

l. Military

m. Hotels, Restaurants, and Theatres

n. Organizations

o. Other Public Facilities

* same questions for each succeeding field of inquiry

7. Louisiana

a. Public Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

b. Private and parochial schools

(1) situation in 1956

m (2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by federal Laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

c. School-Related Groups*

d. Higher Education

e. Elections and Appointments

f. Employment

g. Housing

h. Health and Medicine

i. Transportation

j. Sports and Recreation

k. Religion

l. Military

m. Hotels, Restaurants, and Theatres

n. Organizations

o. Other Public Facilities

* same questions for each succeeding field of inquiry

8. Maryland

a. Public Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

b. Private and parochial schools

(1) situation in 1956

m (2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by federal Laws, local laws, voluntary orgaizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

c. School-Related Groups*

d. Higher Education

e. Elections and Appointments

f. Employment

g. Housing

h. Health and Medicine

i. Transportation

j. Sports and Recreation

k. Religion

l. Military

m. Hotels, Restaurants, and Theatres

n. Organizations

o. Other Public Facilities

* same questions for each succeeding field of inquiry

9. Mississippi

a. Public Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

b. Private and parochial schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by federal Laws, local laws, voluntary orgaizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

c. School-Related Groups*

d. Higher Education

e. Elections and Appointments

f. Employment

g. Housing

h. Health and Medicine

i. Transportation

j. Sports and Recreation

k. Religion

l. Military

m. Hotels, Restaurants, and Theatres

n. Organizations

o. Other Public Facilities

* same questions for each succeeding field of inquiry

10. Missouri

a. Public Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

b. Private and parochial schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by federal Laws, local laws, voluntary orgaizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

c. School-Related Groups*

d. Higher Education

e. Elections and Appointments

f. Employment

g. Housing

h. Health and Medicine

i. Transportation

j. Sports and Recreation

k. Religion

l. Military

m. Hotels, Restaurants, and Theatres

n. Organizations

o. Other Public Facilities

* same questions for each succeeding field of inquiry

11. North Carolina

a. Public Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

b. Private and parochial schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by federal Laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

c. School-Related Groups*

d. Higher Education

e. Elections and Appointments

f. Employment

g. Housing

h. Health and Medicine

i. Transportation

j. Sports and Recreation

k. Religion

l. Military

m. Hotels, Restaurants, and Theatres

n. Organizations

o. Other Public Facilities

* same questions for each succeeding field of inquiry

12. Oklahoma

a. Public Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

b. Private and parochial schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by federal Laws, local laws, voluntary orgaizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

c. School-Related Groups*

d. Higher Education

e. Elections and Appointments

f. Employment

g. Housing

h. Health and Medicine

i. Transportation

j. Sports and Recreation

k. Religion

l. Military

m. Hotels, Restaurants, and Theatres

n. Organizations

o. Other Public Facilities

* same questions for each succeeding field of inquiry

13. South Carolina

a. Public Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, ~~xxx~~ other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

b. Private and Parochial Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

c. School-Related Groups*

d. Higher Education

e. Elections and Appointments

f. Employment

g. Housing

h. Health and Medicine

i. Transportation

j. Sports and Recreation

k. Religion

l. Military

m. Hotels, Restaurants, and Theatres

n. Organizations

o. Other Public Facilities

* same questions for each succeeding field of inquiry

14. Tennessee

a. Public Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, ~~xxx~~ other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

b. Private and Parochial Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

c. School-Related Groups*

d. Higher Education

e. Elections and Appointments

f. Employment

g. Housing

h. Health and Medicine

i. Transportation

j. Sports and Recreation

k. Religion

l. Military

m. Hotels, Restaurants, and Theatres

n. Organizations

o. Other Public Facilities

* same questions for each succeeding field of inquiry

B. Texas

a. Public Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, ~~xxx~~ other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

b. Private and Parochial Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

c. School-Related Groups*

d. Higher Education

e. Elections and Appointments

f. Employment

g. Housing

h. Health and Medicine

i. Transportation

j. Sports and Recreation

k. Religion

l. Military

m. Hotels, Restaurants, and Theatres

n. Organizations

o. Other Public Facilities

* same questions for each succeeding field of inquiry

52

16. Virginia

a. Public Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, ~~xxx~~ other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

b. Private and Parochial Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

c. School-Related Groups*

d. Higher Education

e. Elections and Appointments

f. Employment

g. Housing

h. Health and Medicine

i. Transportation

j. Sports and Recreation

k. Religion

l. Military

m. Hotels, Restaurants, and Theatres

n. Organizations

o. Other Public Facilities

* same questions for each succeeding field of inquiry

17. West Virginia

a. Public Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, xxx other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

b. Private and Parochial Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

c. School-Related Groups*

d. Higher Education

e. Elections and Appointments

f. Employment

g. Housing

h. Health and Medicine

i. Transportation

j. Sports and Recreation

k. Religion

l. Military

m. Hotels, Restaurants, and Theatres

n. Organizations

o. Other Public Facilities

* same questions for each succeeding field of inquiry

18. Washington, D.C.

a. Public Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, ~~xxx~~ other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

b. Private and Parochial Schools

(1) situation in 1956

(2) possible changes since 1956. Induced by Federal laws, local laws, voluntary organizations, other?

(3) areas still untouched

(4) sources of information

c. School-Related Groups*

d. Higher Education

e. Elections and Appointments

f. Employment

g. Housing

h. Health and Medicine

i. Transportation

j. Sports and Recreation

k. Religion

l. Military

m. Hotels, Restaurants, and Theatres

n. Organizations

o. Other Public Facilities

* same questions for each succeeding field of inquiry

IV. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

A. Civil Rights Commission reports

B. Intergovernmental

1. Elections

2. Appointments

C. New Civil Rights laws

V. ~~CULTURE~~ Mass Media

A. Books

B. Movies, + TV

C. Plays

D. Integration efforts on part of theatre companies, movie producers, Metropolitan opera, etc.

VI. SUMMARY

A. Assessment of progress

1. North

2. South

3. Federal Government's position

B. Areas still untouched

C. The Future

1. role of students, and other action groups in desegregation

2. areas ~~which are likely to be opened~~ receptive to change, etc.

Integ North + South (both)

JM

SUMMARY OF 1960 and 1961
STATE ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAWS

Prepared by the

COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION

OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

15 East 84th Street

New York 28, N.Y.

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SUMMARY OF 1960 AND 1961

STATE ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAWS

Progress against racial and religious discrimination was made during 1961 in every significant area -- employment, education, housing and public accommodations -- by state legislatures in all parts of the country outside the Deep South. No less than 39 laws were enacted in 21 states. Figured either by the number of states, the number of laws or the breadth of their scope, 1961 set records for state civil rights legislation not achieved in any preceding year.

It cannot be said that any of the 1961 laws blazed new trails. Yet they show a very significant development. It is clear that legislatures throughout the country have observed the enactment of civil rights laws in other states; they have satisfied themselves that the laws work; and they have decided to follow suit. Thus, we may conclude that anti-discrimination laws have proved their value. They have not brought about the calamities their opponents have predicted.

Since enactment of the first fair employment laws in 1945 and particularly since the report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights in 1947, the fact of continued inequality has not been allowed to lapse from the consciousness or conscience of the American people. Steady progress has been made during that period in breaking down long-existing barriers. The wide success of legislative campaigns in the states this year shows that the civil rights movement is still growing in strength.

This report covers not only the laws enacted in 1961 but also five laws enacted in three states during 1960. Too few state legislatures meet in even-numbered years to warrant a separate report on their actions on civil

rights. To make our biennial reports complete we include mention of the laws enacted in the off years.

The principal legislative advances of 1961 may be summarized briefly.

(1) Illinois, Kansas and Missouri enacted fair employment legislation fully enforceable through the administrative process that has proved so successful in other states. This process includes establishment of a state commission empowered to study discrimination, to carry on educational campaigns, to receive complaints, to attempt to conciliate them and, where conciliation fails, to hold hearings, and issue formal orders that are enforceable in court. The Missouri law is particularly significant because it was the first such law in a border state. (It should also be noted that another border state, Delaware, in 1960 adopted a law prohibiting discrimination in employment and providing for its enforcement through criminal penalties.)

(2) Five states, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania and New Hampshire, passed laws prohibiting discrimination in significant portions of the housing market and Connecticut and Massachusetts strengthened the fair housing laws they adopted in 1959.

(3) Idaho, New Hampshire, North Dakota and Wyoming were added to the long list of states that have prohibited discrimination in places of public accommodation, such as hotels, railroads, theatres and bathing beaches. At the same time, Pennsylvania and Ohio strengthened their laws in this area by providing for enforcement through the administrative process already in effect for their fair employment laws.

(4) Pennsylvania passed broad legislation prohibiting discrimination by colleges, universities and other educational institutions.

As a result of the actions of the 1961 state legislatures, a very impressive number of state anti-discrimination laws are now in effect. The

principal statutes may be summarized as follows: Nineteen states now have fair employment laws enforceable by an administrative agency using the well-tested method of conciliation, backed by the power to issue administrative orders enforceable in the courts (Alaska, Calif., Colo., Conn., Ill., Kansas, Mass., Mich., Minn., Mo., N.J., N. Mex., N.Y., Ohio, Ore., Pa., R.I., Wash., Wisc.). Two states have laws prohibiting employment discrimination, enforceable by criminal penalties (Del., Idaho). One state has a law condemning discrimination but without enforcement provisions (Ind.). Five states have laws broadly prohibiting discrimination in education, enforced by administrative agencies (Mass., N.J., N.Y., Pa., Wash.), while a number of others have more limited legislation in that area. Nine states have prohibited discrimination in a substantial portion of the general housing market (Colo., Conn., Mass., Minn., N.H., N.J., N.Y., Ore., Pa.) and a number of states have more limited statutes applying to public and publicly-assisted housing. Twenty-eight states and the District of Columbia have prohibited discrimination in places of public accommodation (Alaska, Calif., Colo., Conn., D.C., Idaho, Ill., Ind., Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Mass., Mich., Minn., Mont., Nebr., N.H., N.J., N. Mex., N.Y., N. Dak., Ohio, Ore., Pa., R.I., Vt., Wash., Wisc., Wyo.). Ten of these have provided for administrative enforcement (Colo., Conn., Mass., N.J., N.Y., Ohio, Ore., Pa., R.I., Wash.).

In the following pages, the various laws enacted during 1960 and 1961 are described.

EMPLOYMENT

Eight states enacted laws in 1961 and two in 1960 dealing with discrimination in employment because of race, religion or national origin. Kansas, which had adopted a fair employment law without enforcement provisions in 1953, this year added such provisions. Illinois and Missouri adopted new

fair employment legislation providing for enforcement through the administrative process. The addition of these three states brought the number of fair employment laws with full administrative enforcement procedures up to 19. In addition, Delaware, in 1960, and Idaho in 1961, adopted fair employment laws containing penal rather than administrative sanctions. Maryland prohibited discrimination by government agencies and public contractors. New Jersey in 1960 and Oregon in 1961 made minor procedural improvements in their anti-discrimination laws. Indiana revised its existing "voluntary" fair employment law. Washington prohibited discrimination because of age.*

All three of the administrative fair employment laws adopted this year are on the conservative side as compared with others adopted in recent years. The Missouri law applies only to employers of 50 or more employees. In Illinois, an employer is not covered unless he has at least 100 employees but this number will drop to 75 in 1963 and to 50 in 1965. (However, it should be noted that a separate provision imposes a non-discrimination requirement on government contractors, regardless of the number of employees.) The Kansas law is broader, applying to employers of eight or more.

All the laws contain the usual prohibitions of discrimination by employers and unions in hiring, discharging, terms of employment and union membership. The Illinois law prohibits discrimination by employment agencies. It also contains effective provisions barring discrimination by employers, unions and employment agencies in apprentice training programs. The Kansas and Missouri laws contain the customary provisions prohibiting discriminatory

* California also adopted legislation prohibiting job discrimination based on age, but in separate legislation rather than by amendment of its 1959 fair employment law. The two laws will be administered by different agencies.

questions, application blanks and advertising by employers, unions and employment agencies. This is the only provision in these two laws specifically referring to employment agencies. Hence, it might appear that the actual practice of discrimination by such agencies is not barred. However, the parallel provisions in the New York law, from which these were undoubtedly copied, have been construed as barring such discrimination and the Kansas Commission has already indicated that it is interpreting its law in the same way. The absence from the Illinois law of any provision on discriminatory questions or advertising is unusual.

The three laws will be administered by unsalaried commissions. In Missouri, the agency will be the 11-member, non-paid Commission on Human Rights established in 1959. The Illinois law establishes a bi-partisan Fair Employment Practices Commission of five members, who are to be reimbursed for actual expenses. Under the Kansas law, the agency that administered the "voluntary" fair employment law becomes the Commission on Civil Rights, consisting of two representatives of industry, two of labor and one of the public. In addition to expenses, they receive $15.00 per diem while performing their duty as commissioners.

Under the Illinois law, the right to file a complaint initiating formal proceedings is carefully limited to "any individual charging on his own behalf to have been personally aggrieved." (Most other states permit the commission or some state official such as the attorney general to file complaints and a few have provisions making it possible for civic organizations to do so.) Under the Kansas law, complaints can be filed by an aggrieved party or the attorney general. A similar provision appears in the Missouri law. That law, however, has an additional provision apparently empowering the Commission to initiate complaints.

A majority of the state fair employment laws follow customary administrative practice by providing that the enforcement agency need not adhere to the strict rules of evidence. None of the three 1961 laws contains so broad a provision. The Missouri law is silent on this point, which may leave the agency free to develop its own rules. The Kansas statute specifically declares that the Commission shall be bound by the rules "prevailing in courts of law or equity, and only relevant evidence of reasonable probative value shall be received." The Illinois law makes the proceeding "subject to the same rules of evidence which apply in courts of record."

The provisions in the three laws governing formal proceedings on complaints vary substantially. Worth noting is the Illinois statute which provides for a hearing before one commissioner or a hearing examiner, followed by review before the full Commission at which time the Commission may take additional evidence or even direct the holding of a new hearing.

With respect to court review and enforcement of commission orders, all three statutes show departures from the tested provisions of earlier fair employment laws. Under the Illinois law, any complainant or respondent may apply to the courts for review of a commission order -- and the commission may apply for an order of enforcement -- under the provisions of the state's Administrative Review Act, which contains customary provisions for judicial review of administrative agency rulings. A separate section provides that, when a commission order is violated, the Commission <u>shall</u> commence an action in court for a court order requiring compliance with the commission order. These two provisions appear to overlap.

The Kansas law provides that, at the "request" of the Commission, the Attorney General or a county attorney "may" seek enforcement in court. (Note that this appears to mean that a Commission order will not be enforced

unless the Attorney General or a county attorney decides that enforcement should be sought.) In addition, the Attorney General, county attorney or a person aggrieved by an order may seek judicial review. The court will then hear the case "with or without jury" and may, in its discretion, take additional evidence.

The Missouri law provides that an aggrieved party can seek court review within 30 days of a commission order and that "the case shall be tried de novo" like other civil actions but that the court may bar evidence not introduced before the Commission. The record before the Commission may be offered in evidence. Finally, any party can demand "trial of the issues by a jury." If no petition for review is filed in 30 days, the Commission may ask the court to enforce its order. The statute does not spell out how the court is to proceed with such a petition.

These provisions concerning jury trial are a source of concern. It should be noted that the Minnesota fair housing law described below, which is in the form of a series of amendments to the state's fair employment law of 1955, also inserted a jury trial provision which applies to proceedings under the fair employment as well as the fair housing law. Up to now, employers in fair employment states have tended to comply with the law, at least when the enforcement agency starts an investigation of a complaint against them. Very few cases have reached the stage of a commission order and court review. In the three states providing for jury trial, recalcitrant employers may decide to resist commission efforts at conciliation or even to ignore them entirely, relying on the hope of getting at least a split jury when the case gets to court.

One other unusual feature of these laws requires mention. The Kansas law states that the act shall not apply to adherents of "a religious creed whose

tenets or practices include a refusal to recognize the flag of the United States of America or a refusal to serve in the armed forces of the United States of America." The validity of this provision under the federal constitutional guarantee of freedom of religion is open to question.

The fair employment law enacted by Delaware in 1960 was originally introduce and passed by the State Senate as a bill to prohibit employment discrimination based on age. The lower House amended it to cover discrimination based on race, religion and national origin and the bill as so amended was passed by the Senate and signed by the Governor. The law prohibits discrimination by employers, unions and employment agencies in hiring, discharging, terms of employment and union membership. Use of discriminatory questions on application blanks and advertising is also barred. Violators may be fined up to $200 for the first offense and may be fined up to $500 or imprisoned up to 90 days for a second offense. The law establishes a Division Against Discrimination in the state's Labor Commission, to have "jurisdiction over the subject of employment practices" made illegal by the act. However, aside from empowering the Division to adopt rules and regulations, the act does not spell out its powers and duties.

The new Idaho law covers both employment and places of public accommodation, as noted below. As to employment, it declares that: "The right to obtain and hold employment without discrimination" is to be "a civil right." It then provides simply that it shall be a misdemeanor for any person to deny any other person, because of his race, religion or national origin, the right to work by refusing to hire, discharging, or discriminating in the terms of employment.

Maryland adopted two bills, one prohibiting employment discrimination by government agencies and the other dealing with state contractors. The first prohibits discrimination by any officer or employee of a state agency. Violators will be liable to a fine of not more than $500. The other bill requires non-discrimination clauses in all state contracts and sub-contracts "for any construction work." The clause requires the contractors to post notices describing its terms.

If a contract fails to contain the clause, or if it is breached, the state may cancel the contract and pay only the reasonable value of the services rendered (rather than the agreed contract price).

In Indiana, which enacted a fair employment law without enforcement provisions in 1945, an effort to add effective sanctions was defeated. However, the 1945 law was overhauled and a number of changes made. Perhaps the most important is a provision requiring a non-discrimination clause in all contracts by the state or any of its political subdivisions (counties, cities, etc.). Such clauses must also be included in "franchises granted to public utilities." The new law establishes a five-man, non-paid, bi-partisan Fair Employment Practices Commission. While not empowered to issue enforceable orders, the Commission can hold public hearings, subpoena witnesses and make its findings public. The threat to hold a public hearing and to subpoena witnesses is likely to be useful in bringing about compliance in some cases.

Two states made procedural changes in their general anti-discrimination laws, originally enacted as fair employment laws. In Oregon, the changes were in the provisions dealing with procedures before the Commission and the reviewing courts. A number of these provisions were repealed and replaced by making the act subject to the state's general statute on administrative proceedings. This is not likely to cause any substantial change in the functioning of the commission.

In New Jersey, three minor changes in the general anti-discrimination law (applicable to employment, education, housing, and public accommodations), were made in a bill enacted in 1960: (1) the Division Against Discrimination, which administers the laws, became the Division on Civil Rights; (2) the Commissioner of Education, who is ultimately responsible for decisions of the Division, was given power to appoint hearing examiners to hear cases in his place; and (3) most important, the Commission was given power to initiate

formal proceedings without waiting for complaints to be filed by an aggrieved party or by the Attorney General or Commissioner of Labor.*

In Washington, the fair employment law originally enacted in 1949 was amended so as to prohibit discrimination based on age as well as on race, religion and national origin.

EDUCATION

Three states adopted laws affecting discrimination in schools and universities in 1961. Pennsylvania passed two broad fair education acts. Idaho prohibited discrimination in some schools. Illinois tightened its law as to public schools.

The Pennsylvania legislature first adopted the comprehensive law on housing and places of public accommodation described in detail below. The broad definition in that law of what constitutes a public accommodation includes kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, colleges, universities and all educational institutions under the supervision of the Commonwealth. However, it does not spell out the prohibited practices in the detail that is customary in bills specifically applying to education.

That shortcoming was remedied in the second law, which is specifically a "Fair Educational Practices Act." This act applies to all post-secondary schools and secondary or post-secondary secretarial, business, vocational and trade schools that are subject to supervision by the Department of Public

* The Ohio law which provided for administrative enforcement of the state's existing law against discrimination in places of public accommodation made a few changes in the enforcement of the state fair employment law. In addition, New York made some changes in its anti-discrimination laws, described in the section on Public Accommodations below, which affect the administration of its fair employment law.

Instruction. It is made an unfair practice to discriminate against students in admissions or otherwise, to ask discriminatory questions, written or oral, or to fail to preserve records of admissions for three years. Religious institutions are permitted to favor members of their own faiths. (However, another provision creates the possibility that religious institutions are excluded altogether from the provisions of the act.) A last minute amendment reserved the right of any institution to accept and administer gifts upon any terms and conditions laid down by the donor.

The act is to be administered by the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission, which also administers the other Pennsylvania anti-discrimination laws. The Commission is given broad powers of visitation and can make recommendations designed to curb discrimination. Complaints may be filed by aggrieved persons or by the Commission, which can then process them through the usual administrative stages, including issuance of an order enforceable in the courts.

In Idaho, the new law prohibiting discrimination in places of public accommodation, described below, applies to all educational institutions financed in whole or in part by public funds and also to "schools of special instruction" and "nursery schools."

Illinois adopted an amendment to its statutes governing state financing of public schools. It provides that local districts applying for state aid must certify that they are not practicing discrimination in the selection or assignment of staff.

HOUSING

Nine states adopted laws affecting discrimination in housing in 1961. Minnesota, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania amended their existing anti-discrimination laws to add various forms of private (that is, not publicly assisted) housing. New Hampshire prohibited discrimination in some private

housing in a law enforceable by a civil suit for penalty. Connecticut broadened its 1959 fair housing law in a number of respects. Massachusetts adopted two bills tightening its 1959 law and a third applicable to real estate brokers. Indiana prohibited discrimination in public housing. California enacted five bills, two dealing with urban renewal, two with restrictive covenants and one with veterans' housing.

Of the four new fair housing laws in Minnesota, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania, the broadest is that of Minnesota. It applies to all housing except the rental of an apartment in an owner-occupied two-family home and the sale or rental of an owner-occupied one-family home. The Pennsylvania law excludes all owner-occupied one and two-family homes. The New York and New Jersey laws apply to all buildings with three or more apartments (unless the owner occupies one of these) and to one and two-family homes in developments of ten or more.

The Minnesota and New Jersey laws apply to all real property and thus cover vacant land and commercial space. The New York State law applies to commercial space.

The various laws have provisions dealing with discrimination by real estate agents and financial institutions, limited to the kind of housing covered by the basic prohibitions. However, the New York law goes further and bars discrimination in mortgage financing as to all housing, regardless of the limitations described above.

Each of the laws will be enforced through the usual administrative process by the agencies originally established to administer the state fair employment law. Only one unusual feature need be mentioned. The Minnesota law was amended, as part of a compromise to get it through, to provide that, when a proceeding is brought in court to review or enforce a commission order,

the proceeding "shall be de novo and the person complained against shall be entitled at his request to a trial by jury." As noted above, this amendment applies also to the state's fair employment law.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the Minnesota law does not go into effect until the end of 1962.

The New Hampshire law is quite different from the four just described. It provides simply that no person shall discriminate against persons of any race, religion or national origin "in the matter of rental or occupancy of a dwelling in a building containing more than one dwelling." Violators may be fined from $10 to $100. As its terms indicate, the law does not apply to a one-family building. Also it may be open to the construction that it applies to rentals but not to sales.

Connecticut, which adopted a fair housing law in 1959, amended it this year in a number of respects. First, the 1959 law applied to owners of five or more housing accommodations located on contiguous land. The 1961 bill lowered this to three housing accommodations. Second, a court had held that the 1959 law did not apply where no housing had yet been constructed on the lots controlled by the owner. This was met by making the law applicable to the owner of three or more housing accommodations or building lots on which housing is to be constructed. Third, the law was made applicable if the owner controlled three or more housing accommodations or lots within a year prior to the discriminatory act. Also, the definition of "control" was tightened.

Massachusetts enacted three separate bills affecting housing. The most important was one which amended the state's 1959 fair housing law to deal with a procedural problem that has arisen under many of the fair housing laws. Agencies enforcing these laws have often found that they cannot give

effective relief because the unit in question is rented or sold by the time a complaint is processed. The Massachusetts law now provides that, after the commission has investigated a complaint and decided that there is probable cause to credit its allegations, it may ask a court to enjoin the sale or rental of the housing unit pending final determination of the proceedings. The court is to grant whatever relief it deems "just and proper."

A second bill in Massachusetts makes it clear that the 1959 law applies to sales as well as rentals.

In the third bill, Massachusetts amended the law dealing with the licensing of real estate brokers by providing that failure to comply with a final order of the Commission Against Discrimination shall be a ground for revoking or suspending a broker's license.

Indiana added public housing to the list of places covered by its law against discrimination in places of public accommodation, discussed below. Although discrimination and segregation in public housing is prohibited by the Constitution, adding public housing to this statute provides the additional sanctions of civil and criminal penalties.

California adopted five laws affecting discrimination in housing. One amended its 1959 law prohibiting discrimination in publicly assisted housing to eliminate an exemption for housing built under the state's veterans' loan program.

Two additional bills supplemented the provisions of the 1959 law with respect to community redevelopment areas. One provides that there shall be no discrimination "in the undertaking or operation" of the law. The other provides in detail for inclusion of non-discrimination clauses in leases and deeds disposing of property acquired in redevelopment or urban renewal projects. These two laws supplement the 1959 law prohibiting discrimination in publicly-assisted housing.

The other two bills both declare racial restrictive covenants void. While these bills overlap to a large extent, the second is more detailed. It invalidates not only restrictions on the use and occupancy of land by particular racial, religious or ethnic groups but also limitations on financing. In view of the United States Supreme Court's decision in 1948 holding that state courts cannot enforce racial restrictive covenants, these new laws do not cause any far-reaching change in the patterns of discrimination in housing.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

Eleven states took action in the area of discrimination in places of public accommodation during 1961 and one in 1960. Idaho, New Hampshire, North Dakota and Wyoming adopted new laws prohibiting such discrimination. Ohio and Pennsylvania provided for administrative enforcement of their existing laws. California, Indiana, Oregon and Washington broadened the scope of their existing laws and Illinois increased its penalties. New York, in 1960, adopted three minor bills designed to improve its procedures.

The four laws adopted in Idaho, New Hampshire, North Dakota and Wyoming are all of the "old-fashioned" type of "civil rights law," similar to those adopted in many northern and eastern states, starting with Massachusetts in 1865. They prohibit discrimination in various types of places of public accommodation such as hotels, railroads and theatres and provide for criminal or civil penalties or both.

The new Wyoming law uses very broad language prohibiting discrimination by "all places or agencies which are public in future, or which invite the patronage of the public," without any list of specific types of places. The definition of the places covered in the Idaho law is extremely broad,

including stores, medical care centers, elevators and washrooms in public buildings and, as already noted, some educational institutions. The North Dakota statute is more restricted, applying only to a specified list of types of enterprises, including public conveyances, theatres, hotels and restaurants.

The New Hampshire law is an amendment to a law adopted in 1919 prohibiting discriminatory advertising by public resorts. The new law substitutes a prohibition of discrimination itself, retaining the old provision defining the scope of the provision. This is limited to a "place of public accommodation" which is defined to "include" hotels, restaurants, public conveyances and theatres.

As to penalties, the Idaho law makes any violation a misdemeanor, punishable in criminal proceedings. The Wyoming law similarly makes any violation a misdemeanor, specifying the penalty at a fine of up to $100 or imprisonment up to 90 days or both. The North Dakota law is identical except that it limits the jail sentence to 30 days.

The early New Hampshire law dealing with discriminatory advertising provided a criminal penalty of $10 to $100 fine or 30 to 90 days in jail. The New Hampshire legislature, while adding the new provisions on descrimination in public accommodations and also in housing, struck out the provision for jail sentences. Hence, the only sanction under the new law is the $10 to $100 fine.

Two states were added to the list of eight that have provided for administrative enforcement of their laws against discrimination in places of public accommodation.

In Pennsylvania, the Fair Employment Practice Commission, established in 1955, was given jurisdiction over housing, as already noted, and also

over public accommodations. Its name was changed to the Human Relations Commission.

The definition of public accommodations in the new law is very broad. It applies to "any place which is open to, accepts or solicits the patronage of the general public," and includes a long, detailed list of types of enterprises. The law prohibits discrimination and discriminatory advertising.

The Ohio Civil Rights Commission, established in 1959, with enforcement jurisdiction only over employment was also given authority over places of public accommodation. The new law uses the same definition of that term as is used in the previously existing law, which is enforceable by civil or criminal penalties. Thus it applies to any "place of public accommodation or amusement where the ... facilities ... are available to the public," including inns, restaurants, public conveyances, theatres and stores. However, in two respects, the new law goes beyond the existing law. First, it prohibits discrimination based on religion, national origin and ancestry, as well as race and color. Second, it applies to discrimination against all persons, while the older statute applies only to "citizens." (This formulation withheld protection from the more than 1,000 foreign students attending universities in Ohio.)

The new law prohibits discrimination but does not expressly include discriminatory advertising. However, resorts are not likely to engage in that practice in view of the basic prohibition.

The 1959 law gave the Ohio Commission power to initiate proceedings to curb discrimination in employment without waiting for complaints by aggrieved individuals. As part of the process of compromise to get the 1961 bill through, a provision was added withholding this power from the Commission in the case of public accommodations.

Efforts to amend the 1885 public accommodations law in Indiana made substantial progress, though the legislature rejected a proposal for administrative enforcement. The law was greatly broadened in scope. The specific limited list of places covered in the old law was replaced by a broad phrase covering "any establishment, which caters or offers its services or facilities or goods to the general public ...."

The law previously provided for civil suits for up to $100 and criminal penalties up to $100 or 30 days in jail. The new law places a minimum of $25 on both the criminal penalty and the civil award. A provision was also added giving court costs to the successful plaintiff in a civil suit.

Independently of the bill just described, the amendment of the Indiana fair employment law, described above, gave any person discriminated against at a place of public accommodation the right to file a complaint with the Fair Employment Practices Commission. The Commission will have power to investigate but will not be able to take any steps to enforce the law if it finds a violation.

Four states adopted simple bills broadening or strengthening their existing laws in this area. Oregon added "any place offering to the public goods or services." This would appear to bring in all stores and a vast variety of service establishments. Washington added cemeteries to its already broad law. It also amended its law which grants tax exemption to cemeteries to limit the exemption to those who do not discriminate. California, like Ohio, amended its law to extend its benefits to "all persons" rather than "all citizens." (This law had been amended in 1959 so as to make it applicable to a very large class of enterprises.) Illinois amended its law by raising the maximum fine from $500 to $1,000, and consolidated and clarified the sections of its laws dealing with court actions to halt violations.

New York adopted three bills in 1960 amending its laws against discrimination in minor respects. It corrected an ambiguity resulting from the 1952 statute giving the State Commission Against Discrimination jurisdiction over places of public accommodation. The law prohibited discrimination in any "place of public accommodation, resort or amusement" and then set forth a list of places included in that term. The 1960 bill makes it clear that the Commission is not limited to the types of places in that list but may deal with any enterprise that comes within the broad expression.

Another of these bills provided that the Attorney General must be notified whenever a criminal or civil action is started in court under various state civil rights laws. This will apply primarily to complaints of discrimination in public accommodations which a complainant decides to bring to the courts under the old civil rights law rather than to the State Commission under the 1952 law. Its purpose is to make sure that the Attorney General can keep track of all pending civil rights actions so that he can take any action appropriate under the powers of his office.

The third bill is connected with the power of the Attorney General to initiate complaints before the State Commission Against Discrimination, a power little used up to now. The bill gives the Attorney General authority to subpoena witnesses in the course of any investigation he may conduct to determine whether he should file such a complaint.

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONS

Nevada and West Virginia established statutory human rights commissions with broad powers to study and investigate discrimination based on race, religion and national origin and California empowered Los Angeles County to do so.

The West Virginia statute, which is more detailed than that of Nevada, creates a nine-man, bi-partisan, unpaid Human Rights Commission directed to bring about "mutual understanding and respect" among groups in the state and to "strive to eliminate all discrimination in employment and places of public accommodation." The Commission is directed to employ a full-time executive director and such additional staff as its appropriation permits. It is given the usual broad powers of study, cooperation with other groups, education and the like. Specifically as to employment and public accommodations, it may receive complaints and undertake studies of intergroup tension and may act as conciliator in specific situations, "but no decision of the Commission shall be binding upon any parties to the conciliation." The Commission is given power to hold public and private hearings, administer oaths, make recommendations to the governor and the legislature and publish reports. It is not given power to subpoena witnesses.

The Nevada law states that its purpose is "to foster the right of all persons reasonably to seek, obtain and hold employment and housing accommodations." However, it does not prohibit any impairment of that right. It creates a five-man, non-paid Commission on Equal Rights of Citizens. The Commission is directed to foster mutual understanding, to investigate and study problems of discrimination in all areas and to carry out programs of education. It is specifically authorized to investigate complaints of discrimination and to hold hearings on such complaints or on its own initiative. Since it is given power to subpoena witnesses, it could use the holding of hearings as an effective device to curb discriminatory practices. However, the Commission is not authorized to hire staff and is given an appropriation of only $2,500 a year. Thus, it seems unlikely that it will be able to carry on a large program.

California empowered counties of more than two million population (which means only Los Angeles county) to establish human relations commissions to engage in research and education and to develop and administer programs to lessen prejudice and promote mutual understanding.

MISCELLANEOUS

Absentee Voting

Illinois amended its absentee voting law to permit absentee voting in special, general and primary elections, by any person who, because of "the tenets of his religion in the observance of a religious holiday," will "be unable to be present at the polls." This measure was in response to a situation which had occurred several times when primary elections fell at the time of Jewish holidays.

Insurance

California prohibited discrimination in the issuance, circulation, rates or other terms of motor vehicle liability insurance policies.

Marriage Licenses

In 1959, California repealed its anti-miscegenation law (prohibiting interracial marriages) which had been declared unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court in 1948. At that time, it also struck out a provision requiring that the race of the parties be stated on the certificate attached to the marriage license by the person who performed the marriage. This year, the legislature repealed the provision in a separate law requiring a statement as to race or color in the certificate of registry of marriage. It also expressly provided that applicants for a marriage license shall not be required, for any purpose, to state their race or color.

Indian Affairs

California also established a State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs, to study the problems of Indians in California and to report its findings and recommendations to the Governor and legislature.

Firearms

Oregon brought its statute concerning the possession of firearms up to date with respect to the kinds of weapon permitted (omitting, for example, possession of a "yager or musket"). In the process, it extended the right to bear arms to all citizens, eliminating the restriction to "white male" citizens.

November 16, 1961

Joseph B. Robison

January 25, 1962

Memorandum

To: Harold C. Fleming
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

From: James A. Moss
Southern Regional Council

Subject: Outline for Revision of Integration North and South

INTRODUCTION.

This project has its origin in a publication entitled, Integration North and South, by David Loth and Harold Fleming. Issued in 1956 under the imprint of the Fund for the Republic, this document is now out of print. It is proposed that a complete revision of this document be undertaken. The publication, as conceived, will provide within a single framework a factual summary of the major civil rights gains affecting the Negro for the period 1954-1962. A document such as the one proposed seeks to meet the demand for an authoritative progress memorandum in civil rights for use both in the United States and abroad.

SCOPE.

The South, for the purposes of this report, is geographically defined as the following 17 states: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia. Serious efforts will be made to draw upon already collected data from as wide a range of reliable sources as feasible in terms of time and expense. No special studies or surveys are contemplated for the express purpose of inclusion in this report; however, field sources will be used as needed to verify or complete data from SRC files and published materials.

METHOD.

The section on the South will include:

1. a brief historical discussion on the background of civil rights developments in the South,

METHOD (cont'd)

2. a description of recent events that directly bear upon the direction, pace and areas of racial change in the South,

3. a profile for each state pointing up the status of civil rights within the state in 1954, civil rights changes since 1954, methods used in effecting change and areas of civil rights still unaffected by change, and

4. special attention to change in such fields as education, voting, employment, public accommodations, and medical care.

SOURCES OF DATA.

Press clips, organizations' reports, federal and local government reports, and SRC surveys and reports.

TIME.

March 1 - August 1, 1962

COST.

Expenses involved will include a full-time research worker for the duration of the project, clerical costs, and a small charge for SRC overhead. We estimate $2,500. We ask, however, that this figure be regarded as an estimate, subject to adjustment up or down after a final accounting.

JAM:jl

Memo from **DOROTHY MILLER**

The way I see it, there are several ways of approaching this magnum opus. I offer them for consideration:

1. Divide North and South into two different volumes, still retaining all the fields of inquiry

2. Take three fields of inquiry, e.g., housing, employment, and public accommodations, and do each of the 50 states

3. Make the study a series, e.g., three fields of inquiry in the North at a time, three fields of inquiry in the South at a time, etc.

My own personal preference, for what it is worth, is number 2. This way I think we can get a thorough, bang-up job which will give good comparisons for the whole country. However, my mind is open (not empty).

Re: personnel for the job. This depends largely on how or if we limit the work. If it is going to be done strictly according to the outline, I think it will need three people doing practically full-time work. I could be wrong; the only way to find out will be to plunge in and gauge the time from there. If it is limited somewhat, I think we could manage with two. But then again, we will have to jump into the water first before we see how we swim. In any case, I don't think we have enough information to do the Northern side without some interagency help from the North. I think we can handle the South from this office whether it is limited or not.

I thank you for your consideration and attention.

INTRODUCTION

A smattering of sociology and plain ordinary observation make it quite obvious that the human being is more than a tidy statistical sum of figures denoting his food, clothing, shelter and job; but he is also what he can read, and see, and talk about. The key word is "can." What then is opento him? What barriers are before him? Does he have a chance to make of himself a whole man?

And so the Negro's status in the South is more than his economic buying power, his living quarters, his employment opportunities - as important as these are; his status is also reflected in his opportunities for and his participation in our world of culture.

While citizenship embraces the right to vote, work, speak, and think, it also means these rights: to walk upright, in dignity, and see a play, a movie, a debate, a discussion, to read freely in a library, to ~~vitis~~ visit a museum or an art gallery, to relax in a park.

THE SURVEY

A survey such as this is limited in the cities surveyed and in the questions asked. No attempt has been made to record every small ballet group or lecture society in these cities, or to record cultural activities in hundreds of smaller southern towns.

Our questions were directed to 20 major cities in the South, representing 12 states: Birmingham, Ala.; Little Rock, Ark.; Jacksonville and Miami, Fla.; Atlanta and Savannah, Ga.; Louisville, Ky.; Jackson, Miss., Oklahoma City and Tulsa, Okla.; Charlotte, Durham, and Raleigh, N.C.; Columbia, S.C.; Chattanooga, Memphis, and Nashville, Tenn.; Dallas and Houston, Texas; and Richmond, Va.

The areas of question are movies, drive-in movies, municipal auditoriums, local theatre groups, summer theatre, art galleries, and libraries (some passing attention is paid to parks, zoos, and sports stadiums).

No effort has been made to assess the overall quality of culture available to both whites and Negroes in the South. However, a sample of black and white culture shows a disparity which is repeated countless times in countless places throughout the South. On March 5, 1962, a day picked at random, the following movies were available to the white public in Atlanta, Georgia:

Two Women
Tender is the Night
Light in the Piazza
Summer and Smoke
Lover Come Back

(among 25 others). Here is the entire range of movies available to the Negro public (which constitutes 35% of Atlanta's million population):

Raisin in the Sun
Twist Around the Clock
Creature Walks Among Us
Paris Blues
Goliath and the Dragon
The Mask
Imitation of Life
The Spider

This one example shows more about the cultural dearth and degradation caused by segregation than a hundred pages of statistics, but it was impossible, in this small survey, to examine movie fare in 20 cities.

MOVIES

Four of the survey cities have desegregated theatres (in downtown areas): Louisville, Nashville, Oklahoma City, and Tulsa. Recent breakthroughs in movie theatres have been noted in Chapel Hill, N.C., and Austin, Texas, though for some of these theatres stringent measures have been taken to restrict Negro patronage to students.

On the whole, movie segregation - with the four exceptions - presents a fairly solid barrier to the intellectual growth and enrichment of the average southern Negro. In some places,

Negroes are able to go downtown and sit in a segregated balcony of one or more of the"first-run" houses. This lofty perch, dubbed "The Buzzard's Roost," has, in some cases, been left un-patronized since the advent of the sit-in and stand-in movements.

The statistics of these cities show a wide gap between the numbers of theatres available to whites, and those to Negroes. For example: the figures for the 18 cities collectively and for some of the 20 cities singly spell out dramatically how wide this gap is. Of a total of 283 movie houses, 216 are exclusively for whites, 5 segregate Negroes, 53 are reserved for Negroes, and only 14 are desegregated.

In Houston, Texas, of the 42 movie theatres in the city, all but seven are for whites. There are no integrated houses, and not even a segregated balcony in any of the 35 - even if Negroes did wish to climb to the Buzzard's Roost.

In Atlanta -- 30 movie houses -- five are for Negroes.

In Jacksonville -- 30 theatres -- three for Negroes.

In Little Rock -- nine movie theatres - one for Negroes. And so it goes.*

The movie barrier, as this type of segregation can be termed, is not, however, impenetrable. Negotiations with theatre owners, mayors, and responsible members of the adult and student Negro community are underway in many cities in the upper- and middle-Deep South, and may bear fruit in the near future. Stand-in protests by Negro students and adults were, at the time of this writing, taking place in Knoxville, Tenn., and Charlotte, N.C., and, since the beginning of the sit-in movement, had occurred in Knoxville, Nashville, and Chattanooga (Tenn.); Hampton, Va.; Charlotte, Greensboro, Chapel Hill, Fayetteville, Durham, Winston-Salem, and High Point (N.C.); San Antonio, Austin, Houston, Amarillo, and Dallas (Texas); Louisville (Ky.); and Tallahassee (Fla.).

When a thorough breakthrough is effected, it may be possible for some interested student of psychiatry to measure, in some way, the incalculable harm done to preceding generations of Negroes brought up on a steady diet of "The Spider."

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*A complete table of the "count-down" is presented in the Appendix.

DRIVE-IN THEATRES

This category is included for two reasons: first, that drive-in theatres represent a new "automotive" culture, and second, it could ~~have been~~ be assumed that desegregation would go more easily when Negroes were in their own automobiles in a darkened lot.

Unhappily, this does not prove to be the case. Of~~A~~ total of 136 drive-in theatres, 114 are reserved for whites, 9 for Negroes; 12 admit Negroes to segregated sections and only 6 are desegregated. A sampling of conditions in individual cities follows:

In four of the survey cities - Jacksonville,* Louisville, Miami, and Tulsa - at least one drive-in movie has integrated parking. Six cities ~~had~~ have drive-in theatres for Negroes. But in twelve of the cities, there are no drive-in theatres "for" Negroes, or drive-in theatres which have even segregated parking areas. In such cases, as in Jackson, Miss., for example, the Negro populations is able to see movies at two of the 10 regular movie houses, and at none of the five drive-ins. In Memphis, the same: out of 20 movie houses, Negroes may see movies at four, and at none of the five drive-ins. Repeat this story twelve times over, and it is apparent that Negroes in these cities have recourse only to a tiny percentage of total movie offerings.

It is easy to see why, in cases where Negroes cannot go uptown or downtown, or to a drive-in, many Negro citizens have gone for periods of a year or more without seeing any motion picture at all.

One of the few incidents on record of an attempt to desegregate a drive-in theatre occurred in Columbia, S.C., and attempt which erupted into violence. Perhaps the darkness does not, after all, assure more peaceful integration.

MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUMS

In many cities in the South, municipal auditoriums offer opera, orchestras, dance groups, as well as all-night hillbilly folk songs and wrestling. Therefore, a study of facilities

available to Negroes in these auditoriums is important, since in some areas the municipal auditorium presents whatever fine arts programs exist in the city. It should be noted then, that the returns of these questionnaires showed a considerable advance in the admittance of Negroes as compared with movie theatres.

In eight of the 20 cities, municipal auditoriums are open to all, and provide no special arrangements for Negroes (no separate sections in the auditorium, or balcony, no special day of the week, or other such arrangement). These are:

Oklahoma City, Okla.; Memphis, Tenn.; Durham, N.C.; Atlanta, Ga.; Charlotte, N.C.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Miami, Fla.; and Louisville, Ky.

In the other 11 cities, arrangements vary:

Auditoriums in Columbia, S.C., Little Rock, Ark.,* Raleigh, N.C., Jackson, Miss., and Richmond, Va.* have separate balcony sections for Negroes. In Chattanooga, Tenn., Negroes sit in a separate section in the auditorium. Arrangements may vary according to the lessee in Savannah, Ga., but seating, under any circumstance, is not integrated. In Houston, Negroes sit in a separate section of the balcony, and there may be special programs for them. A respondent from Dallas, Texas, replies that there are "special arrangements, but camouflaged .... never really designated, but you are seated by the ushers." Birmingham's auditorium may be one of the most rigidly segregated: Negroes occupy separate sections in the auditorium and balcony, and, as the respondent states, "at times, a show may be shown at one hour for whites and another for Negroes."

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*Respondent from Little Rock, Ark., adds: "Events sponsored by Negro groups may be held in the auditorium. Some events (Arkansas Philharmonic) are "open seating.'" In Richmond, respondent notes that arrangements may vary according to the lessee.

The cities not mentioned either do not have a municipal auditorium, or had one under construction at the time of the ~~questionnaire~~ survey. Those auditoriums which do not have "special" arrangements, i.e., those which permit seating freely chosen, have not been scenes of riots or incidents, and it seems clear that the pursuit of culture obliterates the question of color from the minds of the concert goer. Furthermore, an important point to make here is that desegregation of auditorium facilities has, for the most part, been the result of voluntary agreements and not court orders, a fact which may have been ignored by a disaster-prone press.

There is a degree of irony in the "double" concerts - one for whites, and one for Negroes, often on the same day - which have been arranged in the stronghold of the militant Deep South, i.e., Birmingham. Considering the difficulty and expense of obtaining concert or theatrical tours in the first place, it would seem that such an arrangement would require an unusually strong commitment to the cause of segregation.

On June 1, 1962, an Artists Equity Ruling - that no Equity member of 54 companies which produce live shows will be allowed to act in a play in front of a segregated audience - will take effect. This may have injurious results on touring companies, who will find it difficult to secure enough desegregated audiences to make a tour worthwhile. The southern circut for these companies has, in the past, included such major stops as Atlanta, Birmingham, and New Orleans, as well as smaller cities en route. As of June 1, 1962, the only major cities in a position to offer an Equity show to a desegregated audience will be Atlanta and Charlotte.

An Equity spokesman in Jackson, Miss., pointed out that after June, 1962, no road shows of large productions ~~could~~ can be scheduled in Jackson. A new city auditorium ~~had~~ has been proposed to overcome faulty stage and acoustical conditions in the old auditorium, and now it may not be built if no productions

are scheduled for it. A Jackson impressario comments, "I have 'Music Man' slated to show in Jackson this March. But after June, 1962, I will not be able to schedule anything else in Jackson." He adds that the Equity ruling will affect New Orleans and Memphis as well, and that "the only locales we will be able to book for shows after June will be Atlanta, Ga., and Charlotte, N.C."

One local actor and Equity member in Atlanta expressed the opinion that perhaps local theatre groups in several southern cities might then be forced to strengthen their own theatres, but this is a debatable projection. At any rate, that the Equity ruling will change the face of southern theatre seems clear.

LOCAL THEATRE (INCLUDING SUMMER STOCK)

The survey cities revealed a considerable number of local, and summer, theatre groups, which offer a great variety of serious and musical productions. Some of these are amateur productions, and some staffed with talented professional actors. This is a rich field of potential for culture in the South. What is the score of these cities in the admittance of Negro citizens to view theatrical productions?*

Negroes are not admitted to these productions in six of the 20 cities surveyed. In three of those cities, there is only one local theatre group, which means that Negroes are effectively denied the privilege of seeing local drama (except for whatever drama comes to the municipal auditorium, which in the case of two of the cities is desegregated) in their own home towns. Less than half of the cities report that local productions are open to Negroes and there are no special arrangements made for them. Four reported that one or more local theatres ~~were~~ are desegregated.

*See Table "Local and Summer Theatre" in Appendix.

Thirteen of the 20 ~~had~~ have summer theatre programs, in the main outdoor. Four of these ~~did~~ do not permit Negroes to attend at all, while the others had no special arrangements for Negroes.

Except for summer tours, which sometimes include visits from Broadway touring companies (and in that case, Equity), most of the staff of these programs ~~is~~ does not belong to Equity. Therefore, it does not seem that these theatre offeringswill be significantly affected by the Equity ruling. Where summer theatre has been dependent on Equity productions some obvious changes will be made.

MUSEUMS

According to the responses received ~~from questionnaires,~~ in the survey only three of the 20 cities ~~surveyed~~ ~~did~~ do not have ~~any~~ museums - Oklahoma City, Jackson, and Savannah. Most of the museums in the other 17 cities have no special arrangements for Negroes. This suggests that Negroes may visit these institutions with the same privileges as whites. In a few places, however, there ~~were~~ are qualifications:

> A respondent from Columbia, S.C., replies that, "In the childrens' division of this museum events are unsegregated. Negro citizens may view the exhibits at any time. Special lectures, etc., for members may be limited to whites."

In Atlanta, Ga., Negroes are free to visit the Atlanta Art Institute, but there ~~were~~ are no Negro members of the Institute at the time of this writing. However, applications ~~were~~ are being considered.

Negroes are able to use the facilities of two museums in Houston, but not in the third, which is in the city park. All three are privately owned.

In Dallas, the sole museum is in the State Park, and Negroes are able to view exhibits - but it depends on the lessee. In many of the survey cities, art galleries are incorporated into whatever museum facilities are available. With the exception of Birmingham, Ala., all cities with art galleries report that there are no special arrangements for

Negroes. In Birmingham, a respondent observed that Negroes cannot view exhibits at either of the two art galleries in that city.

LIBRARIES

This is, of course, a key category in any survey of cultural facilities. Negroes, or any non-white or minority people, may be deprived of movies, or plays, or exhibits in museums or art galleries, and still manage to reach questioning fingers into the world of ideas and culture if they are permitted to read freely -- without having special rules to follow or special rooms reserved.

Libraries were sources of dispute during the sit-ins, and often an outgrowth of the movements which first attacked segregated seating at lunch counters. In Danville, Va., for example, libraries closed in the summer of 1960 to avoid court-ordered integration. They then re-opened on an integrated "stand-up" basis, which continued for three months, after which all facilities were integrated. Only in June, 1961, did enrollment appear to be reaching what it was prior to the integration dispute. Protests conducted by students and local ministers also occurred in Petersburg, Virginia, Jackson, Mississippi, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Albany, Georgia, and Greenville, South Carolina, and Memphis, Tennessee, among others. In Greenville, the library opened, segregated by sex. This kind of segregation, especially, is one of the most blatant, undemocratic, and galling to the literate and intelligent Negro Southerner.

At the same time, desegregation of library facilities during the past two years has been peaceful in what normally could be described as strongholds of segregation - i.e., in Charleston, S.C., Savannah, Ga., and Memphis, Tenn. Bookmobile facilities have been desegregated in Montgomery, Ala., and in two counties in Mississippi. An updating of a Southern Regional Council Report in August, 1961, from a 1954 survey, shows that Tennessee has more desegregated library facilities than any other southern state, but there are still at least one or two in each state.

This present survey showed that 16 of the 20 cities questioned have desegregated all of their various library branches. The holdouts: Oklahoma City, Okla., Jackson, Miss., Birmingham, Ala., and Columbia, S.C.

How large a segment of the Negro population, still used to and abiding by long-standing custom, takes advantage of the desegregation is a figure impossible to calculate, but the number of Negroes who use these facilities appears to be on the increase.

PARKS, ZOOS AND SPORTS STADIUMS

Since this survey was intended primarily to examine the field of culture and not recreation, detailed questions were not asked of these 20 cities. Some indications were felt necessary in terms of the total, cultural-recreational facilities open to Negro citizens, but only to place these opportunities within a general context. In addition, the desegregation of parks in the South has inspired furious battles - through the courts and also by means of direct action - which are impossible to enumerate in a report such as this.

However, recent important developments on this issue are worth mentioning:

As of January 1, 1962, all parks and outdoor recreational facilities - 67 playgrounds, 11 community centers, 8 swimming pools, and 4 golf courses - were closed in Birmingham, Ala. This occurred despite fierce public debate in which a significant number of "respectable" groups - the Junior Chamber of Commerce, The Businessmen's Association, and most of the city's ministers, for example, went on record in favor of keeping the parks open - and desegregated. However, the city commission, spearheaded by Mayor Art Hanes and Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Conner, remained adamant in its efforts to keep untainted a segregated way of life, even if it meant that Birmingham and environs would be without parks. Since the closing, local private associations would have made tentative approaches in order to buy unused park territory. Whether this maneuver will escape legal scrutiny

remains to be seen. Just as important as the closing itself was the spirited outcry of Birmingham's citizenry, an outcry yet unstilled.

Pools, a very tender spot in the heart of the white Southerner, are closed, in certain cities, to avoid desegregation. In addition to Birmingham, Ala., pools were closed last summer in Nashville, Tenn., Savannah, Ga., and Lynchburg, Va., after wade-in attempts.

The picture is somewhat brighter on golf courses. Since last year, links have been integrated in Macon, Ga., Charleston, S.C., Knoxville and Memphis Tenn., and Daytona Beach, Fla., mainly as the result of court orders. Complete park and public recreational facilities were desegregated in Jacksonville, Fla., during the summer of 1961, although there is a suit still pending concerning the golf courses which were sold by the city to avert integration.

Our survey reports different treatment accorded to Negro visitors to municipal parks. * Of the 20 cities, only the parks of Birmingham are closed at the time of this writing. Eight of the 20 were completely or partially segregated. While the remaining 11 respondents do not mention any specific restrictions, it is not definitely established that each concession or facility operating within each park is open to Negroes.

Restrictions generally applying to parks can also be extended to zoos,* which frequently operate within the confines of a particular park, and are subject to the same regulations. In this survey, all but six of the cities surveyed have zoos. Of the remaining 14, three are segregated, though again, a particular concession of a zoo might operate under a segregated policy.

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*See Table "Parks and Zoos" in Appendix.

Respondents answered that, in six cities, segregation prevailed in sports stadiums - Chattanooga, Jackson, Richmond, Atlanta, Birmingham, and Houston. Two cities, Columbia, S.C., and Oklahoma City, Okla., have no stadiums. The remaining 12 are apparently open to Negroes, though it is not definitely determined that each game or event is completely desegregated. Significant progress occurred during the summer of 1961, when the Coliseum in Jacksonville, Fla., was desegregated - with no untoward incidents (a peaceful enforcement of a law suit, which affected all parks and municipal recreational facilities).

CONCLUSIONS

Like almost everything else in the South, cultural opportunities are changing. It is a slow change, to be sure, but it is a change nevertheless. A general survey such as this, though, reveals the inadequacy of the progress, considering that the minds and knowledge and taste of human beings are involved. The survey reveals a depth of cultural deprivation and stultifying narrowness forced upon Southern Negro citizens, a debt which cries out for restitution.

APPENDIX

Table I. Movies

City	Total Movies	White	Segregated Section	Negro	Desegregated
Tulsa	9	5		1	3
Raleigh	6	5	1	1	0
Columbia	7	5		2	0
Chattanooga	5	4		1	0
Memphis	20	16	2	4	0
Little Rock	9	8		1	0
Jackson	10	8		2	0
Richmond	15	12		3	0
Nashville	10	4		1	5
Durham	6	4	2	2	0
Savannah	7	4		3	0
Atlanta	30	25		5	0
Charlotte	12	9		3	0
Jacksonville	20	17		3	0
Birmingham	12	7		5	0
Miami	41	28		3	?*
Louisville	22	10		6	6
Houston	42	35		7	0
TOTALS	283	216	5	53	14

*Respondent notes that movie theatres on Miami Beach are rumored to be open but there has been no confirmation of this.

NOTE: Figures of Oklahoma City and Dallas are omitted because movie and drive-in theatre totals were inadvertently combined.

APPENDIX (Cont'd)

Table II. Drive-in Theatres

City	Total Drive-Ins	White	Segregated Section	Negro	Desegregated
Tulsa	9	4		0	5
Raleigh	4	3	1	0	0
Columbia	7	7	1	0	0
Chattanooga	3	3		0	0
Memphis	5	5		0	0
Little Rock	5	5		0	0
Jackson	5	5		0	0
Richmond	7		7		0
Nashville	8	8		0	0
Durham	3	2		1	0
Savannah	2	2		0	0
Atlanta	15	15	1	0	0
Charlotte	5	5		0	0
Jacksonville	12	10		2	1*
Birmingham	7	6		1	0
Miami	14	13	2	1	0
Louisville	8	5		3	3
Houston	17	16		1	0
TOTALS	136	114	12	9	6

*On air force base.

NOTE: Figures for Oklahoma City and Dallas are omitted because movie and drive-in theatre totals were inadvertently combined.

APPENDIX (Cont'd)

Table III. Local and Summer Theatres

City	Local Theatre	Summer Theatre
Tulsa	2. No special arrangements for Negroes	Indoor. No special arrangements for Negroes.
Raleigh	1. NSAFN	Outdoor. NSAFN
Columbia	1. Negroes not permitted	None
Chattanooga	1 Segregated, 1 integrated	None
Oklahoma City	3. No information on arrangements.	
Memphis	1. NSAFN	Indoor and outdoor. Negroes cannot attend
Little Rock	1. NSAFN	None
Jackson	5. Negroes cannot attend.	Outdoor. Negroes cannot attend.
Richmond	3. 1 desegregated	Outdoor. NSAFN
Nashville	3. NSAFN	None
Durham	1. NSAFN	Indoor. NSAFN
Savannah	1. Negroes cannot attend	Indoor. Negroes cannot attend
Atlanta	3. NSAFN	Outdoor. NSAFN
Charlotte	1. Negroes cannot attend.	Indoor. NSAFN
Jacksonville	3. Negroes cannot attend.	Indoor. Cannot attend
Birmingham	None	None
Miami	4. Negroes can attend 1	None
Louisville	3. NSAFN	Outdoor. NSAFN
Houston	3. 2 have special arrangements.	Year-round indoor.
Dallas	1. NSAFN	Indoor. NSAFN

APPENDIX (Cont'd)

Table IV. Parks and Zoos

City	Parks	Zoos
Tulsa	No restrictions	Can use facilitie
Raleigh	Can use facilities	Can use facilities
Columbia	4.Negro; 13 white	
Chattanooga	Only on special occasions.	
Oklahoma City	Can use facilities	Can use facilities
Memphis	Only a limited number	No restrictions
Little Rock		Can use facilitie
Jackson	Segregated	Segregated
Richmond	Can use facilities	Can use facilities
Nashville	Segregated; spectators only	None
Durham	Segregated	Can use facilities
Savannah	Can use facilities	
Atlanta	Not tennis courts	Can use facilities
Charlotte	Can use facilities	None
Jacksonville	Can use facilities	Can use facilities
Birmingham	Closed	Closed
Miami	Can use facilities	Can use facilitie
Louisville	Can use facilities	None
Houston	Can use facilities	Can use facilities
Dallas	Can use facilities, depending on the lessee	

TEN YEARS

A Review of the Decade following the Supreme Court

Decision of May 17, 1954

Outline

I The Brown decision in its historical context.

A. In the South the Civil War and emancipation were followed by a generation of confusion and turmoil.

B. Near the end of the Nineteenth Century Southern whites seized upon disenfranchisement and segregation of the Negroes as a "solution." Peak of segregation craze about 1910. (Erroneous legend that segregation had existed for centuries.) Segregation in a measure replaced slavery as means of keeping the Negro "in his place."

C. From the late 1920's the nation as a whole moved steadily toward condemnation of segregation.

1. Negroes made remarkable progress in spite of the handicaps imposed by segregation and discrimination.
2. The theory of biological inferiority began to be repudiated by scientists generally.
3. Negroes became increasingly conscious of the incubus of segregation and developed militant leadership determined to throw it off.
4. Extent of school desegregation outside of the South by May, 1954.

D. The 1954 decision sounded the death-knell of segregation and opened the door at last for assimilation of Negroes as full-fledged citizens.

E. The Supreme Court had dealt with the race problem in three momentous decisions:

1. Its opinion in the Dred Scott case in 1857 had said that at the time of the adoption of the Constitution Negroes were regarded as "so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect."

2. The Plessy decision of 1897 reflected improvement in the concept of the Negro, but upheld segregation in public transportation, provided facilities were substantially equal. Justice Harlan's dissent.
3. After Plessy, the "separate-but-equal doctrine" was widely invoked in defense of segregation in the South.
   a. But only the "separate" part was rigorously observed; facilities accorded Negroes were generally greatly inferior to those for whites.
   b. The wide gap between the level of schools for Negroes and those for whites was gradually being narrowed,-but equality of physical plant was far short of achievement by 1954.

F. In its 1954 decision the Court went beyond the question of tangible factors and ruled that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" and constitute a denial of "equal protection of the laws," forbidden by the Fourteenth Amendment.

II The story of the litigation.

A. Origin of each of the five cases.
   1. Clarendon, 1950.
   2. Prince Edward, 1951.

B. The opposing legal talent. Participation by Attorneys General of two administrations.

C. Salient points of the argument on each side.

D. The drama of May 17, 1954.

E. Political and geographic pattern of the Court's membership -- unanimous decision.

F. Brown v. Board of Education. General application. Significant excerpts.

G. In Bolling v. Sharpe (District of Columbia) to which the Fourteenth Amendment did not apply, a separate opinion was rendered, likewise ending segregation.

H. Re-argument scheduled on manner and timing of relief.

III Favorable reaction in nation as a whole and abroad.

A. At home.

B. Abroad.

IV Issue regarded as settled and steps taken to end school segregation in a wide area, exclusive of the former Confederate states.

A. Some integration in Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, West Virginia and the District of Columbia.
1. The District of Columbia and the city of Baltimore proceeded with general desegregation.
2. Wilmington, St. Louis and Kansas City made beginnings.

B. States where optional segregation was allowed, Arizona, Kansas, New Mexico and Wyoming, indicated full compliance, but Kansas planned a 2-year desegregation program.

C. Disorders in Washington and Baltimore and in Milford, Del.

V In the South the relatively mild first reaction was followed by steadily rising hostility.

A. Significance of sharp identification of greatest resistance with area of former Confederacy.

B. Citizens Councils and similar movements launched.

C. Early legislation to avoid compliance.

D. Southern School News begins publication.

VI Acceleration of trend to equalize public school facilities in the South.

A. Calculated first to strengthen the "separate but equal" position in the litigation. After the decision it was hoped to deter Negroes from pressing for integration and to strengthen the defense of segregation in individual cases.

B. Acceleration of the equalization trend noticeable from 1951 when the Clarendon and Prince

Edward cases began to attract public attention. (S.C., Ga., N.C., Miss.)

C. Post-Brown decision equalization steps.

D. Probably a quarter-billion dollars worth of new schools for Negroes were built largely as a result of the litigation and the decision.

VII Further hearings and Supreme Court decree of May 31, 1955.

A. A new Justice Harlan (grandson) had now joined the Court.

B. Question of desegregation "forthwith" vs. "effective gradual adjustment."

C. District courts delegated to supervise desegregation with "all deliberate speed."

D. Reaction in the South to the 1955 decree itself was mild but submerged in the growing hostility to the basic decision.

E. Desegregation at Oak Ridge, Tenn.

F. Florida Supreme Court supports U.S. Supreme Court ruling.

VIII Desegregation in border states.

A. West Virginia.

B. Maryland.

C. Oklahoma.

D. Missouri.

E. Kentucky.

F. Delaware.

G. Exemplary desegregation performance of Louisville and St. Louis.

(We give a rounded story here of desegregation in the border states, which are of secondary concern to us hereafter. Our attention will be focussed on the grave problem in the 11 former Confederate states.)

IX The crystallization of resistance in the former Confederate South.

A. Public expression.
1. Deterioration of interracial relations.
2. Upsurge of state rights and anti-Supreme Court sentiment.
3. First outbreaks of violence.

B. Political expression.
1. Attitude of Southern Senators, Congressmen and governors.
2. Protest on intellectual plane -- Byrnes, Eloch, Workman, etc.
3. Reckless voices of defiance.
4. Action of state legislatures.
5. Virginia's Gray Commission.
6. The Southern Manifesto.

C. Interposition.
1. Revived in Virginia.
2. Embraced by 9 states.

X The problem of enforcement of an unpopular ruling.

A. Inaction by Congress and federal executive. Proposals for Congressional action -- Collins, etc.

B. Ignored or defied by state and local authorities.

C. The NAACP becomes in effect the activating agent of a social revolution.
1. History of the NAACP.
2. Thurgood Marshall, Roy Wilkins, etc.
3. The NAACP role in Brown.
4. The NAACP in border states.
5. Early NAACP-filed suits in the former Confederate South.

D. Courage and loyalty of Southern federal judges in implementing Supreme Court ruling -- exceptions.

XI Rise of anti-Negro feeling.

A. Terms, "Southerners," "everybody," "my people," etc. excluded Negroes.

B. Necessary severing of master-servant relations before establishing relationship on basis of equal citizenship.

C. The swift contagion of race prejudice.

XII Resuscitation of Ku Klux Klan.

A. Brief history of KKK.

B. Limited range of revived organization.

XIII Spread of Citizens Council and related movements.

A. Brady, Simmons, etc.

B. "Black Monday."

C. Political power of Citizens Councils.
1. Commendation or endorsement by state legislatures.
2. In Mississippi a government within a government.

XIV Unbridled rampage of hostile leadership.

A. Fanatic agitators: Bryant Bowles, Asa Carter, John Kasper, etc. (Jail careers of these three.)

B. Language of politicians encourages violence in defiance of desegregation ruling.

XV Intimidation of Negroes.

A. Economic pressure.

B. Threats, cross-burnings and violence.

C. Hatred and harassment of NAACP. Cook's "The Ugly Truth about the NAACP."

XVI Montgomery bus boycott and emergence of a towering new Negro leader.
1. The boycott story.
2. Martin Luther King.

XVII The Orangeburg "economic war."

A. Reprisal for Negro integration effort.

B. Negroes retaliate.

C. Economic truce, but no integration.

XVIII Attitude of the press.

A. A few papers consistently liberal.

B. Others hostile to bitter end.

C. Many reflected tides of public opinion, finally counseling acceptance of the inevitable.

XIX Attitude of the clergy.

A. Support of desegregation by highest authorities of each denomination.

B. Silence or collaboration with segregationists by many local pastors.

C. Courage and tribulations of pastors who preached acceptance of desegregation.

D. Archbishop Rummel.

XX The failure of moderate leadership.

A. Complete ascendancy of segregationist element.

B. Premium on chicanery and appeal to race prejudice in public affairs.

C. Political survival, the moral problem. Many politicians reluctantly join the racist chorus, or remain silent, in order to win elections.

D. Relative moderation of Governors Folsom and Coleman.

E. Outstanding moderates.
1. Gov. Collins.
2. Gov. Hodges.
3. Mayor Hartsfield.
4. Others.

F. Outspoken liberals.
1. State Rep. Orr (Fla.)
2. State Sen. Haddock (Va.)
3. Others.

G. The silence of business leaders -- exceptions.

H. Organizations working for desegregation.

XXI Nature of the debate, the argument of segregationists.

A. Repetition of arguments presented to the Supreme Court.

B. Resolution of State Supreme Court justices.

C. Theory that Brown came too soon, that South would have desegregated in time on its own initiative.

D. That backwardness of Negroes would lower level of public education.

E. That racial incompatibility and friction would prevent efficient school operation.

F. Widespread interpretation of Brown as demanding "integration everywhere overnight."

G. Predictions of mass rebellion and bloodshed.

H. Racism.
1. Distortion of anthropology, theology and history.
2. High incidence of crime and disease among Negroes.

I. State rights.

J. Invocation of Confederate loyalties.

K. Identification of liberalism on race issue with Communism.

L. Eagerness to cite instances of race discrimination in the North.

M. Official state propaganda agencies.

XXII Complacency of President Eisenhower, silence in the face of turmoil, uncertainty as to his attitude toward Supreme Court decision.

XXIII Stifling of liberal thought and expression.

A. Informal intimidation.

B. Official pressure.

C. Reversal of values -- odium attached to tolerance, compassion and respect for law of the land. "Moderate," a "dirty word."

D. Organizations working for adjustment to decision harassed and prosecuted.

E. Liberal and moderate literature prescribed -- "The Rabbit's Wedding."

XXIV Davis Committee Hearings and Washington public schools.

A. Irregularity of proceedings.
1. Bias of Southerners dominating the subcommittee and obvious intention to elicit unfavorable evidence.
2. Condemnation of proceedings by Washington press.

B. Excellent adjustment which really took place in Washington public schools, as verified by unofficial investigations.

C. Widespread, sedulous and effective use of Davis Committee report to discourage desegregation in the South.

XXV Rebellious and explosive atmosphere of 1956-1957.

A. Tuscaloosa.

B. Clinton.

C. Sturgis and Clay.

D. Other turmoil.

E. Desegregation reaches near standstill. (May, 1957, law halts Texas desegregation.)

F. "The Deep South Says NEVER."

G. Apprehension and uncertainty: Should Southern schools be desegregated by force? Would South ever accept desegregation without bloody upheaval?

XXVI The Little Rock crisis of 1957.

A. The moderate school board plan.

B. Agitation of outsiders.

C. Orval Faubus.

D. Previous use of state troops: Clinton, Tenn.; Clay and Sturgis, Ky.; Mansfield, Texas.

E. The drama.

F. Reaction in nation and around the world.

G. Southern indignation -- political effects.

H. Realization that federal power must prevail.

XXVII Pupil Placement laws.

A. In 8 states.

B. Held valid conditionally in Shuttlesworth v. Birmingham Board of Education (1958).

XXVIII Little Rock in 1958.

A. Plea for postponement denied.

B. Four high schools close.

C. Circuit Court of Appeals rules that a federal court order must not yield to "violent and unlawful acts of individual citizens."

D. Cooper v. Aaron. Supreme Court upholds lower court and outlaws "evasive schemes."

E. Resort to private schools.

XXIX Virginia's massive resistance.

A. Its totalitarian principle called for solidarity in the South and solidarity in each state. Action by any locality to desegregate was regarded as betrayal.

B. Influence of Virginia's example on other Southern states.

C. Virginia's performance mitigated by reliance on so-called "legal means" and respect for law and order.

D. Virginia closed 9 schools under desegregation orders, locking out 12,700 pupils (1958).

XXX Collapse of Virginia's massive resistance (1959).

A. Dramatic climax.

B. Virginia begins orderly desegregation, and soon will desegregate more school districts than any other Southern state except Texas.

C. Resounding effect in the South.

D. "Freedom of Choice," Leon Dure.

E. The tuition grant plan.

XXXI Little Rock opens schools and desegregates with only minor disorder (1959).

XXXII New aggressiveness of Negroes in broad field.

A. Lunch counter sit-ins.
1. Obvious spontaneity of student movement.
2. Resounding success.

B. Southern whites at last convinced that discontent is not due to "outside agitation," that Negro is not happy with segregation.

C. Kneel-ins, wade-ins, etc. Attack upon segregation in churches, parks, golf courses, libraries, etc.

D. Upsurge related to rise of colored races throughout the world. The new Negro.

XXXIII 1960 school desegregation before New Orleans in November.

A. Surcease from violence.

B. Progress in Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.
1. Break-through in Houston.
2. The Nashville plan.

XXXIV Louisiana politics.

A. Election of Davis (1959).

B. Crescendo of racism.

XXXV New Orleans desegregation (1960).

A. Earlier history of the litigation.

B. Gov. Davis and Mayor Morrison.

C. New Orleans organizations pro and con.

D. Desegregation and accompanying disorder.

E. Supreme Court declares interposition to be "an illegal defiance of constitutional authority."

XXXVI The school desegregation issue in 1960 presidential campaign.

A. The party platform.

B. The candidates.

C. Reaction in South, unpledged electors.

XXXVII Freedom rides (1961).

A. Alabama riots.

B. Mississippi jailings.

C. Growing concern for effect upon foreign opinion, especially in the new African nations, of race discrimination in the U. S.

XXXVIII The retreat in Georgia (1961).

A. Sibley Commission.

B. University of Georgia.

C. Retreat of governor and legislature.

D. Atlanta desegregation.

E. Georgia Tech.

XXXIX Other desegregation in 1961.

A. Breaks-through in Memphis and Dallas.

B. Progress in New Orleans.

C. Other.

XXXX Distinctive characteristics of state attitudes.

A. Virginia and North Carolina.

1. Traditional rivalry and divergent policies of two states.
2. Virginia's extreme defiance; North Carolina's
3. moderate policy of minimal adjustment.
3. North Carolina's early desegregation moves stop at the point of meager token, while Virginia proceeds with extensive desegregation after collapse of massive resistance.

B. Louisiana and South Carolina.
1. Extremes of turmoil on the one hand and comparative silence on the other.
2. In Louisiana, constant integrationist pressure and fanatic resistance with some integration.
3. In South Carolina, with restraint on both sides and sedulous avoidance of the issue, public schools remained completely segregated.

C. Tennessee has moderate governors from beginning. Despite sensational violence in early stages, desegregation proceeds with relative speed.

D. Texas: Segregationist governors and legislature yield to public moderation in West Texas and federal court pressure in other sections.

E. Georgia: Defiant state administrations and rural element vs. liberalism in Atlanta.

F. Florida, steered clear of extremist policy by Gov. Collins, moves toward desegregation, beginning in relatively liberal southern portion.

G. Alabama and Mississippi: Relatively moderate governors succeeded by intransigent segregationists. Two most stubborn and recklessly resistant states.

XXXXI In 1961 and 1962 token integration moved into substantial desegregation in some localities of Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia.

A. Desegregation progress in 1962.

B. Significant federal court action in New Orleans and elsewhere.

XXXXII Desegregation of institutions of higher learning.

XXXXIII Desegregation of Catholic parochial schools.

A. Various.

B. New Orleans (1962).

C. Atlanta (1962).

XXXXIV The Prince Edward County story.

A. 13 years of crisis.

B. Present situation.

XXXXV Civil Rights Commission recommendations (1961).

A. That Congress require every recalcitrant school board to file a desegregation plan within 6 months.

B. That allocation of federal funds for public school programs be reduced in the case of state's delaying desegregation.

C. That Congress consider measures to expedite desegregation actions in federal courts.

XXXXVI Contraction of the area of Southern resistance.

A. Total resistance to school desegregation only in South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi.

B. Violent and emotional hostility in parts of Arkansas, Louisiana and Florida.

C. Relaxed atmosphere in Virginia, North Carolina, Florida and Texas.

XXXXVII Effect of increased Negro voting.

A. Atlanta.

B. Memphis.

C. Richmond.

D. Elsewhere.

XXXXVIII Trend toward acceptance of inevitable.

A. Civil War Centennial let off steam of latter-day Confederates.

B. Manifest failure of all devices of resistance or evasion: interposition, armed force, school-closing.

C. Gallup polls show sharp increase in percentage of Southerners who accept desegregation as inevitable.

D. Softening of editorial protest, hedging by politicians, weariness and frustration on the part of many champions of segregation.

E. Politicians turn to other issues.

1. Race issue ceases to dominate political campaigns in Virginia, N.C., S.C., Tennessee, and Texas.
2. Candidates for governor of Tennessee appeal frankly to Negro voters.
3. Segregation not discussed at 1961 Conference of Southern Governors.

F. State legislatures recover from racist obsession.
1. Exceptions.
2. Concerted effort to prevent discussion of race issue in some legislatures.

XXXXIX Performance of Kennedy Administration in encouraging compliance with Supreme Court decision.

A. President's moral support for desegregation -- presidential comment.

B. Department of Justice.

C. Office of Education, HEW.

L Analysis of situation in three "last-ditch" states (1963).

A. South Carolina.

B. Alabama.

C. Mississippi.

LI Comprehensive report of desegregation progress.

A. The Border States.

B. The former Confederate states.

C. Voluntary and court-ordered action.

D. Techniques and types of desegregation.

E. Extra-curricular activities.

F. Effect upon the quality of education.

G. Negro teachers.

LXI By May, 1964: Defiance and race tension subsiding, the inevitability of desegregation widely recognized, the authority of the Supreme Court sustained, and substantial desegregation at last under way.

SB

N M - files, Mass Manuscript

October 29, 1963

Further Corrections -- Ten Years of Prelude

(in lieu of "Prelude to Revolution")

Page 274. Above "In Little Rock," etc. (4th line from bottom), insert this paragraph:

(Space)

Whites in another Virginia county resorted to private schools to escape public school integration in September 1963. In Little Surry County, where Negroes represent approximately 65 per cent of the total population of 6,200, the school board decided not to open the one white school when the state Pupil Placement Board assigned seven Negro children to it. Private classes were arranged for 431 white pupils, with their 22 former public school teachers. They used two former public school buildings which had been declared surplus two years earlier and two churches. Tuition grants from public funds covered most of the expense, but each pupil was required to pay a fee of $125 above the amount of the grant. The two public schools for the county's 1,200 Negro pupils continued to operate as usual.

(Space)

Page 337. Add to last paragraph at bottom of page:

A beginning was made, however, in Arlington County, Virginia. The school board of that county by a resolution of June 6, 1963, adopted a

policy "which precludes race as a consideration in all personnel actions" -- including expressly "initial selection and appointment; assignment to schools and within schools;...."

Page 390, last two lines. Change comma to period after "elsewhere," and delete "including $400,000 in appropriations for vocational and literacy training."

Page 394. Delete last 7 lines at bottom of page and insert:

They carried signs with a variety of civil rights slogans and sang patriotic and religious songs; most of all and unceasingly above the throng rose the strains of the movement's rallying anthem, now familiar to millions of Americans, "We Shall Overcome." At the Lincoln Memorial they heard a series of speeches, concluding with a moving oration by Martin Luther King. "The whirlwinds of revolt," King warned, "will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges."

Page 397. Delete second paragraph and insert:

During the 1963-1964 school term a total of approximately 26,000 Negro children attended school with whites in the South. In the border states the residential pattern or Negro apathy, and a few pockets of stubborn white resistance, had resulted in the survival of many segregated schools; but in these states and the District of Columbia 724, or 93 per cent of the biracial districts were now desegregated and more than half

the Negro pupils were now attending classes with white children. The number of school districts initiating desegregation in the fall of 1963 in each of twelve states was: Alabama, 4; Arkansas, 1; Florida, 6; Georgia, 3; Kentucky, 20; Louisiana, 1; Maryland, 1; North Carolina, 22; South Carolina, 1; Tennessee, 15; Texas, 66; and Virginia, 23. One hundred and sixty-three school districts had been desegregated for the first time, three and a half times the number initiating desegregation in 1962.

In 143 districts the action was taken voluntarily; only twenty districts moved in response to court orders. The threat of ultimate compulsion was always present, but in the ten-year period since the Brown decision an estimated 984 school districts had been desegregated without waiting for specific federal court action. School boards had proceeded under court orders in only 167 districts. The region has 3,053 districts in which both whites and Negroes attend school.

Page 398. Delete the first paragraph and insert:

In Texas the hampering requirement of prior referendum approval was removed on January 1, 1963, when State Attorney General Will Wilson ruled that the 1957 act of the legislature was unconstitutional. The 66 Texas districts desegregated in 1963 brought the total in that state to 243 out of 919 biracial districts. Elsewhere in the South some of the cities in which earlier evidence of public hostility had aroused the greatest apprehensions -- such as Charleston, Savannah and Jacksonville -- accomplished the feat of enrolling Negroes in previously all-white schools without incident. Only in Alabama was serious trouble encountered.

Page 399. Eighth line, after "Balkans!", insert footnote number 2.

Footnotes. Discard old footnotes under Chapter 19 and insert the following:

Chapter 19

1. Race Relations Law Reporter, Vol. 8 (1963), p. 380.

2. Goss v. Knoxville School Board, Race Relations Law Reporter, Vol. 8 (1963), p. 377.

3. Southern School News, September 1963, p. 2.

TEN YEARS OF Brown

Chapter 1

The decision which the Supreme Court handed down on May 17, 1954, outlawing segregation by race in public schools, was one of the very great milestones in the history of the United States. For our Negro minority, still residing preponderantly in that southeastern region which we call "the South," it was a pronouncement second in importance only to the Emancipation Proclamation, by which President Lincoln abolished slavery. In the evolution of the Great Republic it may well be remembered as "the point at which the South cleared the last turning in the road to reunion...."[1] But first in the area which unforgettably was once the Confederate States of America it inaugurated a period of painful awakening, of impulsive resistance, and of tension and hysteria to the point in some instances of violent confulsion.

The race problem -- or the problem arising from the presence of Negroes, in the proportion earlier of as much as one-fifth, and now about one-tenth, of the country's population -- has been for a century and a quarter the most disruptive domestic problem with which our statesmen and our people have had to deal. It fired the controversy which tore the nation asunder from 1861 to 1865. In the defeated South after the Civil War it dominated a generation of confusion and unrest. In that prostrate region three million illiterate Negroes had been suddenly separated both from the slaveholder's dominion and from his provisinn for their daily bread, and had

been thrust incongruously even into the political arena. As the Nineteenth Century drew to a close and the Twentieth Century began, an unwholesome stability was achieved by depriving nearly all Negroes, through ingenious devices, of the franchise -- and by separating the race from the mainstream of community life. The latter process and the regime which it established were called segregation.

It is appropriate to note here a common error with respect to the supposed longevity of this system of separation of the races. Segregation so completely permeated Southern life in sixty years that many came to look upon it as an "institution" which had existed from time immemorial. When it came under attack, not a few even among publicists and politicians of stature referred to segregation as a part of "the mores of three hundred years." The historian C. Vann Woodward brought the facts of the matter to the attention of an often surprised public in 1955 in his "Strange Career of Jim Crow," but even at this date it is widely true that "the national discussion over the question of how deeply rooted, how ineradicable and how amenable to change the segregation practices really are is being conducted against a background of faulty or inadequate historical information."

Book titles in ital

General segregation began only in the late Nineteenth Century. Subservience and subjection of the Negro to the white man were indeed centuries old, but not separation. Slavery was a very different relationship, and during an interval

of more than thirty years after the Civil War neither slavery nor segregation, in a general sense, existed. It is true that the few and inadequate public schools in the South were usually segregated. The meager facilities provided for the newly-freed Negroes of all ages who were eager for book-learning were almost always separate from the schools for whites. The Freedmen's Bureau was concerned solely with helping Negroes, and the more than 4,000 schools set up by it were, of course, for Negroes only. But segregation as the mold for a dual society and as the popular and long-sought "solution" of the race problem was invented later.

rework

It was in the 1890's that the segregation movement was born; it was near the end of the first decade of the twentieth century when its peak was reached. By then segregation had been extended, whether by law or by custom, to include hotels, restaurants, saloons, rest rooms, drinking fountains, libraries, churches, parks, hospitals, orphanages, prisons, asylums, all places of public assembly, all means of public transportation, nearly all fields of industrial employment, and ultimately funeral homes, morgues and cemeteries. Because the resources of the Negroes themselves and the facilities and opportunities left open to them were meager, segregation generally meant in effect exclusion. The schools provided for Negroes were still few and rudimentary in their offering; employment above the level of menial or unskilled labor was almost closed to them. Thus segregation came in a large measure to replace slavery as a means of keeping the Negro "in his place," -- which meant a subservient place in the life and economy of the South.

In a wave of racism at the turn of the century, (which was not confined to the South), segregation proceeded with general acquiescence; it was indeed accepted by the foremost Negro leader in the hope of securing by this accommodation the economic and educational opportunities of which his race stood in dire need. The Negro was again submerged. In the words of Harry S. Ashmore "the Southern Negro lapsed into the long twilight period which would continue until the New Deal years...."[2] An incipient voice of Negro protest rose, scarcely audible at first, and an interracial organization founded in 1909, known as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, though ineffectual for a decade or more, was to become by mid-century a powerful influence in national affairs. In the meantime a number of factors operated to increase respect for the Negro and to bring segregation into disfavor in the nation as a whole. Though still vastly inferior to the educational facilities for white youth, schools and colleges for Negroes had multiplied and improved, and despite the disadvantages under which he labored, the Negro had made significant progress. An increasing number of distinguished Negro intellectuals began to stand out in refutation of the theory of innate Negro incompetence. In the late 1920's the production of racist literature, which had flourished since the turn of the century, almost suddenly subsided, and the theory of biological racial inferiority began to be repudiated by scholars generally. Under a liberal national Administration in the 1930's, "quite abruptly and unaccountably -- or so it seemed to many Southern white people -- an avalanche of denunciation, criticism and

opprobrium descended upon the South from above the Mason and Dixon Line."[3] By the middle of the Twentieth Century segregation, though still tenaciously defended in the South, was frowned upon in most of the nation. Compulsory school segregation had been abolished in all but the seventeen Southern and border states, Kansas and a few scattered localities in three western states. Segregation in the Armed Forces had been ended by an order issued in 1948. The Negro vote had become a factor in national politics. The now more enlightened Negro masses were becoming acutely conscious of the incubus of segregation and Negro leaders were urging a militant stand against it in all of its forms. A presidential Committee on Civil Rights had reported in 1947:

> The separate-but-equal doctrine has failed in three important respects. First, it is inconsistent with the fundamental equalitarianism of the American way of life in that it marks groups with the brand of inferior status. Secondly, where it has been followed, the results have been separate but unequal facilities for minority peoples. Finally, it has kept people apart despite incontroversible evidence that an environment favorable to civil rights is fostered whenever groups are permitted to live and work together. There is no adequate defense of segregation.

It was at this stage in history that the Supreme Court confronted directly the question: Is segregation in public schools compatible with the ideals of democracy expressed in the Constitution of the United States? The Court answered with an unequivocal "No." The cases before it involved only public education, but the principle which it laid down in this pervasive and sensitive sphere would extend in time to a variety of public services and accommodations. The decision accomplished no immediate and sweeping transformation; indeed, the edict to end

segregation was not to be obeyed in all sections of the South for many years to come, even in the field of public education. Nevertheless, the great decision of May 17, 1954, sounded the death knell of segregation and opened the door at last for the assimilation of Negroes as full-fledged citizens of the Republic.

The Court ruled specifically that segregation in public schools violates this commandment of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution: "...No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privilege or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

It found that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" and hence deny to the minority race the "equal protection of the laws."

The Supreme Court had dealt with the race problem before. This 1954 pronouncement was one of three historic decisions, each of which was a milestone -- or at least a highway marker. In the advance toward enlightened interracial behavior the Dred Scott decision may be said to have pointed to the place from which our journey began. This decision was handed down in 1857 -- before the Fourteenth Amendment, which was adopted in 1868, and before Emancipation. It was savagely assailed in the anti-slavery North. It held that slaves were property, and that Congress could not set geographic limits to slavery. Looking back to

the 1780's, when the Constitution was adopted, the opinion gave this account of the attitude toward Negroes prevailing at that time:

> They had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the Negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit....

The United states had come a long way from that concept by 1896 and, not slavery, but only the device of segregation was at issue when the Supreme Court delivered its decision in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson. Still the Court said: "Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences.... If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them on the same plane." It sustained a Louisiana statute providing separate accommodations for white and colored persons in railway trains, provided the accommodations were physically equal. Thus it proclaimed what became known as the "separate-but-equal doctrine." Though the case involved directly only transportation facilities, the Court appeared to give incidental sanction to the separate-but-equal principle in education when it observed:

> Laws permitting, and even requiring (separation of the races) in places where they are liable to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other, and have been generally, if not universally, recognized as within the competency of the state legislatures

in the exercise of their police power. The most common instance of this is connected with the establishment of separate schools for white and colored children, which has been held a valid exercise of the legislative power even by the courts of states where the political rights of the colored race have been the ~~largest~~ longest and most earnestly enforced.

Seven justices concurred in this 1896 decision; one eloquently dissented. Mr. Justice John Marshall Harlan, a Southerner from Kentucky, with a clairvoyance which was to be vindicated by a unanimous Court in 1954, declared:

> In the view of the Constitution, in the eye of the law, there is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens. There is no caste system here. Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among its citizens.... In my opinion, the judgment this day rendered will, in time, prove to be as pernicious as the decision by this tribunal in the Dred Scott case.... What can more certainly arouse race hate, what more certainly create and perpetuate a feeling of distrust between these races than state enactments which in fact proceed on the ground that colored citizens are so inferior and degraded that they cannot be allowed to sit in public coaches occupied by white citizens...?
>
> We boast of the freedom enjoyed by our people above all other peoples. But it is difficult to reconcile that boast with a state of the law which, practically, puts the brand of servitude and degradation upon a large class of our fellow-citizens, our equals before the law. The thin disguise of "equal" accommodations for passengers in railroad coaches will not mislead anyone, nor atone for the wrong this day done....

Chapter 2

The separate-but-equal doctrine was eagerly embraced as a basis for Negro-white relationship; separate but equal provision for the two races became the declared policy of every Southern state. But the emphasis was entirely on "separate;" the history of the separate-but-equal doctrine is one of grotesque disregard of the "equal" end of the phrase.

The ideal of equal educational opportunity was a goal to be considered only after the needs of white children might have been met. The needs of Negroes were so neglected in the South during the next three decades that construction of Negro grade schools became a salient object of philanthropy. Several Northern foundations, notably the Julian Rosenwald Fund, contributed generously to this cause. At the completion of a Negro school in Elizabeth City County, Virginia, in 1930, the building of the 5,000th "Rosenwald school" was celebrated.[1] As late as 1933 more than 200 Southern counties with Negro populations of 12.5 per cent or more had no Negro high schools at all. After 1940 the South redoubled its efforts in the whole field of public education, and Negro children were given a larger share of the total outlay than ever before. By 1954 Negro school facilities had been brought close to the level of those for whites in several Southern states; but in others they were grossly inferior, and equality of educational opportunity was still far short of being achieved in the South as a whole.[2]

Many have speculated that had the "equal" requirement of the separate-but-equal doctrine been adhered to in good faith the question of segregation might not have come before the Supreme Court, at least not for many more years. It is indeed possible that if the Negroes had enjoyed the vastly better facilities and services which were needed to make their schools equal in those respects to schools for whites they would have been prepared to accept segregation for a longer period without complaint. On the other hand the more rapid cultural progress which such advantages would have made possible might have made the humiliation of segregation more poignantly felt. The question is academic now; but even before the 1954 decision was handed down, Southern leaders were seized with an impulse to hasten the expansion and improvement of Negro school facilities—in the hope, on the one hand, of presenting a stronger case to federal courts and, on the other, of dispelling the Negro urge for integration.

Lawyers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had prosecuted successful suits for equalization of school plant and teacher salaries in the South within the framework of segregation. The marked improvement in public schools for Negroes which followed World War II was due in large part to NAACP prodding. In 1950 the Association resolved to launch a broad attack in the federal courts upon segregation. Its general counsel Thurgood Marshall convened a series of conferences of lawyers who began to lay the groundwork for Supreme Court appeals. Aided by sociologists, psychologists and educators, both white and Negro, they prepared arguments based on the inequality

or noted Negro poet and playwright?

of separateness itself. Langston Hughes, a noted Negro lawyer high in NAACP councils, relates:

> It was unreasonable and unjust, they maintained, to expect Negro children to wait twenty, thirty or forty years for the Jim Crow (segregated) school to wither away. For it was not just the physical inadequacies and curriculum deficiencies of most Negro schools in the South that were in question. Marshall argued that the very fact of segregation itself caused undeniable personality damage and serious injury to the human personality subjected to such inequalities.[3]

To bring the issue before the Supreme Court a suit, or suits, were needed to be filed in lower courts, seeking the admission of individual Negro children on a non-segregated basis to public schools of specific communities where segregation was required. These suits would ultimately reach the high tribunal on appeal as "class actions," and a decision by the Supreme Court that denial of such admission was in violation of the Constitution would make segregation unlawful everywhere. Situations which could give rise to suits ~~would~~ were not be long in presenting themselves.

One of them was already developing in Clarendon County, South Carolina. Clarendon's Negro schools were inadequate and greatly inferior to its schools for white children. Negro parents of children attending the overcrowded Negro high school in the town of Summerton, had begun to meet and discuss their grievances in 1949. When a committee waited upon the local school board and got no satisfaction, an NAACP lawyer prepared a formal petition, which 107 parents and children signed, and filed it with the school board. Nothing came of this. In 1950 NAACP lawyers, now

prepared to challenge segregation itself, filed suit in the federal district court at Charleston to end segregation in the public schools of the Summerton school district of Clarendon County.

While this case was pending in the district court, Negro dissatisfaction with inferior school facilities in a Virginia county was expressed in a more spectacular fashion. On April 23, 1951, the students of Prince Edward County's inadequate Negro high school, 450 in number, went on strike. The Negro Parent-Teacher Association meeting two days later voted to support the students' efforts to obtain a new high school. But a NAACP attorney, addressing the meeting, pointed out that discrimination was not merely a matter of brick and mortar and announced that the NAACP was now seeking to end segregation itself. A team of NAACP lawyers took charge of the case and a petition was filed with the school board, requesting that it cease making distinction on the basis of race in considering applications for admission to the public schools. The striking students returned to their school, and the school board rejected the petition. On May 23, 1951, a similar petition was filed with the federal district court.

Three-judge federal district courts ruled similarly in the South Carolina and Virginia cases. (Three-judge courts are required when the constitutionality of state laws is in question.) The defendant school authorities were ordered to proceed without delay to equalize school facilities for white and Negro children, and the construction of the new schools

was in fact undertaken promptly in both communities. But segregation was upheld, and this issue was taken on appeal to the Supreme Court.

Those were the two cases that came to the Supreme Court from states of the onetime Southern Confederacy. They involved two of the communities in the South where racial segregation would be most difficult to bring to an end. The disparity between the school facilities for whites and those for Negroes was conspicuous in both counties, and Negroes comprised an exceptionally large proportion of the population of each: in Prince Edward Negroes were 45 per cent of the total, in Clarendon, over 70 per cent. The South Carolina case was additionally notable because of the action of J. Waties Waring, one of the panel of three federal district judges. Judge Waring, a native South Carolinian, who had already made himself a controversial figure in that state by his liberal attitude with respect to the rights of Negroes, dissented from the district court ruling that segregation was constitutional. He became the target of intense local abuse, his life was threatened, and his wife slandered. Shortly thereafter he retired from the bench and moved to New York.

A striking contrast was presented by another community -- this in a non-Southern, mid-western state -- from which another appeal testing the constitutionality of segregation was on its way to the Supreme Court. In Topeka, Kansas, the Negro plaintiffs conceded that school facilities and services provided for the two races were substantially equal; they challenged only the principle

of segregation, which was still practiced in the first six grades of the public schools. Segregation was not popular in Kansas. The state attorney general in undertaking to defend an 1867 Kansas statute leaving the question to local governmental units, had said: "We want it understood that we are not defending segregation;" and the Topeka board of education had permitted its attorney to help prepare the brief only on conditions that "the only issue to be argued will be the constitutionality of the Kansas law and not the moral rightness of segregation."[5] The NAACP brought in a battery of social scientists who testified that segregation imposed serious social and psychological handicaps upon the Negro children. The three-judge federal court considered itself bound by Supreme Court precedent and upheld segregation; but it made this significant observation:

> Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial (ly) integrated school system.

The Supreme Court was to regard this finding "well stated," and embody it by quotation in its own opinion.

In a case from Wilmington, Delaware, where unequal school facilities were complained of, appeal was taken to the U.S. Supreme Cout from a decision of the Delaware Supreme Court, which was in favor of the Negro plaintiffs. The Delaware tribunal, while

explicitly refraining from dealing with the question of segregation as such, had ordered Negro children admitted to white schools until such time as the Negro schools might be brought up to parity with those for white children. This case went to the Supreme Court by appeal on the part of the school authorities, who protested that the Delaware courts had not allowed a reasonable time for making the adjustment.

Each of the four cases described above raised the issue of public school segregation in relation to the prohibitions applicable to the states under the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. The four were heard and dealt with collectively. By long custom the name of the first in the list of plaintiffs in the first of the cases to reach the Supreme Court is given to the whole action. The name of Oliver Brown, who sought to have his eight-year-old daughter, Linda Carol Brown, admitted to a white school near her home, was by alphabetization, the first in the list of plaintiffs in the Topeka suit, and this was case No. 1 on the Supreme Court docket. The four cases were labeled Oliver Brown et al v. Board of Education of Topeka, and referred to informally as merely Brown. Thus the most important judicial decision of the century was to be known for all time as the Brown decision.

A fifth school segregation case before the Supreme Court, that of Bolling v. Sharpe. This case, which came from the District of Columbia was contested under the Fifth rather than the Fourteenth Amendment, since this school system operated under no state, but directly under the federal government. This

case was to be heard at the same time, but it received a separate ruling ending public school segregation.

The five cases were argued before the Supreme Court in December, 1952, and reargued one year later; the Court wanted the utmost deliberation to be given. A change of national Administrations occurred between the 1952 and 1953 hearings, and, because of the death of Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson, a change also in the highest judicial office. Earl Warren, governor of California, was appointed Chief Justice by President Eisenhower in time to preside over the 1953 reargument. The Court, which was to act unanimously, was strikingly representative of the nation. The Chief Justice, who would write the opinion, was a Republican; the associate justices, excepting Justice Harold Burton, of Ohio, a Republican friend whom Truman had appointed, were all from the Democratic Party. Three were from states requiring public school segregation: Justice Stanley Reed from Kentucky; Justice Tom Clark from Texas and Justice Hugo Black, a liberal from Alabama, in the Deep South. All the legal talent on both sides was of the highest order. Thurgood Marshall, heading a group of able Negro attorneys for the plaintiffs, proved himself a tough and brilliant lawyer. John W. Davis, a former ambassador to Great Britain and ~~Democratic~~ nominee of the Democratic Party ~~for President of the United States~~ in 1924, headed the group of state attorneys and lawyers defending segregation.

Both Democratic and Republican Administrations entered the case on behalf of the plaintiffs. First, President Truman's

attorney general, James P. McGranery, and, later, President Eisenhower's attorney general, Herbert Brownell, Jr., supported the argument that public school segregation should be declared unconstitutional. Attorney General McGranery introduced testimony also of the secretary of state, Dean Acheson, who wrote:

> As might be expected, Soviet spokesmen regularly exploit (racial discrimination) in propaganda against the United States, both within the United Nations and through radio broadcasts and the press, which reaches all corners of the world.... The segregation of school children on a racial basis is one of the practices in the United States which has been singled out for hostile foreign comment in the United Nations and elsewhere. Other peoples cannot understand how such a practice can exist in a country which professes to be a staunch supporter of freedom, justice and democracy. The sincerity of the United States in this respect will be judged by its deeds as well as by its words.

The NAACP lawyers now carried their well-rehearsed argument on the inequality of separateness to the highest tribunal. Psychologists and sociologists testified voluminously that available scientific evidence indicates no innate racial differences in intelligence, that segregation blocks communication and increases interracial tension, and that segregation has detrimental personality effects upon Negro children and impairs their ability to profit from available facilities of public education.

The Court was to refer in a footnote to its decision to a number of sociological texts, adding: "And see generally Myrdal, An American Dilemma." Critics would make much later of the Court's apparent reliance upon sociologists, and the distinguished Swedish authority would be widely execrated in the

South as a suspicious alien and probably a Communist. However, the extent to which the findings of sociologists were necessary to the disposition of the cases has been the subject of some debate among scholars. Professor Edmund Cahn holds that the decision turned on the "common sense" of the justices.

> So one speaks in terms of the most familiar and universally accepted standards of right and wrong when one remarks (1) that racial segregation under government auspices inevitably inflicts humilitation, and (2) that official humiliation of innocent, law-abiding citizens is psychologically injurious and morally evil. Mr. Justice Harlan and many other Americans with responsive consciences recognized these simple elementary propositions before, during, and after the rise of "separate but equal." For at least twenty years hardly any cultivated person has questioned that segregation is cruel to Negro school children. The cruelty is obvious and evident. Fortunately, it is so very obvious that the Justices of the Supreme Court could see it and act on it even after reading the labored attempts by plaintiffs' experts to demonstrate it "scientifically." [6]

Fifty eight years after Plessy, counsel for the defense argued that Virginia and South Carolina were at last on the way to fulfilling both ends of the separate-but-equal doctrine. Virginia's Attorney General Almond said: "It is our policy and our determination - and our people are enthusiastically in support of it - to equalize school facilities." [7] They warned that the elimination of segregation would destroy public school systems. Public schools, it was contended, involving minors present in school under state compulsion, were a different matter from institutions of higher learning, a field in which the Supreme Court had already in several recent cases rejected racial segregation. The wishes of parents had to be considered if schools were to enjoy the necessary public support. Colgate W. Darden, a former governor of Virginia, and then-president of the University of Virginia, testified that in his opinion the people would not support integrated education.

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Revision to be substituted for pages 18 & 19.

Regards.
Ben

I much appreciate your sending the situation with the N.Y. Catholic Interracial Council.

The Court invited the views of the litigants on the question of whether or not the Congress which submitted the Fourteenth Amendment and the state legislatures and conventions which approved it understood that it would abolish segregation in education. Counsel for the plaintiffs said the Fourteenth Amendment did clearly intend to abolish segregation in public schools; counsel for the defense argued eloquently that the amendment bore no such intent. The brief submitted on behalf of the United States Attorney General found the evidence inconclusive with reference to schools, but held that the primary purpose of the Amendment was to secure for Negroes full and complete equality before the law and to abolish all legal distinctions based on race or color.

The Court also raised the question of whether Congress or the Supreme Court had the power under the Amendment to move against public school segregation today. The plaintiffs contended that the Court does have such power, and the briefs submitted by two United States attorneys general concurred. The defendants insisted that the state legislatures are the proper bodies to determine the racial pattern of education; they said the Court had recognized this since the Plessy decision of 1896.

Beyond these basic arguments, the Court queried the attorneys on the question of whether, in the event, desegregation should be ordered, a gradual transition ought to be permitted, and, if so, in what manner. Gradualism appealed to none of the litigants. Attorneys for the plaintiffs said they had examined "all of the plans for gradual adjustment which we could find" and concluded that "none would be effective." John W. Davis said, "....we find nothing here on which the Court could formulate a decree, nor do we think the Court below has any power to formulate a decree, reciting in what manner these schools are to be altered at all, and what course South Carolina shall take concerning it." 8

It was nearly a year and a half after the first arguments were heard when the opinion was finally delivered. No decision in generations had been so long pondered by the Court and so anxiously awaited by so many people.

Ten years ago today, as this book makes its appearance, on May 17, 1954, at the stroke of noon, the nine justices of the Supreme Court filed gravely into the courtroom. The audience rose, the Court crier intoned: "The Honorable Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. May God save the United States and this Honorable Court!" Opening formalities and the disposition of minor cases consumed nearly an hour. A brief pause ensued, then the

South as a suspicious alien and probably a Communist. However, the extent to which the findings of sociologists were necessary to the disposition of the cases has been the subject of some debate among scholars. Professor Edmund Cahn holds that the decision turned on the "common sense" of the justices.

> So one speaks in terms of the most familiar and universally accepted standards of right and wrong when one remarks (1) that racial segregation under government auspices inevitably inflicts humiliation, and (2) that official humiliation of innocent, law-abiding citizens is psychologically injurious and morally evil. Mr. Justice Harlan and many other Americans with responsive consciences recognized these simple elementary propositions before, during, and after the rise of "separate but equal." For at least twenty years hardly any cultivated person has questioned that segregation is cruel to Negro school children. The cruelty is obvious and evident. Fortunately, it is so very obvious that the Justices of the Supreme Court could see it and act on it even after reading the labored attempts by plaintiffs' experts to demonstrate it "scientifically." [6]

Defense counsel pointed to school equalization programs under way, and insisted that the elimination of segregation would destroy public school systems. Public schools, it was contended, involving minors present in school under state compulsion, were a different matter from institutions of higher learning, a field in which the Supreme Court had already in several recent cases rejected racial segregation. The wishes of parents had to be considered if schools were to enjoy the necessary public support. Colgate W. Darden, a former governor of Virginia, testified that in his opinion the people would not support integrated education.

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Chief Justice read the great decision. His voice and words were calm and deliberate. It was not a long document, and not as majestically worded as might have befitted its place in history.

The Court reviewed briefly the history of the Fourteenth Amendment, which it found "inconclusive... with respect to segregated schools," and it reviewed the vast developments of public education since the Amendment's adoption:

"In approaching this problem," the opinion said, "we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when Plessy v. Ferguson was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws."

. . . .

"Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal opportunities? We believe that it does."

The Court recalled that the Plessy decision involved "not education but transportation" and noted that its validity as a precedent in public education had already been questioned by the Court in decisions rejecting segregation in universities. Now the Court defined a new precedent -- and marked the end of an era:

"...We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment."

In a second opinion, dealing with the District of Columbia case, the Court said, "...it would be unthinkable that the same Constitution would impose a lesser duty on the federal government." It found that "racial segregation in the District of Columbia is a denial of the due process of law guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution."

The Court did not at this time issue the decree putting its rulings into effect, but scheduled further argument on the mechanics of effecting transition to integrated schools.

Chapter 3

The encyclopedic New York Times rushed to completion a feat rare in the annals of journalism. It produced on the very next morning, a 60-page paper with seven broad pages of information related to the great decision. Research had been done earlier in the expectation that the ruling would be handed down "on a Monday morning in May..." To quote that newspaper's own proud account:

> In all, nearly 50 Times staff members were involved in the operation. And by the time the decision was actually handed down, much of what they wrote was already in type.
>
> Monday, when the story broke, this vast news-gathering organization moved into high gear again. The Washington Bureau filed thousands of words on the ruling. Reporters and correspondents in the affected areas interviewed government and education officials for reaction. From New York, law professors, historians, sociologists, other experts were interviewed by phone. Editors tied the whole thing together.

The "Voice of America" began broadcasting the news to the world within one hour after the reading of the decision ended. It continued broadcasting it, in 34 languages, throughout the day and the night and the following day. The news was carried on the front pages of ~~most~~ many European newspapers.

Editorial reaction was cautious or aggrieved in the South but in the rest of the United States the dominant editorial note was one of resounding applause. Applause came also from the European press. The London News Chronicle headlined its story: "A BLACK STAIN WIPED OUT." The Manchester Guardian expressed "immense relief" at America's "having put behind

what has long been its worst reproach." Le Monde in Paris hailed the decision as a "victory of justice over race prejudice," and the Zurich Neue Zeitung called it "an impressive example of the vitality of American democracy."

Knowledgeable European journalistst also pointed out, as did most American observers, that trouble lay ahead. Southern editors, few of whom were yet aroused to frank hostility, invariably stressed the difficulty of complying with the Supreme Court ruling in the near future.

The Arkansas Gazette in Little Rock said:

> The level of discussion has now descended to the crossroads hamlet and the participants are not learned educators, but the parents of Negro children and the white laymen who sit on local school boards.... In the end the new pattern will have to be hammered out across the table in thousands of scattered school districts, and they will have to be shaped to accommodate not only the needs but the prejudices of whites and Negroes to whom these problems are not abstractions but the essence of their daily lives.

The reaction of the New Orleans Times Picayune was one of unmitigated pessimism. "In the course of efforts to preserve some of the lines of separation," that paper said, "the ensuing strife will probably react unfavorably on public school support and multiply the problems with which the schools are already faced." The Birmingham (Alabama) News said that it "deeply regrets the decision," and the Birmingham Post Herald said: "Acceptance of the decision does not mean that we are stopped from taking such honorable and legal steps as may be indicated to avoid the difficulties it presents to both races."

Many Southern editors at this stage urged a calm, constructive approach to the problems posed by the Supreme Court decision. Practically all major newspapers in North Carolina, and a number in Tennessee and Florida sounded this note. In Georgia, where abandonment of the public school system was being talked of, the preeminent Atlanta Constitution said: "Our best minds must be put to work, not to destroy, but to arrive at constructive conclusions." The Chattanooga (Tennessee) Times said: "Special sessions of legislatures, if called, will create more heat than light. ....The Times believes that most of the Southern states will meet this situation calmly." In Virginia papers discussed the problem of adjustment to the ruling with as yet no hint of rebellion. The Richmond Times-Dispatch felt that the Supreme Court would have been on sounder ground "if it had entered its decree yesterday in the five cases before it, and granted a specific number of years for compliance....," adding:

> It would have been desirable if the court had at the same time specified the abolition of segregation by stages or steps, with, say, 10 per cent eliminated the first year after the decrees became effective, 40 per cent more two years later, perhaps, and the remaining 50 per cent some years after that. In this way, all uncertainty as to the timing and method of the tremendous shift would have been eliminated at once.

Viewed in retrospect it is interesting to note that headlines in some newspapers in former Confederate states announced in an entirely matter-of-fact tone: CHANGE NOT IMMEDIATE. Two years later the same newspapers would regard it as a foregone conclusion that there would be no extensive change in the system of segregated schools in their states for long years to come.

In the border region between North and South, where school segregation also prevailed, the editorial comment was almost entirely constructive. The Baltimore Sun foresaw that "the implications will be painful to many Marylanders," but agreed with the Supreme Court "that segregation, however equal the physical facilities, does put the brand of inferiority upon Negroes." The Washington Evening Star said: "Concern over a dubious assumption of power by the Court... does not alter the fact that this decision finds much support in wisdom and fairness." The Washington Post rejoiced that the decision "affords all Americans an occasion for pride and gratification." The St. Louis Post-Dispatch acclaimed the decision as "a great and just act of judicial statesmanship," and the Wilmington (Delaware) Journal found it "based on a sound American principle."

In the remaining two-thirds of the nation, where compulsory school segregation was already a thing of the past, important newspapers applauded the decision with unwonted eloquence, as in the following editorial samples:

Hartford Courant: "This milestone in our history means that we still struggle successfully towards our own ideals."

Des Moines Register: "The United States Supreme Court has begun the erasure of one of democracy's blackest marks...."

Denver Post: "Such an opinion had to be reached eventually in a country founded on the belief that 'all men are created free and equal.'"

Minneapolis Morning Tribune: "The court's momentous decision will be welcomed and embraced by all who believe that the constitutional guarantee of equal rights means just that, and nothing less."

San Francisco Chronicle: "The majesty of the democratic idea that men are created equal and are entitled to the equal protection of the laws shines through yesterday's unanimous decision...."

New York Times: "The highest court in the land, the guardian of our national conscience, has reaffirmed its faith -- and the undying American faith -- in the equality of all men and all children before the law."

Detroit Free Press: "Those citizens of the United States who cherish the belief that the American concept of democracy is a vital, living, organic philosophy, slowly but inexorably advancing toward the ideals of the founders of this Union, will be heartened by the unanimous opinion of the Supreme Court in the historic school segregation case."

Comment was elicited from many politicians and officials in the seventeen states, whose completely segregated public schools had been declared unlawful. Here we discern a sharp line in the pattern of reactions between the states which once had seceded from the Union and their immediate neighbors to the North. In the latter the comment of important officials was

generally like that of Governor Phil M. Donnelly of Missouri, who said: "The citizens of Missouri are law-abiding people and I am confident that they will endeavor to uphold the Constitution of the United States, which is the supreme law of the land"[1] -- or that of Governor Theodore R. McKeldin of Maryland: "I am sure our citizens and officials will accept readily the Supreme Court's interpretation of the fundamental law."[1]

In the onetime Confederate South no politician of stature expressed approval of the decision; all stressed the enormous difficulty, if not the impossibility, of complying with it; and some vociferously denounced it. Louisiana's two Senators were among the more conciliatory spokesmen. Senator Allen J. Ellender said: "I don't want to criticize the Supreme Court. It (the ruling) is bound to have a very great effect until we we readjust to it." [2] Senator Russell Long said: "Although I completely disagree with the decision, my oath of office requires me to accept it as the law." Senator Long urged "all Southern officials to avoid any sort of rash or hasty action."[2] The liberal Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee said: "While we may not agree with the decision, we must not let this disrupt our public school system. We must not let this result in bitter strife."[2]

But Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia called the decision "a flagrant abuse of judicial power,"[2] and Senator Burnet R. Maybank of South Carolina said it was "a shameful political rather than a judicial decision." [2] Senator James

O. Eastland of Mississippi declared bluntly: "The South w. not abide by, or obey, this legislative decision by a politi. cal court."[2]

Ironically, the most constructive comment came from officials of Virginia, the state which was destined to lead the South upon an adventure called "massive resistance." In an ephemeral phase of loyal resignation, Virginia's Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., expressed confidence "that Virginia will approach the question realistically and endeavor to work out some rational adjustment."[2] Governor Thomas B. Stanley, who in a matter of weeks was to turn to defiance, promised to "call together as quickly as practicable representatives of both state and local governments to consider the matter and work toward a plan which will be acceptable to our citizens and in keeping with the edict of the court."[2]

Prophetic of the attitude which was soon to dominate Virginia, however, was the comment of that state's powerful Senator Harry F. Byrd, who called the court's ruling the "most serious blow that has been struck against the rights of the states" and said: "One of the cruel results arising out of the 'about-face' of the Supreme Court is that the Southern states, accepting the validity of the previous decisions, have in recent years expended hundreds of millions of dollars for the construction of new Negro school facilities...."[2]

The most violent reaction came from Georgia, whose governor, Herman Talmadge, had been obsessed with the possibility

of such a decision for several years and had already expr fierce opposition. Governor Talmadge quoted a remark attrib to President Jackson after a fiercely disputed Supreme Court sion of an earlier day: "John Marshall made that decision. Le let him enforce it!" [3] Lieutenant Governor Marvin Griffin, who was soon to succeed to the Georgia governorship, smelled "meddlers, demagogues, racebaiters and Communists."[1]

The governor of South Carolina, now 75 years of age, looked back upon a career of service to the Republic matched by few living Americans. During the Second World War, James Francis Byrnes, as first Director of Economic Stabilization and, later, Director of War Mobilization, was considered by many the most powerful individual in the nation next to President Roosevelt himself. Under President Truman he was for eighteen crucial months secretary of state. Earlier he had served long in the Congress, as a member of the House of Representatives and as a Senator. Between his identifications with the legislative and executive branches he had served in the judicial as an associate justice of the Supreme Court.

The aging statesman was profoundly saddened when the high tribunal delivered its decision. As governor of South Carolina he had launched an unprecedented program of improvements in Negro schools. In his inaugural address on January 16, 1951, he had said: "It is our duty to provide for the races substant equality in school facilities. We should do it because it is right. For me that is sufficient reason."[4]

He had early exerted himself to avert the anti-segregation ruling. It was he who engaged Davis, whom he regarded as "the ablest constitutional lawyer in the United States," to defend the cause of segregation. When the national Administrations changed between Supreme Court hearings, he recalls in his autobiographic "All in One Lifetime," Byrnes "expressed to President Eisenhower the hope that he would not feel bound by the position taken by the Democratic Administration." Before the Supreme Court hearings began, Byrnes had sounded this warning:

> Should the Supreme Court decide this case against our position, we will face a serious problem. Of only one thing can we be certain. South Carolina will not now, nor for some years to come, mix white and colored children in our schools.... If the Court changes what is now the law of the land, we will, if it is possible, live within the law, preserve the public school system, and at the same time maintain segregation. If that is not possible, reluctantly we will abandon the public school system. [2]

Now Byrnes said he was "shocked that the court has reversed itself," but he added: "I earnestly urge all of our people, white and colored, to exercise restraint and preserve order.[5]

Chapter 4

While recalcitrance was thus foreshadowed in the states of the onetime Southern Confederacy, in the segregation states outside of that region, an atmosphere conducive to compliance with the Supreme Court decision prevailed. In the four states which did not require school segregation but permitted local governmental units to practice it, segregation was already on the wane when the decision was handed down. The proportion of Negroes to the total population in these states was small, from .07 per cent in Wyoming to 3.8 per cent in Kansas. In Wyoming public school segregation had practically ended, and in New Mexico the last three communities with segregated schools now integrated them forthwith. Arizona entered the final phase of a desegregation program which began in 1953 and was to be completed in 1955. In Kansas the remnants of school segregation in ten cities were eliminated at once or scheduled for elimination the following year; in Topeka the school board in September, 1953 -- eight months before the Supreme Court acted -- had adopted a desegregation program to be completed in 1955.

In the six border states and in the nation's capital public schools were completely segregated when the Brown decision was handed down. Here also Negroes were more numerous. In the District of Columbia they comprised 35 per cent of the total population. The border states, Oklahoma, Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland and Delaware also had substantial percentages of Negroes, though still generally less than the states of the former Confederacy. (The only

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exceptions were Maryland and Delaware, which had larger percentages of Negroes than Texas with 13 per cent.) Oklahoma lay the farthest south geographically, but Oklahoma had been a state for less than half a century and had had only faint Civil War traditions as a territory. The other four had been slave states, and they looked back to a time when their citizens were divided in their sympathies between the Confederacy and the Union; Kentucky's identification with the South was celebrated in song and story. But in the middle of the Twentieth Century, these states were firmly integrated in their economies and in their philosophy and loyalties in the mainstream of the nation. Race prejudice was still deeply rooted in some sections, but state leadership and most community leadership in this region placed themselves promptly on the side of compliance with the law of the land.

In Oklahoma one school district was integrated in 1954, but otherwise in that state and in Kentucky the beginning of desegregation was deferred pending the Supreme Court's final ruling. In Missouri some scattered districts were desegregated immediately without disorder; the city of St. Louis announced a desegregation program in June which was to go into effect the following February. In West Virginia schools were completely integrated in a dozen counties and desegregation was begun in thirteen more. In Washington, D.C. and Baltimore, Maryland, something like complete desegregation was promptly carried out -- attended by only minor street demonstrations of protest. Approximately 60,000 of Washington's

100,000 pupils were colored -- a higher percentage of Negro children than in any other city even in the South -- and, added to the difficulty of interracial mingling, two completely separate school systems had to be knit together; but by November, 74,447 Washington pupils were attending 123 integrated public schools. In Baltimore the school board followed a simple plan, made possible by removing the racial restriction from its unusual pupil assignment system and allowing children to go to the schools of their choice; only 1,376 of the city's 55,331 Negro pupils chose the first year to enter previously all-white schools. (Half a dozen white pupils chose to enter previously all-Negro schools.) In Delaware, the city of Wilmington, commencing a three-stage operation, integrated its elementary schools in complete tranquility, though trouble developed in the rural, south Delaware community of Milford. Outside of this small section of Delaware, the flurries of public disorder which attended these desegregation starts were mild and shortlived.

In Milford semi-violent hostility succeeded temporarily in causing local officials to close public schools and suspend a desegregation order. Incidentally, the angry rallies of white citizens in Milford, numbering up to 4,000, bore early witness to the inflammatory potential of the professional racist agitator -- in this case one Bryant Bowles, who would continue to plague Delaware and carry his ~~malignant~~ disturbing message farther south during coming months.

In the region of the one-time Southern Confederacy the response to the ruling was one of defiance rather than compliance. Eighteen Negro pupils were admitted to formerly

all-white schools in west Arkansas, and it was later revealed that the races had been quietly mixed in one west Texas school district; but otherwise no school desegregation took place in 1954. The mild first reaction to the decision in these eleven states was followed by steadily rising hostility; governors and state legislators busied themselves with plans for evasion of the order, and private organizations to stimulate popular resistance came into being.

North Carolina gave early evidence of that state's relatively temperate approach to the desegregation problem. School boards in several cities studied "ways and means of complying with the decision;" the chairman of one of them, D. E. Hudgins, in Greensboro, said publicly: "We must not fight, or attempt to circumvent, this decision."[1] Elsewhere in the South, the school boards of Nashville, Chattanooga, Arlington, Norfolk and Little Rock issued statements which contemplated compliance with the ruling. North Carolina's Governor Umstead, who had discouraged "rash statements or the proposal of impossible schemes,"[1] died on November 7 and was succeeded by Lieutenant Governor Luther Hartwell Hodges. Governor Hodges, and LeRoy Collins, who was elected in November to take office in January, 1955, as governor of Florida, were to share with Governor Frank G. Clement of Tennessee the reputation of being "moderate Southern governors." Governor Clement studied plans for gradual compliance and reminded his state that the ruling was "handed down by the judicial body which we, the American people, under our Constitution and law recognize as supreme in matters of interpreting the Constitution."[2]

But the Louisiana legislature, which was in session at the time the decision was handed down, censured the Supreme Court for "its usurpation of power."[3] A Texas Democratic convention declared the Supreme Court's decision an "unwarranted invasion" of state rights,[4] and Griffin was nominated for governor of Georgia on the pledge: "Come hell or high water, races will not be mixed in Georgia schools."[5] In Virginia, Governor Stanley abandoned his initial appeal for rational adjustment after a few weeks and signaled that state's turn toward resistance with the announcement: "I shall use every legal means at my command to continue segregated schools...."[6] In November, the voters of Louisiana and Georgia approved amendments to their state constitutions, in the former case, to permit the state to use its police powers to maintain segregated schools, and, in the latter, to permit the operation of a "private school" system, supported by tuition grants of public funds, in the event the legislature should see fit to close public schools. In December, Mississippians voted to give the legislature authority to close public schools rather than submit to their desegregation. It was the first trickle of a flood of constitutional amendments and legislative enactments in which Southern hostility and recalcitrance would express themselves during the next five years.

In the weeks before the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling, a group of Southern newspaper editors and educators who saw the need for comprehensive and unbiased information on the

developing crisis in the South constituted themselves the board of directors of a "Southern Education Reporting Service." Under the sponsorship of the Fund for the Advancement of Education, this organization opened an office in Nashville, Tennessee, and began preparation for the issuance of the monthly Southern School News, the first issue of which appeared on September 3. The highly responsible reporting of this journal, which took no position itself on the Supreme Court decision or the desegregation question, was to prove invaluable to school administrators, public officials and all students of the problem during coming months and years.

Chapter 5

After the Supreme Court declared public school integration in 1954, as we have noted, it refrained from issuing a decree, but asked instead for another round of briefs and arguments on the precise issue of implementation. Fully aware of the explosive nature of the problem and anxious to be reasonable and to move cautiously, the Court invited the Department of Justice, the attorneys for the Negro plaintiffs, the lawyers for the school boards in the five cases immediately before the Court, and the attorneys general of all states requiring or permitting segregation to submit briefs and join the discussion. Specifically, the lawyers were to address themselves to the two questions of whether immediate desegregation should be ordered; or, in case

gradual compliance should be allowed, whether the Supreme Court should itself formulate detailed decrees or remand the cases to the district judges with directions; and in the latter case, what directions should be given the district judges.

Briefs were submitted in November, 1954, but the oral argument originally scheduled for the following December was postponed until April, 1955. Justice Robert H. Jackson had died in October and his successor's appointment was not confirmed until March, 1955. The new member was John Marshall Harlan, whose grandfather half a century earlier had written the famous dissent in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson.

Thurgood Marshall again led a battery of lawyers from the NAACP on behalf of the Negro plaintiffs; the five localities which were parties to the suit were represented and, additionally, Florida, North Carolina, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Maryland and Texas sent lawyers to advise the Court. Attorney General Brownell submitted a brief and Solicitor General Simon E. Sobeloff represented the Eisenhower Administration in the oral argument.

From the beginning it was apparent that the Supreme Court would not order immediate desegregation. Marshall urged that desegregation be ordered by a fixed date, either the following September, or September, 1956. Brownell and Sobeloff agreed with the Southerners that the cases should be remanded to the district courts, but urged that district judges be directed to require school authorities to submit school integration plans within 90 days (one grade-a-year was indicated as an acceptable schedule); if no satisfactory

plan were submitted, district judges should be instructed to order immediate desegregation. The Southern lawyers urged that maximum discretion ~~should~~ be allowed district judges in permitting gradual adjustment, very gradual indeed.

Many observers have contended that an order requiring immediate, overall elimination of race discrimination in the assignment of pupils to public schools would have resulted in a quicker and easier transition to the new order. It has been abundantly demonstrated since that public school desegregation is rarely as difficult as it is expected to be; the anticipation is far more disturbing than the reality. A quick desegregation operation is like a tooth-pulling. It might have been accomplished in many localities before resistance had hardened and it might have forestalled some organized harassment. In large Southern cities with uniformly good public schools, efficient law enforcement and a more sophisticated populace, the miracle of immediate desegregation might indeed have been accomplished. If local authorities had grasped this fact and had proceeded simply as a constitutional duty, the transition in the South would have been immediately accelerated.

But among persons familiar with the Southern scene, including even ~~many of~~ the most liberally disposed, few ~~rarely~~ conceive that an order for immediate and general desegregation would have been practicable. In many areas desegregation would have meant the enrollment of small contingents of white pupils in predominantly Negro schools. Often in the poorer localities

it would have meant the transfer of white pupils from good or comfortable schools to the pitifully inadequate schools which had been provided for Negroes -- a step which, however just, would have been virtually impossible to accomplish. In rural Southern counties, too, the schools are centers of social life to a greater degree than elsewhere in the nation. If we add to these circumstances the intense and pervasive race prejudice, which local officials in these areas generally shared, we are bound to conclude that a sweeping, overnight transition would have been impossible.

The painful delay in ensuing years in bringing public school segregation in the South to an end must be traced to causes other than the judgment of the Supreme Court on this point. The Court decided in favor of gradualism and maximum consideration for the diversity of local situations: it left the formulation of specific decrees to district courts, and in remanding the cases to them on May 31, 1955, in a 900-word opinion -- again unanimous -- it laid down these guidelines:

> While giving weight to these public and private considerations, the courts will require that the defendants make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with our May 17, 1954, ruling. Once such a start has been made, the courts may find that additional time is necessary to carry out the ruling in an effective manner. The burden rests upon the defendants to establish that such time is necessary in the public interest and is consistent with good faith compliance at the earliest practicable date. To that end, the courts may consider problems related to administration, arising from the physical condition of the school plant, the school transportation system, personnel, revision of school districts and attendance areas into compact units to achieve a system of determining admission to the public schools on a nonracial basis, and revision of local

> laws and regulations which may be necessary in solving the foregoing problems. They will also consider the adequacy of any plans the defendants may propose to meet these problems and to effectuate a transition to a racially nondiscriminatory school system. During this period of transition, the courts will retain jurisdiction of these cases.

In accordance with the foregoing, district courts were required to enter the "necessary and proper" orders to end public school segregation "with all deliberate speed." The phrase "with all deliberate speed," strange at first to the general public became a famous and much debated term for the tempo prescribed for school desegregation.

The South on the whole reacted to this second ruling with a feeling of relief. The Court's final ruling was, as the New Orleans Times-Picayune observed "pretty much what the Southern attorneys general had asked for." Some newspapers were moved to excessive optimism like the Tampa Tribune, which said: "The Court's wisdom, we think, will dissipate the thunderhead of turmoil and violence which had been gathering in Southern skies since the court held school segregation unconstitutional a year ago...."

Political leaders in the onetime Confederate South also expressed momentarily a degree of relief. Lieutenant Governor Ernest Vandiver of Georgia approximated the feeling of most when he said: "I think the Supreme Court in some small measure attempted to correct an obnoxious decision."[7] The text of the Court's ruling was read as the bulletins came over teletypes to both houses of the Florida legislature, which

was then in session, and was greeted with cheers. The wave of hostility and resistance in the South, which had been steadily rising for a year, came to a pause. But the period of hiatus in that trend was to be measured in weeks.

In September schools opened again with hardly any change in the rule of segregation in this region. In the western part of Texas, an area with few Negro inhabitants, and resembling the border states with respect to this problem, 65 school districts did remove racial restrictions in public school enrollment. In Arkansas one more school district, Hoxie, after an on-and-off period amid some local disorder, integrated 25 Negro children in formerly all-white schools. In the once highly secret "Atomic Bomb City" of Oak Ridge, Tennessee, 85 Negro pupils were integrated among 2,526 white students in federally-operated junior and senior high schools. These were the only departures from the system of segregated public schools in the former Confederate South; in eight states no Negro child was admitted in 1955 to any public school with white children.

In Prince Edward County, Virginia, an incident occurred which was grimly prophetic of events to come, not only in that county but in a wider area. May 31, 1955, the day of the Supreme Court's ruling, was the last day under Virginia law for the adoption of county budgets, and the Prince Edward governing board ~~of that county~~ met the same evening to take action on school appropriations for the coming year. Prince Edward County was one of the five localities directly under the Supreme Court order.

Fearing that desegregation would be immediately enforced several hundred angry white citizens appeared before the board to urge that the county give up public schools. The board voted unanimously to cut off all funds for school operation. At a mass meeting on June 7, attended by some 1,300 citizens an organization was formed and a fund-raising campaign was launched with a view to providing private schools for the county's white children. A few weeks later, however, upon the advice of state authorities and being convinced that desegregation was not imminent, the board reconsidered the matter and resumed public school appropriations.

Ringing out sharply in the Southern press at this juncture was a belligerent editorial in the Richmond News Leader. It is time for us to become acquainted with the remarkable editor of this paper, James Jackson Kilpatrick, Jr. "Jack" Kilpatrick, a native of Oklahoma, at 31 years of age had succeeded Douglas Southall Freeman in the News Leader's editorial chair in 1951. A ~~brilliant~~ talented editorial craftsman and a militant bellweather of the Southern temper, Kilpatrick ~~at this period~~ did probably more to stimulate resistance ~~in the South~~ at this than any other single writer. The News Leader's first reaction to the May, 1954, decision had been to call for the formulation of "a proposal that would win the Supreme Court's approval," suggesting: "If the Court were to fix, say, a ten-year period, and permit the states to integrate 10 per cent of their schools a year... a solution might

be found." Because the News Leader editorial of June 1, 1955, reflected a mood which soon would be widely prevalent in the former Confederate South, it is appropriate to quote extensively from it here:

> In May of 1954, that inept fraternity of politicians and professors known as the United States Supreme Court chose to throw away the established law. These nine men repudiated the Constitution, spit upon the tenth amendment, and rewrote the fundamental law of this land to suit their own gauzy concepts of sociology. If it be said now that the South is flouting the law, let it be said to the high court, You taught us how.
>
> From the moment that abominable decision was handed down, two broad courses only were available to the South. One was to defy the court openly and notoriously; the other was to accept the court's decision and combat it by legal means. To defy the court openly would be to enter upon anarchy; the logical end would be a second attempt at secession from the Union. And though the idea is not without merit, it is impossible of execution. We tried that once before.
>
> To acknowledge the court's authority does not mean that the South is helpless. It is not to abandon hope. Rather, it is to enter upon a long course of lawful resistance; it is to take lawful advantage of every moment of the law's delays; it is to seek at at the polls and in the halls of legislative bodies every possible lawful means to overcome or circumvent the court's requirements. Litigate? Let us pledge ourselves to litigate this thing for 50 years. If one remedial law is ruled invalid, then let us try another; and if the second is ruled invalid, then let us enact a third...
>
> When the court proposes that its social revolution be imposed upon the South "as soon as practicable," there are those of us who would respond that "as soon as practicable" means never at all.

Chapter 6

The burgeoning clash between local attachment to segregation and state rights and the national will would

produce for the region of the onetime Southern Confederacy an adventure and an experience peculiarly its own. Not for generations had the line which marked the outer boundary of the block of states which once had seceded from the Union been so sharply drawn.

We cross that line here to observe the response to the Supreme Court's ruling in another broad region where public school segregation had been compulsory hitherto. The border states, which made more progress in school desegregation in three years than the former Confederate states would do in ten, did not accomplish it without scattered incidents of disorderly resistance, some of them prolonged, and one alarming outbreak of violence. But save for small enclaves of persistent Southern heritage -- the eastern counties of West Virginia, the "Boot Heel" of Missouri, "Little Dixie" in Oklahoma, Maryland's Eastern Shore and sections of southwestern Kentucky and southern Delaware -- these states had outlived the agrarian past which linked them with the South. Leadership here moved generally in the opposite direction from the course which leadership was taking in the onetime Secession states. Governors, attorneys general, and state boards of education voiced acceptance of the Supreme Court decision and pledged their best efforts to bring about orderly compliance with it. While legislatures in the states farther south were taking measures to penalize any move toward school desegregation, legislation enacted in Oklahoma provided financial incentives to speed the closing

of "inefficient" Negro schools and the transfer of their enrollment to mixed schools. Also in this region the clergy, civic clubs and the press cooperated in preparing the public for the change.

Kentucky is the border state which we have most hesitation in separating from the "South" in this study. In terms of fried chicken, bourbon, mint juleps, Southern belles and the strains of "My Old Kentucky Home," Kentucky is still emphatically Southern. Indeed, during the first two years after the Brown decision, convulsions in two Kentucky localities suggested to many that that state might match the hostility of the eleven Secession states in the matter of school desegregation. The exemplary school desegregation operation in Louisville was the more striking on that account. Benjamin Fine wrote in the New York Times of September 11, 1956, the day after Louisville schools were integrated.

> When the history of this proud Southern city is written, this day will undoubtedly go down as an historic landmark. Historians will note that a social revolution took place that may advance the cause of integration by generations. Even in the South, it was shown here, integration can be made to work without violence.

Nevertheless, the manner in which integration was accepted and the firmness and calm with which the transition proceeded here after 1956 would seem to justify our plan in this study of dealing with Kentucky as a border, rather than a Southern state. For convenience and clarity in the remainder of this volume we shall speak of "the South" with reference only to the eleven states of the onetime Southern

Confederacy. It may be added that, since Kentucky's initial disturbances, this has been a common practice: such expressions as "Southern resistance," "Southern turmoil," "Southern soul-searching," "Southern moderates" and "Southern extremists" in public discussion generally have had reference only to the eleven Secession states.

Negroes were present in the border states in proportion to the total population as follows: Delaware 14 per cent, Maryland, 17 per cent, West Virginia, 6 per cent, Kentucky, 7 per cent, Missouri, 8 per cent, and Oklahoma 7 per cent. All six of these states made substantial progress in complying with the Supreme Court ruling during 1955 and 1956. When schools opened in September 1956, desegregation was almost complete in Missouri and West Virginia; in the latter state public schools remained segregated in only two small counties on the Virginia border. In Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky desegregation was proceeding more slowly, though on a scale which would have looked revolutionary in any of the states farther south; in pockets of heavy Negro population and strong race prejudice in these three states the elimination of segregation would be a further process of protracted year-by-year advance.

In Missouri, the two principal cities, St. Louis and Kansas City, accounted for more than two-thirds of the Negroes, who comprised 8 per cent of the state's total population. Both cities completed desegregation in 1955, with

the exception of some minor adjustments which were completed in 1956. Rural and small town areas generally followed the example of these cities except in the cotton-growing "Boot Heel" of southeast Missouri. Even there, ten high schools had ended segregation by 1957, leaving only four high schools segregated in the entire state; by then some 60,000 of the state's 67,000 Negro pupils had been integrated with white children.

In Delaware, the city of Wilmington completed its desegregation program in 1956 without incident. By 1957, fourteen other biracial districts out of sixty-one in the rest of the state had followed suit. Bryant Bowles was in jail and the period of public disorder, agitation and harassment had ended. A federal court put an end to a gradul grade-a-year plan being followed in some districts and ordered complete desegregation in all grades and all schools beginning with the 1961-1962 term.

Apart from the prompt action in the City of Baltimore in 1954, Maryland waited for the Supreme Court order of 1955. The State Board of Education, which sets the policy for schools in the counties, indicated its acceptance of the ruling but said that "no program of integration can be put into effect until the decision of the Supreme Court becomes final..." Only eight of the state's twenty-three counties desegregated schools in 1955. Desegregation was slow in getting under way in rural counties of substantial Negro population, but within the next two years all but two counties with Negro residents adopted desegregation as a formal policy, to be realized at varying speeds.

Oklahoma as a whole moved swiftly after the Supreme Court's 1955 ruling: of 261 school districts having Negro pupils, 136 were desegregated in 1955 and 38 more the following year; but the southeastern corner of that state -- "Little Dixie" -- which has the heaviest concentration of Negro population, settled down to a long, slow transition.

The violence which flared in Kentucky was ~~anomalous~~ in several respects, unprovoked. Sturgis and Clay are two small coal and farming communities of about 3,000 and 2,000 inhabitants respectively in the Southwestern section, where Negroes represent about 10 per cent of the total population. The Union County Board of Education, without announcing any general desegregation plan, decided rather abruptly in the summer of 1956 to admit nine Negro children to the white school at Sturgis instead of transporting them to a Negro school at Morganfield eleven miles away. The Negroes registered without incident on August 11, but tension rose as the news circulated through the community and, when they came for the first regular day of class, they were turned back by approximately 500 whites who had surrounded the school. The school superintendent addressed the demonstrators and the crowd dispersed. The next day it came back, but the Negro pupils did not appear; their parents had agreed to send them to Morganfield in return for assurance that schools would be desegregated in 1957. At this point, however, State Adjutant General J. J. B. Williams visited Sturgis and, over

the objections of the mayor and school officials, decided that troops of the National Guard were needed. Early on the morning of September 6 two hundred guardsmen of the 240th tank battalion rolled into Sturgis. In this new situation the Negro parents tried again to send their children to the local white school. Guardsmen with fixed bayonets on their rifles escorted the Negro children through a mob of 800 heckling, shouting white people. Seven white men were arrested for disturbing the peace. Approximately 1,000 angry citizens gathered that night in a meeting promoted by a segregationist "White Citizens' Council," and attendance at the school the next day dropped 50 per cent.

The protest movement spread to Clay, eleven miles east of Sturgis in Webster County, where the board of education had decided to admit four Negro children to a white school. A crowd of 150, many of them women, stood in front of the school and turned the Negro children back; thirty men hovered at the bottom of the hill, blocking the road to keep the press away. National guardsmen were sent to Clay, and for a few days Negro children attended the schools in both towns under troop protection. National guardsmen and state police reached a total of 560 in the two communities. For a few days the Negroes attended the formerly all-white schools at Sturgis and Clay under troop protection. However, the state attorney general then ruled that, since no official plan for desegregation had been formulated, the Negro pupils had been improperly enrolled in both towns, and the integration attempt was abandoned for the 1956-1957 school term.

The turmoil at Sturgis and Clay came but a few weeks after worse disorders which had attended attempts to integrate a high school at Clinton, Tennessee. In the sensational headlines the two incidents were associated as reflecting turmoil in the South. But Kentucky's dis-association from Southern resistance was firmly established by the successful feat of desegregation performed a few days later in the metropolis of Louisville.

The desegregation accomplishments of Wilmington, Baltimore, Washington, D.C., Kansas City, St. Louis and Louisville demonstrated that peaceful elimination of school segregation in large cities of substantial Negro population was possible, ~~and~~ They were hailed as illuminating pilot operations, ~~for Southern cities.~~ ~~of these~~ St. Louis and Louisville were situated the farthest south, approximating the latitude of Charlottesville, Virginia, and they shared the administrative and -- to some extent -- the emotional problems of Southern cities.

St. Louis had a total population of 875,000 people of whom 175,000 or 20 per cent were Negroes; its public schools enrolled 91,000 pupils of whom 35 per cent were Negro. On June 22, 1954, five weeks after the original Brown decision was handed down, the board of education of St. Louis announced a program for desegregation of the schools under its control. The adjustment moved with dispatch: teacher colleges and special schools were desegregated in September, high schools and adult education classes

the following February, and elementary schools in September, 1955. Technical details of the operation are set forth in a comprehensive report of the St. Louis school board, issued in September, 1956, entitled "Desegregation of the St. Louis Public Schools." The story is also told in the brochure, "The St. Louis Story," by Bonita H. Valien. With regard to the highly significant cooperation of community leadership in the undertaking, the school board report relates:

> Both before and after the announcement of the plan in the local newspapers, a number of key organizations of the community volunteered their assistance and support. These included the press, the League of Women Voters, the city-wide councils of parent-teacher associations, the YMCA, the YWCA, the UAACP, the Urban League, the Metropolitan Church Federation, representatives of the Catholic Church, the Lutheran Society for Better Human Relations, the Jewish Community Council, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations and others.... The decision was reached that.... each organization so minded assume what responsibility it found appropriate and practicable to explain and interpret the plan....
> ...The League of Women Voters published a booklet describing the plan in detail... and recommending support. The Metropolitan Church Federation set aside a Sunday for prayer of thanksgiving for public school desegregation....

In both St. Louis and Louisville, the law enforcement authorities lent alert and systematic, but inconspicuous cooperation. In Louisville plainclothes men mingled with possible troublmakers and as many as 500 police were on call. But there was no case of disorder worthy of the name in either city.

The preparation for, and execution of, Louisville's school desegregation program is described in a very readable book entitled "The Louisville Story," by Omer Carmichael and Weldon James. Carmichael was the superintendent of schools

who engineered the transition, and James was associate editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal. Louisville, once a slave-trading center of the Old South, is now a growing, progressive city, with a population at the time of school desegregation of close to 400,000. Negroes comprised about 16 per cent of the total, but they accounted for nearly 27 per cent of the school enrollment.

The 1954 Supreme Court ruling was followed promptly by announcements on the part of Governor Lawrence W. Wetherby of Kentucky and the Louisville board of education of their determination to comply with it. On the day of the 1955 ruling Superintendent Carmichael said: "Now that the Court's decision has been made we can go to work and develop a plan." The plan proved to be one of intensive preparation, followed by complete desegregation at one stroke in September, 1956. A significant feature was a liberal transfer privilege in the first year of integration, to serve as an ice-breaker and a "safety valve." It was anticipated that many parents of both races, particularly in the beginning, would prefer to have their children attend schools in which their own race was not in a small minority. Eleven per cent of the pupils requested transfer, and they were nearly always accommodated. But after all the post-registration, 73.6 per cent of all pupils were in 55 mixed schools leaving only eleven all-white and nine all-Negro schools.

A small Citizens Council group offered minor harassment, wooden crosses were burned -- a threat symbol ~~inherited~~ adopted from the Ku Klux Klan -- and a handful picketed the school board office and City Hall for an hour or so, though none

of this activity engaged many participants or gave the police authorities much concern. (Local newspapers reported that several pickets were from outside Louisville, and that not one was a parent of a Louisville school child.) School officials received a few abusive letters and telephone calls.

Press, clergy and civic groups rallied behind the desegregation program much as they had done in St. Louis, but in Louisville the achievement owed most to the personality and leadership of superintendent Omer Carmichael, ~~the superintendent of schools~~. The latter had dedicated himself to this project with tact and skill and unwavering purpose since 1954. After the widely publicized event Carmichael found himself immediately in demand for national press interviews and public appearances on both lecture rostrums and television programs. He was invited to the White House for an hour's talk with President Eisenhower, who expressed the belief that the Louisville accomplishment set a pattern which could bring relief in other areas. Carmichael devoted much of his time from then on to expounding the science of peaceful school integration and witnessing to the possibility of accomplishing it, though in the South his message generally fell upon deaf ears, until he died in January, 1960.

A certain science of school desegregation was indeed developing. Both in the big city programs and in the experiences of small-town and rural school districts useful lessons were being learned. Valuable light was thrown on

the problems of preparing students, teachers and the public for the change, patterns of gradualism and provision for disparate levels of educational achievement on the part of newly integrated pupils.

Hopkins County, Kentucky, adopted a one-grade-a-year desegregation plan; under this the first grade was integrated at the start and other grades were to be integrated successively thereafter. When objections of NAACP attorneys were upheld by a federal district court, the county adopted a new plan for desegregation to be completed within a four-year period, but the one grade-a-year plan remained a popular device for effecting gradualism and it would be approved temporarily by federal courts in more difficult situations in the South. In Kanawha County, West Virginia, grades one, two and seven were integrated in 1956 and grades three, four, five and six the following year; a variety of other plans were used. Analyses of many of these plans were made under the auspices of the public education fraternity Phi Delta Kappa and were published in a book entitled "Action Patterns in School Desegregation."

Widespread fear had been expressed that the influx of Negro pupils would lower the standards of previously all-white schools. Negro children, coming from a backward economic and cultural environment as well as from generally inferior schools -- and retarded by segregation itself -- were on the average considerably behind white pupils of the same age in educational progress. This problem was met in Washington, D.C., St. Louis, Wilmington and other cities by variations

of what was known as the "track system," which was designed to prevent backward pupils of either race from retarding the progress of others. The somewhat famous track system which Washington began to implement in 1956 distributed 13,377 senior high school students -- 3,026 in a basic track, 5,575 in a general track, 3,884 in a college preparatory track and 892 in an honors track. Educators noted that the principle had been widely followed before desegregation and that the system was beneficial regardless of the race of the pupils involved.

All of these findings and the growing literature on the subject were eagerly studied by sociologists and educators -- outside of the South, where they could have been of greatest value. At this angry juncture in the region of the onetime Confederacy public school administrators or college professors who were known to be as much as studying the problem of of school desegregation exposed themselves to popular abuse and official reprisal. The science of school desegregation became, however, a part of the necessary homework of federal district judges; and, though furtively at first, it would gradually receive attention from Southern educators as the years went by.

While the meager school desegregation in most of the South for some years to come would follow litigation and orders

of federal courts, it is significant that desegregation in the border states was initiated in the main "voluntarily." That is, without specific court orders, but in spontaneous response to the constitutional mandate. A handful of lagging districts were prodded by federal court action, but during the first five years after the Brown decision over 600 school districts in this region were desegregated voluntarily.

With 1956 the period of crisis ~~for this region~~ here was over; the remaining transition to integrated public education would go quietly and uneventfully forward for most of the decade. Insofar as concerned the District of Columbia and the six border states, the Supreme Court decision posed problems of exceptional difficulty, but it met with no widespread resistance, offered only minor threats to public order and posed no challenge to the authority of the judicial or executive branches of the national government.

In the former Confederate South a different story was unfolding.

Chapter 7

For most white Southerners the essential jolt in the Brown decision was its simple recognition of the fact that Negroes are citizens of the United States. Though only a rare fanatic would admit it, there was in their instinctive attitude a remnant of the old feeling, which was echoed in the Dred Scott decision, that Negroes were not exactly people, but "beings of an inferior order." Many of the kindest white Southerners -- who "loved Negroes" -- more or less unconsciously shared this feeling. The Negro minority was not quite a part of the "public" in the South. If the "public" was invited to a concert or other function under white auspices, a Negro had no assurance that he would be admitted. The normal courtesy titles of "Mr.," "Mrs." and "Miss" were widely denied even to cultivated Negro ladies and gentlemen. When a Southern politician referred to "my people" to "the people" of this or that section he seldom considered the Negro element of the population as included in the designation. Negroes might be "Southern Negroes," but a "Southerner" in common parlance was emphatically a white person.

This concept had now been demolished by the highest tribunal in the land. The new concept had to be digested and a new structure of Negro-white relations had to be erected. But, first, the old relationship -- one based for the most part on well-meaning paternalism on the part of whites and meek acceptance of inferior status on the part

of Negroes -- had to be destroyed. In the process a large measure of the genuine friendship which had developed under the old order had also -- it seemed, inevitably -- to be swept away. If interracial relations had been good before the Brown decision, as white Southerners insisted, they now deteriorated rapidly.

A racial estrangement set in which would begin to relax only after five years in some states, after six or seven in others, and which lingers still in much of the Deep South. Choruses from Negro colleges ceased to be invited as they had often been invited in the past, to sing for white audiences; Negro groups were excluded from holiday parades and festivities in which they had formerly taken part; and many white community leaders who had been conspicuously active in aiding and advising Negroes abandoned this activity -- to lend their efforts in some cases to "anti-integration" movements. Even the Urban League, a long respected Negro welfare organization, not involved in the school integration controversy, was deserted by many of its white friends and supporters; the Urban Leagues of Little Rock, Richmond, New Orleans, Jacksonville and Fort Worth were excluded from local Community Chests, in whose fund-raising campaigns they had previously shared. Some white Southerners even boycotted radio and television programs which included Negro entertainers; in an incident which was widely deplored in the South but which was indicative nevertheless of the feeling in many quarters, the celebrated Negro singer Nat King Cole was attacked by hoodlums in the audience when he visited Birmingham in his native state

of Alabama. In situations of particular tension hatred of Negroes expressed itself in economic sanctions and in larger outbreaks of violence.

Many white Southerners were disturbed at the new aggressiveness on the part of Negroes in claiming the rights of citizens -- in going to federal courts, even the Supreme Court of the United States, with litigation aimed at a "way of life of the South." Traditionally the business of "keeping the Negro in his place" had been a major concern. The spectacle now of able and sophisticated Negro lawyers matching wits with white counsel and winning case after case was at the same time a violation of the traditional racial fitness of things and an embarrassing refutation of the myth of innate Negro incompetence. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People became an object of consuming hatred. And ~~though the inconsistency was unnoticed,~~ the kind of hatred which this mainly Negro organization inspired in people who insisted that Negroes were hopelessly inferior creatures itself represented a break-down of that illusion; for the hatred of the NAACP partook of neither condescension nor contempt: it recognized an astute and powerful adversary.

Fear stimulated opposition to desegregation most stubbornly on two counts: fear of Communism, with which the crusade for Negro rights was believed to be somehow related; and fear of racial amalgamation. Miscegenation was a delicate subject, not often raised openly by responsible critics of the Supreme Court decision. The fact that the vast majority of Negroes in the United States are actually mulattoes, with some white ancestors, pointed to widespread miscegenation

at an earlier period of Southern history, and illegitimate sexual relations of white males with Negro women were not uncommon at the time of the Brown decision. Yet a fear that intermingling of white and Negro children in public schools would lead to interracial marriages on a large scale was prevalent at all levels of white Southern society; it was exploited daily by racist agitators. It was hardly borne out by the experience of Northern states where segregation had long since been abolished. The extent of intermarriage between whites and light-skinned mulattoes in the North it is impossible to determine, but known cases of intermarriage between whites and individuals who were obviously Negro are still rare. No significant increase in miscegenation could be observed anywhere as a result of public school integration. Nevertheless, the fear of interracial marriages was perhaps the most insistent single ingredient in Southern hostility to the desegregation ruling. When the question, "Would you like for your daughter to marry a Negro?" -- was asked, it was supposed to put an end to any argument on the subject.

The idea that the movement to end racial segregation was a part of a Communist conspiracy took hold among a vast number of white Southerners. Many were ready to believe that Communists dominated, not only the NAACP, but the federal government and the Supreme Court of the United States. The merchants of hate, whom we shall presently describe, included this canard heavily among their wares. These wasted little time in rational criticism of the Brown decision, but referred to that action matter-of-factly as a Communist plot and plastered many a tree and signboard with the slogan, "Impeach Earl Warren."

Learned and thoughtful criticism of the Supreme Court decision was not lacking; there were rational considerations which caused many Southerners to regret the Brown decision. In due course we shall discuss the Southern protest as it manifested itself on a higher level. We examine here the Negrophobia which spread over the South, its background add the men and organizations which promoted it.

Without reading farther back into the long history of race prejudice, account should be taken of the residual poison left by the racist literature which was popular in both North and South during the first quarter of the twentieth century. This was the period when the segregation craze was moving to its most absurd extremes; it was also the period when the present older generation of Southerners was in the formative years of adolescence and early manhood. The books of Madison Grant and his racist contemporaries were yet available in the 1950's to reinforce the more literate segregationists. In the field of best-selling fiction, Southerners above middle-age were likely to have read some of the novels of Thomas Dixon -- of which five million copies had been sold.

Dixon is best remembered as the author of "The Clansman," upon which the early motion picture extravaganza "The Birth of a Nation" was based. This cinematographic apotheosis of the Ku Klux Klan, even after repeated expurgation, is still tinged with anti-Negro venom. In the 1930's, having been seen by an estimated one hundred

million people, "The Birth of a Nation" virtually disappeared.[1] After the Brown decision it was revived and shown in a number of Southern cities; it was running in Little Rock on the eve of the 1957 riots there, and it was shown in New Orleans during periods of interracial strife in that city. During a convention of the NAACP in Atlanta, Georgia, the film was exhibited in a suburban theater under the auspices of the Ku Klux Klan itself; a handbill, issued by the "United Klans," read in part:

> The NAACP dares you -- white man -- to see: THE BIRTH OF A NATION.... Thousands of NAACP members are here -- to take over your city -- and do your thinking -- UNLESS -- You dare to stand your ground and join the thousands of white people who have decided that the white man shall retreat no further....

In the 1950's the old silent movie was not a resounding box office success and its current showing was not a major factor in the rising tide of anti-Negro feeling; but there were few among the older generation of Southerners -- or, indeed, of Americans -- who had not sat through "The Birth of a Nation" at least once at some time in their lives.

As for Dixon's novels, such as "The Clansman" and "The Leopard's Spots" it would be difficult to imagine reading matter better calculated to put salt on lingering sores of the Reconstruction era and instill hatred and fear of the Negro. Dixon describes the Negro (using a "Clansman" character as his mouthpiece) as a "creature, half-child, half-animal,... a being who, left to his will, roams at night and sleeps in the day, whose speech knows no word of love, whose passions, once aroused, are the fury of the tiger..."[2]

The amateur racist anthropologist was given this kind of basic material:

> "...Since the dawn of history the Negro has owned the Continent of Africa -- rich beyond the dream of poet's fancy, crunching acres of diamonds under his bare black feet. Yet he never picked one up from the dust until a white man showed him its glittering light. His land swarmed with powerful and docile animals, yet he never dreamed of a harness, cart or sled.... He lived as his fathers lived -- stole his food, worked his wife, sold his children, ate his brother, content to drink, sing, dance and sport as the ape!"[2]

In "The Leopard's Spots" -- which the Atlanta Journal of that day called "an epoch-making book, packed with truth stranger than fiction"[3] -- a Dixon character declares:

> One drop of Negro blood makes a Negro. It kinks the hair, flattens the nose, thickens the lips, puts out the light of intellect and lights the fires of brutal passion....[4]

Probably the first book-length diatribe to appear in the wake of the Brown decision, and one of the most widely circulated, was written by Thomas P. Brady, judge of the circuit court of the fourteenth Mississippi district and vice-president of the Mississippi Bar Association. It was entitled "Black Monday," (with reference to Monday, May 17, 1954, when the decision was handed down.) One might suspect that Judge Brady had just put down an old copy of "The Leopard's Spots" when he wrote:

> The Negro proposes to breed up his inferior intellect and whiten his skin and "blow out the light" in the white man's brain and muddy his skin.[5]

One senses an echo of Dixon also in this comment from "Black Monday:"

> You can dress a chimpanzee, housebreak him, and teach him to use a knife and fork, but it will take countless generations of evolutionary development, if ever, before you can convince him that a caterpillar or a cockroach is not a delicacy. Likewise the social, political, economic and religious preference of the Negro remain close to the caterpillar and the cockroach....[6]

negro

(Space)

Such at any rate was the tenor of literature which thousands of white Southerners found in their mail-boxes or on their doorsteps. The stuff was sometimes sponsored by a Citizens Council or a unit of the Ku Klux Klan, more often the source was anonymous. The indigenous output was supplemented by several hate publications in the North which, long given to vilification of Negroes, Catholics and Jews, now focussed their attention upon Negroes.

"Black Monday" itself became a sort of handbook for the burgeoning Citizens Councils, in which Judge Brady was a leading spirit, and which were to become the largest segregationist organizatin in the South.

The book was an embodiment of virtually the whole syndrome of the militant segregationist extremists. Many of these charged that the Supreme Court and the federal government were deliberately fomenting interracial turmoil and predicted as inevitable the strife which they themselves were strenuously engaged in promoting. But few could match the purple prose of Judge Brady, who expressed it thus:

> Oh, High Priests of Washington, blow again and stronger upon the dying embers of racial hate, distrust and envy. Pour a little coal oil of political expediency and hope of race amalgamation upon the flickering blaze which you have created, you will start a conflagration in the South which all of Neptune's mighty ocean cannot quench.... A law is never paramount to mores....

> Sacred mores are invulnerable to the dagger of any Brutus. When a law transgresses the moral and ethical standards of the mores, invariably strife, bloodshed and revolution follow in the wake of its attempted enforcement.[7]

A maudlin revival of the cult of Southern womanhood was reflected in Judge Brady's apostrophe: "The loveliest and purest of God's creatures, the nearest thing to an angelic being that treads this terrestial ball, is a well-bred, cultured Southern white woman or her blue-eyed, golden-haired little girl."[8] The cult was related, of course, to a horror of contact between white women and Negro men. It had fired lynching mobs in the past, and it would have a part again in a few months in Judge Brady's own state in the savage murder of a Negro boy.

Among the most conspicuous characteristics of race prejudice are its swift contagion at times of public excitement and the ease with which it can be turned by even a moderately skillful agitator into hysteria and frenzy. In the unrest following the Supreme Court's desegregation decision it provided a means by which a previously unimportant and little known person could quickly attract a large following, get into the limelight and enjoy a sense of power. Bryant Bowles, whom we left in the midst of the commotion in the Milford area ~~of the border state~~ of Delaware, was one of the first to discover this possibility. The harvest of publicity which he reaped in those early disturbances may have carried a suggestion of similar opportunities elsewhere. Many ~~no doubt~~ also went into action ~~also~~ out of unfeigned

hostility to the Supreme Court ruling. At any rate anti-integration agitators were not long in coming forward in every Southern state. Most of these confined their activities to their own communities, ~~or states~~, but some kept a sharp eye on the broad spectrum of the school desegregation crisis and moved in wherever local unrest seemed to offer the best promise of drama, turmoil and publicity.

The most famous among these inter-state rovers was not a Southerner at all, but a native of New Jersey, named John Kasper. Twenty-five years of age, Kasper had attended Columbia University and had run a bookstore, specializing in anti-Semitic literature, in Greenwich Village. In a tireless campaign to stimulate resistance to the Supreme Court's order and to "race-mixing," he harangued Citizens' Councils, Ku Klux Klan meetings and -- at times of crisis -- angry mobs. Kasper was to have a large hand in the violence which plagued Tennessee in 1956 and 1957. Meanwhile he became a hero to thousands of Southerners. Admiral John Crommelin, a retired naval officer from Montgomery, Alabama -- himself a racist who lent his voice to the agitation in Tennessee -- was to tell a rally in Clinton: "You may not see it, but some day a statue will be erected on this court-house lawn to John Kasper."[9]

Kasper would spend most of 1958 and 1959 in a federal prison. But his popularity by then was already fading. This strange young man, who incessantly preached hatred of the Negro, had earlier -- during the Greenwich Village phase of his career -- fraternized conspicuously with Negro friends. The revelation in 1957 of this scandalous detail of his past resulted in widespread disenchantment among his anti-Negro following.[10]

Bryant Bowles had promoted a so-called "Association for the Advancement of White People," and Kasper headed a short-lived "Seaboard White Citizens' Council;" but these men actually operated as independent prima donnas. The great majority of the racist agitators would crusade within the framework of the more stable anti-integration organizations that were being formed in all sections of the South and the ancient Ku Klux Klan, which was stirring again.

The Ku Klux Klan that galloped mysteriously across the pages of Reconstruction history had an aura of idealism and chivalry which in a troubled time invited the participation or elicited the sympathy of many of the noblest citizens of the South. In its lofty declaration of principles it sought to succor the weak and unfortunate and to protect members of the white race in "life, honor and property" from molestation by the newly freed and enfranchized Negroes. To accomplish the latter purpose, which was its actual raison d'être, this secret order played upon the superstitions of ignorant ex-slaves by parades, and night forays, of silent horsemen, covered with white sheets and wearing masks, by lighting up "fiery crosses" and by other eerie signs and warnings -- and also, to an extent which the public never knew, it engaged in acts of murderous violence. This "Invisible Empire," as it was called, reached the peak of its activity and power in 1869, and thereafter gradually fell into disrepute and disbanded.

An unmounted Ku Klux Klan appeared in 1915, and, flourishing during the "roaring twenties," spread across the nation until it attained an estimated membership of four million. The Klan in this reincarnation stood, not only for "womanhood" and white supremacy, but for Protestant Christianity and "pure Americanism" -- making it hostile to Catholic, Jewish and foreign-born citizens; in some areas it added organized labor to its list of foes. This aberration gradually subsided after 1928, and, as Arnold S. Rice observes in "The Ku Klux Klan in American politics," -- "During the early 1950's there were indications that the Klan might disappear permanently from the American scene."

Then the Supreme Court's anti-segregation decision of 1954 gave the Klan a new lease on life. Klaverns, as local units were called, were resuscitated and fiery crosses lighted up the sky in many sections of the South. Like the Invisible Empire of Reconstruction days, the post-Brown decision Klan was limited to the South, and its attention -- and its terroristic exhibitions -- were focussed upon Negroes, and "Negro-lovers." Masks had now been widely outlawed, but white sheets and regalia were brought forth and much of the old mumbo-jumbo was reinstated. Although this ritual was sometimes practiced by other than authentic Klansmen, the burning of crosses near the homes or meeting places of suspected "integrationists," whether colored or white, became a standard symbol of local tension, and hundreds of such instances were reported. However, the Ku Klux Klan had a bad name now even in the South. In spite of much sympathy

with its aim of "keeping the Negro in his place," it was frowned upon by most of the public. It established some 500 Klaverns and enrolled ~~over~~ probably 100,000 members, but they were drawn almost entirely from fanatic, hoodlum and lawless elements, and the movement was able to gain a foothold in only a part of the South.

Georgia, Alabama, Florida, South Carolina and Louisiana became Klan strongholds. ~~But~~ However, Klan emissaries were coldly received in the Upper South; Virginians would have no truck with the organization. Only small Klan nuclei developed in Arkansas, Tennessee and Texas. In Mississippi an omnipresent Citizens' Council organization preempted the racist field. North Carolina was afflicted with considerable Klan activity, but the secret order was to receive a rebuff in that state which resounded across the nation and was one of the few genuinely humorous incidents which the desegregation crisis afforded. In March, 1958, a Klan expeditionary force, led by Wizard James Cole, of Marion, S. C., staged a full-dress demonstration in Robeson County to warn the 30,000 Lumbee Indians ~~of that county~~ there against association with their white neighbors. The Lumbees, who are a sophisticated and thoroughly modernized tribe, responded in a spirit of indignation mingled with hilarious amusement. Gathering around their white-robed visitors they fired hunting rifles into the air until the Klansmen fled in terror, while Lumbee jokers wrapped discarded Klan sheets and regalia around themselves and danced with glee!

In numbers and prestige the Ku Klux Klan was ~~far~~ surpassed by the more respectable organization of Citizens' Councils, but it was a prime factor in the incitement of public turmoil and shocking atrocities were to be perpetrated by members of this unsavory order.

By far the most influential rallying point for the movement of resistance to desegregation were the organizations which sprang up in every Southern state and either coagulated in what became the "Citizens' Councils of America, Incorporated," or allied themselves with that body. John Bartlow Martin writing of the Citizens' Council movement two years later in "The Deep South Says NEVER" posed the question: "At that time (late 1954) the South was divided, perplexed, resigned. Today the Solid South is a fact, and its resistance to desegregation is granitic.... How has this come about?" And he cited "the remarkable achievement of a movement that has uncompromisingly set its face against the mainstream of American thought as expressed by the Supreme Court of the land -- and has thus far got away with it."

Citizens' Councils operated sporadically also in 1955 and 1956 in Kentucky and Missouri. At first there were many "White Citizens' Councils" and an "Association of Citizens' Councils." Local groups also used such names initially as "National Association for the preservation of the White Race," "States' Rights League," Hermitage Crusade," "Southern Gentlemen" -- or "Pond Hollow Segregation Club." Strong state organizations which, with varying degrees of integration in Citizens' Councils of America, preserved their separate identity, were: the States' Rights Council of Georgia, the

North Carolina Defenders of States' Rights, the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government and the (Virginia) Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties. The Ku Klux Klan was emphatically not an affiliate. Although their membership sometimes overlapped and the two groups joined forces in some demonstrations, the Klan, with its notorious propensity to violence, was officially shunned by the status-seeking Citizens' Councils.

The first Citizens' Council came into being in July, 1954, when fourteen, then approximately one hundred, citizens met in the town of Indianola on the Mississippi Delta. Their organizer was Robert B. Patterson, a well-to-do planter, who was to continue as executive secretary of the Citizens' Councils of Mississippi and become a leading figure in the further expanding movement.

Six months before the Brown decision, Patterson had attended a meeting at which a state legislator predicted that the Supreme Court would soon order schools desegregated. He then wrote, and had printed for distribution, a letter in which he said:

> Dear Fellow Americans:
>
> I attended a meeting the other day on the elementary school issue and when I left I was confused, mad and ashamed. It seems a great danger is hanging over the heads of our children -- mongrelization. ...Some of our leaders cringe in confusion and await what they claim is inevitable.... A lot of people are resigning themselves to seeing their children crammed into schools and churches with children of other races and being taught the Communist theme of all races and mongrelization.... I gathered my children and promised them that they would never have to go to school with children of other races against their will, and this is my solemn vow and pledge. If every Southerner who feels as I do, and they are in the vast majority, will make this vow, we will defeat this communistic disease that is being thrust upon us....

This early equation of racial integration with Communism would be a favorite theme of Citizens' Councils and segregationists generally during coming years. Incidentally, in another paragraph Patterson voiced also the isolationist sentiment which would be curiously blended with race prejudice in Citizens' Council doctrine. "...We've been tricked into a costly no-decision war with Red China," he wrote. "Miscegenation is increasingly flaunted in our faces by the Northern press. We long ago let Russia steal all our atomic secrets and heaven knows what else. What should be my cue for excitement? When an atomic blast levels my home?" [12]

Citizens' Councils sprang up quickly in other Mississippi towns. W. J. Simmons, a wealthy banker's son, who organized the Jackson Council, joined Patterson in making a career of Citizens' Council promotion. Judge Brady, an executive committee member was regarded as the intellectual leader of the movement. The sale of "Black Monday" was pushed throughout the South, and a flood of pamphlets began to pour forth. By the end of 1954 Citizens' Councils were operating in over one hundred Mississippi towns, and Councils were forming in several other states. The movement slowed down during the period of waiting for the Supreme Court's 1955 decree; then it spread rapidly until it was claimed to have over 300,000 members. Informed observers estimate that at its peak the membership of Citizens' Councils of America, with its affiliates, probably reached that figure. [13]

Among the best known leaders of the expanded Citizens' Council movement were Sam Engelhardt, the dynamic organizer of the Alabama Councils; Hugh G. Grant, a former United States Minister to Thailand, and president of the States' Rights Council of Georgia; Emory Rogers, of South Carolina; State Senator William Rainach, of Louisiana; and Roy V. Harris, a prominent Georgia politician, who became president of the Citizens' Councils of America. Segregationists of all types -- including some of the Ku Klux Klan mentality -- found place in the movement; but the Citizens' Councils placed great emphasis on respectability, and, in spite of the racist crudities of such men as Judge Brady, mayors, state legislators, sheriffs, clergymen and business and professional men of the first rank were to be found on Citizens' Councils rolls. Mississippi, the birthplace and headquarters of the movement, was enveloped in it virtually to the saturation point, and the Citizens' Councils were to become a formidable political power in that state.

Add Old Chapter 7 (New Chapter 4)

With these influences at work to stimulate hostility to the school desegregation order and to Negroes, one may well ask what influences were operating in the opposite direction. Did any voice ring out to halt this trend? Did anyone to whom the masses of Southerners would listen say: Stop; this is immoral, this is unpatriotic or this is unwise? -- or this is making the inevitable change more difficult and dangerous for us? The answer is No. The counteracting influences, during the first post-Brown decision years at least, were feeble indeed. Clergymen who spoke out against the trend were rare. Some newspaper editors sought cautiously to combat it, but most either avoided the subject or urged the extremists on in inflammatory editorials. Those politicians who called for calm and respect for the law of the land spoke so softly that their voices were hardly heard in the anti-integration din.

There were, of course, thoughtful white Southerners who either believed that the Supreme Court had correctly interpreted the Constitution or realized that its decision was binding and would not be revoked, and who foresaw that public school segregation would somehow have to be brought to an end. But we are unable to form any reliable estimate of how many held such views because public expression of them was so rare. Whether from fear of criticism and abuse,

or from a sincere belief that an outspoken approach would impair their ability to exert a quiet influence in ~~minor~~ some phase of the crisis, such sentiments for the most part were carefully concealed. Public acknowledgement that the Supreme Court decision was the law of the land -- coupled as this concession generally was with insistence upon a personal preference for segregation -- invited bitter criticism and required courage in the highest degree. Emphasis on moderation and interracial friendship, even law and order, aroused suspicion and had to be voiced with caution.

There had long been an organization in which respected white Southerners joined with Negro leaders in working for interracial friendship and understanding. Formed in 1919 as the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, it was reorganized in 1944 to become the Southern Regional Council. This organization, with a regular staff and an office in Atlanta, engaged in continuous and much-needed research on race relations, while in statements, publications and speeches by its members it sought both to inform the public and to advance the cause of interracial justice. In 1952 the Southern Regional Council took a position against race segregation. It welcomed the Brown decision when it came in 1954, and its activities thenceforth were intensified and expanded. Affiliated with the Council, or working independently, there were half a dozen small interracial state groups of dedicated people working for the same cause.

White people were also working for better interracial relations in the South through national organizations, notably the Anti-Defamation League and the American Friends Service Committee. The number of such organizations in the field and the volume of their activities would assume substantial proportions in coming months. But in the first post-Brown decision years, relatively few as much as knew of their existence. In 1956 the white Southerners working actively for interracial friendship between the races could be counted, not in tens of thousands, but in hundreds.

It was inevitable that the mounting hostility to the desegregation order and anti-Negro feeling, encouraged by dynamic organizations in which sheriffs and police were often members -- would express themselves in acts of violence.

The Southeastern Office of the American Friends Service Committee, the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., and the Southern Regional Council collaborated in compiling "a report of racial violence reprisal and violence in the eleven Southern states from January 1, 1955, to January 1, 1959." The information was culled from reports of the Associated Press, the United Press, the International News, the Southern School News and a score of newspapers, the source being given in each case. Two hundred and twenty-five acts against private liberties and public peace were listed as follows:

6 Negroes killed;
29 individuals, 11 of them white, shot and wounded in racial incidents;
44 persons beaten;
5 stabbed;
30 homes bombed; in one instance (at Clinton, Tenn.) an additional 30 houses were damaged by a single blast; attempted blasting of five other homes;
8 homes burned;
15 homes struck by gunfire, and 7 homes stoned;
4 schools bombed, in Jacksonville, Nashville, and Chattanooga, and Clinton, Tenn.
2 bombing attempts on schools, in Charlotte and Clinton;
7 churches bombed, one of which was for whites; an attempt made to bomb another Negro church;
1 church in Memphis burned; another church stoned;
4 Jewish temples or centers bombed, in Miami, Nashville, Jacksonville, and Atlanta;
3 bombing attempts on Jewish buildings, in Gastonia, N.C., Birmingham, and Charlotte;
1 YWCA building in Chattanooga and an auditorium in Knoxville dynamited;
2 schools burned.

The victims of these outrages or their targets were nearly all Negroes. Among exceptions were a few white people who conspicuously befriended Negroes, were accused of "race-mixing" or urged "moderation"; and a wave of bombings of Jewish temples occurred in 1958. (The latter shocked the public in the South as elsewhere, although sporadic anti-Semitism was a by-product of the anti-integration campaign.) Under the headings of "Intimidation," and "Reprisals," the report listed numerous other instances of cross-burnings and threats, of less violent demonstrations, and scattered instances of persecution of white persons who associated with Negroes or otherwise dissented from extreme segregationist orthodoxy.

All of these incidents were reported in the press, more comprehensively in Northern than in Southern newspapers. They were deplored by Southern editors. But many Southern publicists held that they were the inevitable result of a provocative and improper Supreme Court decision. John Temple Graves, a distinguished Southern newspaper columnist said that "the Court made us necessarily more race conscious than we have been since Reconstruction" and added: "It has taught us to disregard the law."[15] Criticism was often countered with the charge that crime and violence were equally prevalent in the great cities of the North.

It is possible that this blunt tabulation of outrages could give an impression of a kind of anarchy which did not exist. The incidents listed occurred in a region of 40 million people over a period of four years, and most Southerners knew of them only through news media. Nevertheless they reflected a degree of malignancy and lawlessness in the movement of resistance to desegregation more serious and more pregnant with crisis than many realized. The underlying purpose of the perpetrators -- apart from an emotional outlet -- was to warn that Southern white men were still in control in the South and that dire consequences would be visited upon any Negroes who dared to avail themselves of the rights which the Supreme Court had proclaimed for them.

In the first incidents to arouse nationwide concern public school desegregation was not directly at issue -- the

revolting murder of a Negro boy in Mississippi, the series of disturbances in the struggle of Negroes for equal treatment on the city buses of Montgomery, Alabama, and the rioting precipitated by the admission of a Negro woman to that state's university. They signaled -- especially the first and last of these -- extraordinary mobilizations of newspaper and camera men, magazine writers, and the television and radio services; they were the subject of interminable examination, analysis, speculation and debate, as well as colorful and sensational narrative. But many and more farreaching convulsions were yet to come, and in the ten-year story these need hold our attention only briefly.

The slaying of Emmett Till in Sumner, Mississippi, and its aftermath, were naked manifestations of Negrophobia, a hark-back to the worst days of anti-Negro brutality in the South. This fourteen-year-old Negro was kidnapped and murdered -- when a white woman said that he had tried to date her, uttered an obscenity and "wolf-whistled!" The case was widely known as the "wolf-whistle" murder. The trial of the two men charged with the deed -- the woman's husband and a companion -- drew large crowds and was followed with avid interest throughout the nation. In the ugly tradition of cases in which white men are accused of killing Negroes, nobody was punished. The grand jury refused to indict the two defendants.

(In a less publicized incident earlier in the month, Lamar Smith, a Negro who was reported to have urged other

Negroes to vote in a gubernatorial election, was shot to death on the courthouse lawn in Brookhaven, Mississippi. In this instance likewise the grand jury failed to indict the three men charged with the slaying.)

The protracted Negro boycott of city buses in Montgomery, Alabama, was significant chiefly in two respects: it marked the beginning of a new era of aggressive "non-violent" action on the part of Southern Negroes and it threw into national prominence a remarkable new Negro leader. On Thursday, December 1, 1955, when a bus carrying white and Negro passengers made a downtown stop, the driver asked four Negroes to give up their seats to free them for white passengers. One of the Negroes, Mrs. Rosa Parks, refused. She was taken to the police station and charged with violating city segregation laws. Saturday, printed leaflets were circulated asking Negroes to stay off the buses Monday, the day of Mrs. Parks' trial. Almost 90 per cent of them did. They went to work in private automobiles, Negro taxis, in wagons, on foot or bicycle. Mrs. Parks was found guilty and fined $14. That night 5,000 Negroes crowded into the Holt Street Baptist Church and by the end of the evening the Montgomery Improvement Association was formed and the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., was named as its president.

It was the beginning of a year-long bus boycott -- during which King's home was bombed, a dynamite cap exploded in the home of another leader and 100 Negroes were indicted

on charges of violating Alabama's anti-boycott laws. Meanwhile, a suit was filed in federal court which eventually on November 13, 1956, brought a unanimous ruling by the United States Supreme Court that Montgomery's bus segregation laws were unconstitutional. The Negroes called off the boycott and resumed riding on the newly desegregated buses. But acts of violence continued: during the months following four Negro churches, the homes of two ministers and a taxi stand were bombed; snipers fired at buses, in one instance wounding a Negro woman; and a 15-year-old Negro girl was beaten by several young white men near a city bus stop.[16]

(A Negro boycott of city buses in Tallahassee, Florida, which developed in a similar manner in the summer of 1956, and was accompanied by tension and some violence, was also terminated as a result of the Supreme Court decision in the Montgomery case.)

The leader of the Montgomery Negro movement, Dr. Martin Luther King -- he had won a doctorate at Boston University -- was a talented preacher and writer, even a philosopher, as well as a calmly indomitable crusader. He became the apostle of a new doctrine of non-violent resistance and protest, which drew its inspiration in part from Mahatma Gandhi, and rose quickly to the top rank of national Negro leadership, revered by Negroes and execrated by Southern segregationists.

(Space)

In February 1956 public interest turned from the bus boycott in Montgomery to focus excitedly on the city of Tuscaloosa in the same state, where a Negro woman, Autherine Lucy, was admitted briefly to the University of Alabama. The lifting of racial barriers in Southern colleges and universities had begun before the Brown decision and had proceeded peaceably in half a dozen Southern states. The Supreme Court had ruled against segregation in state-supported institutions of higher learning in a series of decisions, beginning with the Gaines case in 1938. Approximately 125 public and private universities and colleges in Southern and border states -- including one Alabama institution, the Catholic college of Spring Hill in Mobile, -- had admitted Negro students. By the beginning of 1955-1956 Negroes had been admitted to state universities in all but five Southern states: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina. In these states university integration was now linked in the minds of segregationists with public school integration, which they were prepared to resist to the end.

Miss Lucy, now 26 years of age, had first sought admission to the University of Alabama in 1952 and been refused. Her case had been in litigation, in the hands of NAACP lawyers, for three years when the final definitive federal court order came. She attended her first class on Friday, February 3, 1956. That night a crowd of 1,200 students, attracted by a burning cross, assembled on University Avenue and exploded firecrackers, sang "Dixie"

and marched through the women's dormitory area. After a basketball game the next night students massed before the Student Union Building for further demonstrations. Many outsiders were noted among the university students -- high school pupils, workers from a nearby plant and members of an extreme pro-segregation group from Birmingham. Monday, a crowd of about 3,000 roamed the campus, jeering, cursing and throwing eggs and stones at officials accompanying Miss Lucy to her classes -- the latter lying in the bottom of the car. Some peered in classroom windows, shouting: "Where is the nigger? Lynch her! Kill her!" Finally Miss Lucy was removed from the campus under heavy police escort and university officials suspended her indefinitely, expressing fear for her life.[17]

Not all of the townspeople were stampeded into folly. Indeed Dr. O. C. Carmichael, president of the university, said: "The lawlessness .. represents a small percentage of the student body."[18] The student government association legislature called for action to protect students' safety; the International Relations Club criticized the "ineffectiveness of the forces of law and order;" law school students adopted a resolution supporting Dr. Carmichael in his determination not to tolerate disorder; and 750 students signed a petition requesting that those leading the rioting "be apprehended and subjected to severe disciplinary action up to and including permanent expulsion."[19] A group of civic leaders in Tuscaloosa also called for law and order and the

calls for decency and decorum in the Tuscaloosa News won for its editor, Burnett Boone, a Pulitzer Prize.

At the end of the month United States District Judge H. Hobart Grooms ordered that Miss Lucy be readmitted. But within hours she was permanently expelled. Something had happened which angered the university officials and furnished a not unwelcome excuse for ending the Lucy incident on disciplinary grounds. In her suit for reinstatement Miss Lucy had charged that the university had conspired with the mob. In court Thurgood Marshall dropped all charges of conspiracy, saying: "After careful investigation we are unable to produce any evidence to support these allegations." The board of trustees announced that it "felt impelled because of the nature of the charges made against its members and the officials of the university to take action expelling Autherine Lucy."[20] On petition by Miss Lucy to re-enter the university, Judge Grooms ruled that her expulsion was justified. Later the board of trustees announced that Leonard Wilson -- the 19-year-old chief leader of the rioting mob -- had been expelled, that four other students had been suspended and that 25 had been disciplined.

On February 17 a Citizens' Council had been formed in Tuscaloosa for the first time. Over 1,000 flocked to the organization meeting -- at which sophomore Leonard Wilson was temporary chairman. Wayne Phillips wrote in the New York Times Magazine:[21]

"Saturday, the day after the white council meeting, there was something in Tuscaloosa the outsider had not felt before. There was hate, and there was fear.

"Hate literature was circulated through the regular Saturday shopping crowds on the main street. Negroes were publicly ridiculed by men with whom they had lived in peace for years. Strangers were shunned or, if recognized as Northerners, taunted. Violence was something to be laughed at, boasted of, and gloried in...."

Chapter 5

The People's Chosen Representatives

On January 29, 1960 -- when North Carolina had achieved only token integration in nine out of 173 school districts but had been spared radical resistance contortions or serious public disorder -- the governor of that state addressed the Harvard Law School Forum. Looking back over this period, Governor Luther H. Hodges (later Secretary of Commerce in the Kennedy Administration) described in a temperate and elevated tone the difficulties which confronted a Southern state executive, and the course which North Carolina had followed. He said that he did not wish "to dwell on the differences of opinion among competent lawyers and scholars concerning the 1954 decision nor to take a great deal of time stating certain facts having to do with tradition, community mores and strongly held convictions with respect to maintaining separate public schools for different races," but he wanted "to make the point that the Governor of North Carolina did indeed face a very difficult, overwhelming problem brought about by the 1954 change in the interpretation of the Federal Constitution," and he continued:

> First, I am sure that all of you will agree with me, regardless of your personal opinion concerning either the correctness or the desirability of the 1954 decision, that decision did in fact precipitate a considerable legal debate throughout the country. Furthermore, this legal debate did not simply divide along regional lines, with all the <u>affirmatives</u> located North of the Mason-Dixon line and all the <u>negatives</u> located South of that same imaginary line.

It is accepted history that the 14th Amendment to the Federal Constitution was adopted in the aftermath of the War Between the States. And the Congress which debated and approved the language of the 14th Amendment for submission to the vote of the States also enacted federal statutes providing for operation of separate schools within the District of Columbia. It is also a matter of history that through the decades immediately following the adoption of the 14th Amendment no less than 25 States, at one time or the other, had statutes either authorizing or requiring separate schools for the races. The States either permitting or requiring such practices were not by any means limited to those which we now group together and refer to as "Southern States." For example, at various times there were California, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, all outside the Southern or border-state category. It is also a matter of historic fact that in various cases decided before 1900, as well as after 1900, the United States Supreme Court gave express approval to what is called the "separate but equal" rule.

Whatever the niceties of constitutional interpretation involved in the decision of those cases which came before our highest court before 1900, many states and local governments did proceed to extablish and operate racially separate schools and the Supreme Court did not, until very recent times, indicate that the rule of "separate but equal" might be in jeopardy so far as judicial interpretation was concerned.

It is thus clear that the 1954 decision amounted to a drastic change of the judicial mind, or a complete reversal of long-established interpretation by the Supreme Court.

This fact in and of itself did, in my opinion, make the problem vastly more difficult for the Governor of a State which had chosen to maintain separate public schools for the races.

.....

The governor traced the development of public education in North Carolina since the Reconstruction era and recalled the "background of extreme travail and difficulty through which Negro citizens had to come to citizenship responsibilities,"

resulting in the development of segregated school systems "in many states of the Union." From the time that he "was suddenly called upon to assume the responsibilities of governor in November, 1954, and without knowing how North Carolina would meet the ever-darkening crisis," he had set for himself two objectives:

"1) To maintain, if possible, a system of public education for all the children of North Carolina; and

"2) To maintain law and order."

"I frankly confess to you today," Governor Hodges said, "that there were many times during that period when it seemed that not only were the pillars of education about to fall, but also the pillars of stable and responsible government....There were times when it seemed almost that our state, our region and indeed the whole nation, must suffer an orgy of great internal discord, and that we must pass through a period of neighbor against neighbor, citizen against citizen, state against state, and in truth a nation divided against itself...."

"By early 1955 our state legislature was in regular session, and the Advisory Committee on Education under the chairmanship of Mr. (Thomas) Pearsall .... in due time recommended to me, and I... in turn recommended to the General Assembly, the repeal of all our statutes which then required that white and Negro children be assigned to separate schools. At the same time we recommended, and the General Assembly enacted, a pupil assignment law which placed in the local boards of education through-

out the state full authority and responsibility for assignment of the pupils to the public schools in each local unit in accordance with valid and reasonable standards...."

The governor recalled further that he had suggested "that it would be in the interest of our public schools and in the interest of maintaining peace... for all of our citizens to observe voluntary separation of the races in the public schools." (But it may be noted that this suggestion aroused no enthusiasm among North Carolina Negroes.)

"As the people of our state were increasingly concerned," he called the legislature in special session in July 1956 and recommended as "safety valves" an amendment to the state constitution "which would (1) authorize tuition grants to be paid to the parents of any child assigned against the wishes of his parents to a school in which the races were mixed, such grants to be available for education in a private school chosen by the parents...; (2) authorize the people in any locality, by majority vote, to discontinue the operation of the public schools in that community...."

However, speaking in January, 1960, the North Carolina governor was able to say of his state with pride: "In no instance that I recall has an election been called by citizens at the local level for the purpose of voting to close schools. Also, I understand that up to the present time, there has been no case in which the parent has withdrawn his child from a public school and applied for a

tuition grant on the grounds that he objected to his child attending school with a person of another race."

Governor Hodges closed on this lofty note: "We must always keep before us the great promise of America, which is the promise of freedom under responsible and democratic government -- and I mean freedom for all citizens irrespective of race, religion or creed. While our day-to-day progress toward more perfect realization of these ideals may seem to falter, and while all of us at one time or the other despair of doing good works, the spirit of America must always remain alive in our hearts."

There was on the whole a more constructive spirit among the state governors in the South than among the representatives of the people in their state legislatures and in the halls of Congress. All elected officeholders were conscious of the political advantages of catering to the racist fever. But the chief executive bears a unique responsibility for the maintenance of public order and the general equilibrium of his state. The legislator, who can cast but one vote in a numerous assembly, feels freer to voice extravagant opinions and to join in impulsive gestures. Some governors were equally uninhibited, and the picture would change somewhat with the rising tide of fanaticism at the grassroots of political power. Moderate incumbents in Alabama and Mississippi would be replaced by irresponsible extremists;

the governor of Arkansas, who was then pursuing a decorous course, was -- surprisingly -- to become a symbol of Southern rebellion against federal authority. But, in the summer of 1956, more Southern governors were looking in the direction of adjustment to the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling than were facing the other way.

Griffin, who had succeeded Talmadge as governor of Georgia, and George Timmerman, Jr., who had succeeded Governor Byrnes in South Carolina, were lesser men than their predecessors; but Griffin was an even more reckless advocate of resistance, both in Georgia and as a roving ambassador of turmoil in other Southern states; and Timmerman, who held that "the mixing of children of two biologically different races" was "contrary to the divine order of things," pledged that "not in a thousand years will the schools of South Carolina be integrated." In Texas Governor Allan Shivers frowned upon school-closing proposals, but had placed himself firmly on the side of resistance to desegregation. Governor Thomas B. Stanley, after initial hesitation, had yielded to the pressure of a political machine and proclaimed resistance in Virginia.

On the other hand, half a dozen Southern governors, in addition to Governor Hodges of North Carolina, were in varying situations resisting segregationist hysteria. In Tennessee,

the moderate policy of Governor Frank Clement was put to a dramatic test on the morning of January 23, 1956, when approximately 300 fierce segregationists drove from Memphis and Chattanooga and converged on the state capitol in Nashville. Cars in the two motorcades were decorated with Confederate and American flags and banners bearing pro-segregation slogans, including one demanding "Segregation or War." The Governor listened for an hour to twenty of their spokesmen, then lectured them firmly and made no concession to their demands. State Attorney General George McCanless, who accompanied the Governor, said: "I am a Southerner, and I believe in segregation, But we in this country are a government of la s and not men, and the decisions of the Supreme Court are applicable to the whole country and not just somewhere else."[2]

Tennessee was unique among Southern states in that, not only the governor, but the two representatives of that state in the United States Senate, Estes Kefauver and Albert Gore, expressed moderate views on the desegregation issue, though they took little part in the controversy. Jim McCord, a former governor, state conservation commissioner under Clement, also said, following the January demonstration: "If calmness and patriotism alone had activated the members of the United States in the 'Fifties, war might have been averted. And, if the people of today will lend themselves to calm purposes and Christian-like ideals, these questions

can be settled adroitly and to the best interests of Tennessee." The fact that Tennessee was blessed with such leadership at the highest level increases the blame to be placed at the door of the roving racist agitators who converged upon that state when it soon would become the scene of the most violent explosions yet registered over the desegregation of public schools.

Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida won the title of "the moderate Southern governor" from many national observers by his repeated appeals for Christian tolerance and respect for law. Collins was a handsome and attractive public figure. A polished gentleman and a devout Episcopalian, he spoke the language of idealism. Collins was cautious, if not negative, in his approach to the actual implementation of the Supreme Court decision. He averted much segregationist criticism by a vague insistence that "we can preserve segregation," and he put through the Florida assembly a series of enactments which, though relatively moderate, were expressly designed to accomplish that purpose. No Negro child had been admitted to any white public school in Florida, and none would be before 1959. But it was due to the courage and skill of LeRoy Collins that Florida was spared the legislative excesses which afflicted most Southern states, and his lofty utterances helped a certain flame of liberalism to burn more brightly in the South.

Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas was wavering in his "moderate" stand, yet he was campaigning successfully for reelection against two extremist opponents whom he called "hate preachers." He favored action to prevent "sudden and complete integration," but he pointed with a kind of pride to the fact that in Arkansas three public school districts and all the state institutions of higher learning -- one of which his son attended -- had been desegregated.

Governor Earl Long had neither the moral nor the physical stamina to stem the rising tide of hostility and intolerance in Louisiana. But he was sympathetic with the Negroes; their votes had been an important factor in

his election and he would seek to keep their friendship to the end. He was to battle segregationist extremists fiercely -- though he would embrace most of their proposals. "Extremists on both sides are injuring the cause," he said, and added with great truth: "There are a lot of fakers trying to advance themselves politically by using the race issue to befuddle the people."[3] Being "soft on integration" was one of the many charges to be leveled at his administration, which would be demoralized by periods of debauchery and mental illness.

In judging the actions and public utterances of the governor of a state which is seething with anti-Negro and anti-integration feeling the political exigencies and limitations which surround him must be taken into account. A degree of compromise with extremism was the price of election to office in the first place, and only by marching some distance down the road of defiance with the majority was it possible to exercize an influence against going all the way to disaster. Without a leaven of politicians who reasoned thus, the most reckless element would have held unchallenged sway. Alabama and Mississippi were the two Southern states where hostility to desegregation would express itself in the most violent form. The governors of those states at this time insisted upon their attachment to segregation and their determination to preserve it, but from a study of their behavior in its peculiar context -- aided by the writer's talks with them -- it is evident

that these two governors deplored the resistance furor and desired to move toward some orderly adjustment.

Alabama's colorful Governor James ("Big Jim") Folsom was habitually kind to Negroes and was regarded by most of them as a friend of their cause. He discouraged legislative excesses, sometimes withholding his signature from segregationist measures, and his early groping toward orderly adjustment to the desegregation ruling led some national observers -- wrongly -- to remove Alabama from the classification of "resisting" states. His "soft" approach aroused bitter opposition during his term of office and appeared to close the door to any return to political power on his part in the future. Speaking before the Alabama Education Association in 1955, Folsom said: "I would like to remind you that we always hear more noise from those who are guided by blind prejudice and bigotry than is ever the case with those who try to think through and be fair in their approach."[4]

Mississippi, of all Southern states, had the highest percentage of Negroes in its population and the strongest attachment to state rights and white supremacy among its white citizens. Any public expression bordering on liberalism, or even moderation on the segregation issue, was politically perilous there. Governor James P. Coleman, who had been a congressman of liberal leanings, resisted extremist pressure in a number of critical situations and was criticized for his "softness on integration;" he refused to join the Citizens' Council. Coleman's words and actions often shocked liberals who viewed them from afar, but among the too-silent moderate minority in Mississippi

he was regarded as the state's best hope. When most of the Southern members of Congress joined in a sensational manifesto of protest against the Supreme Court's decision -- of which we shall presently have more to say -- Governor Coleman recalled the situation in the South on the eve of the Civil War and cut through the loud applause in Mississippi with the comment: "Those in positions of responsibility must think things through before they take positions of no return.... The greatest need of the time is for cool thinking on racial problems. This is no time to let hot-heads make us lose our perspective and go beyond the point of no return."[5]

Southern members of Congress were much heard from. Senator James O. Eastland, of Mississippi, attacked the Brown decision day in and day out and seized upon every argument in sight to support his contentions. Many others -- conspicuously Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, (Senator after 1956) Herman E. Talmadge of Georgia, Representative John Bell Williams of Mississippi, and Representative James C. Davis of Georgia -- criticized the desegregation ruling unceasingly and without restraint. The demur of a handful of liberal Southern members was scarcely audible. A disproportionate number of Southern sentors were high in national councils. The seniority rule and the usually long tenure in office in the one-party South had made Southerners the ranking Democratic members of the most powerful Senate

committees. Eastland was the ranking Democrat on the Judiciary Committee; Senators Richard B. Russell of Georgia, Walter George of Georgia, and Harry Flood Byrd of Virginia, were ranking Democratic members of the Armed Forces, Foreign Relations and Finance Committees respectively. Russell denounced the desegregation ruling without being obsessed with it; George registered his disapproval, but his unwillingness to take the warpath of defiance was largely responsible for his retirement in 1956. Byrd was bitter, though not voluble, on the subject; in his direction of a famous political machine in his own state and in his skillful maneuvering among his colleagues in Congress this Virginia Senator was to give a powerful stimulus to the movement of resistance in the South.

Byrd was generally regarded as the chief architect of the "Southern Manifesto," which boomed across the nation in March 1956. It was part of his plan to "organize the Southern states for massive resistance" -- as he had already organized his own state of Virginia. The manifesto, signed by an overwhelming majority of the Southern members of Congress and introduced in the House and Senate on March 12, 1956, attacked the Supreme Court decision sharply and commended "those states which have declared the intention to resist enforced integration by any lawful means."

The first draft was stronger. Columnist Drew Pearson wrote of the behind-the-scenes preliminary activity: "Chief resistance, surprisingly, came from two outspoken conservatives

-- Senators Spessard Holland of Florida, and Price Daniel of Texas. They succeeded in toning down the original inflammatory language. The first draft scathingly denounced the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling as an 'illegal and unconstitutional seizure of power by the nine men composing the court'.... Holland and Daniel warned that the first draft was a declaration of anarchy.

....

"Byrd easily recruited South Carolina's unrepentant Dixiecrat, Senator Strom Thurmond, to be his front man. Surprisingly, two Southern moderates, John Stennis of Mississippi, and Sam Erwin of North Carolina, eagerly joined Thurmond in drafting the first angry manifesto."[6]

The plan took shape at a meeting of 20 Southern senators in the office of Senator George, who consented to serve as chairman of a drafting committee. Senator Russell wrote the final manifesto. Many Southerners hesitated to sign the document; Senator George himself was clearly lacking in enthusiasm. But under pressure from manifesto promoters -- who reminded them of the feeling back home and the possibility of being labeled "betrayers" of the South -- 19 out of 22 Southern senators went along. The only Southern senators who refused were the two from Tennessee; Lyndon Johnson of Texas, being the Senate majority leader, was not asked to sign.

In the House of Representatives 24 Southern members refused to lend their names to the manifesto. Three North Carolina members withheld their signatures -- Representatives

Thurman Chatham, C. B. Deane and Harold D. Cooley. Chatham said: "I personally will not sign anything that will tear down the power and prestige of the Court as the final arbiter of justice."[7] (Chatham and Deane would be defeated in their bids for reelection two months later; Cooley would survive.) But 82 Southern members signed the document. The delegations of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia gave the manifesto their unanimous support.

The Southern Manifesto was received without comment in the House of Representatives. In the Senate the reaction of most non-Southerners, after the initial shock, was one of sorrow more than anger; some were relieved that the Southerners had not been more violent in their protest. Outside of Congress, both President Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson, his Democratic opponent, emphasized the fact that the Southerners had committed themselves to support their views only by lawful means. No personage at a high official level answered this broadside against the Supreme Court's decision. The high tribunal itself, as it must, remained silent.

As the Southern Manifesto, officially entitled the "Declaration of Constitutional Principles," brought the highest segregationist prestige and talent to bear in presenting the case against the Brown decision, it is appropriate to give its full text here:

> We regard the decision of the Supreme Court in the school cases as a clear abuse of judicial power. It climaxes a trend in the federal judiciary under taking to legislate, in derogation of the authority

of Congress, and to encroach upon the reserved rights of the states and the people.

The original Constitution does not mention education. Neither does the Fourteenth Amendment nor any other amendment. The debates preceding the submission of the Fourteenth Amendment clearly show that there was no intent that it should affect the systems of education maintained by the states.

The very Congress which proposed the amendment subsequently provided for segregated schools in the District of Columbia.

When the amendment was adopted in 1868, there were 37 states of the union. Every one of the 26 states that had any substantial racial differences among its people either approved the operation of segregated schools already in existence or subsequently established such schools by action of the same law-making body which considered the Fourteenth Amendment.

As admitted by the Supreme Court in the public school case (Brown v. Board of Education), the doctrine of separate but equal schools "apparently originated in Roberts v. City of Boston... (1849), upholding school segregation against attack as being violative of a state constitutional guarantee of equality." This constitutional doctrine began in the North -- not in the South, and it was followed not only in Massachusetts, but in Connecticut, New York, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania and other northern states until they, exercising their rights as states through the constitutional processes of local self-government, changed their school systems.

In the case of Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896, the Supreme Court expressly declared that under the Fourteenth Amendment no person was denied any of his rights if the states provided separate but equal public facilities. This decision has been followed in many other cases. It is notable that the Supreme Court, speaking through Chief Justice Taft, a former president of the United States, unanimously declared in 1927 in Lum v. Rice that the "separate but equal" principle is "...within the discretion of the state in regulating its public schools and does not conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment."

This interpretation, restated time and again, became a part of the life of the people of many of the states and confirmed their habits, customs, tradition and way of life. It is founded on elemental humanity and common sense, for parents should not be

deprived by government of the right to direct the lives and education of their own children.

Though there has been no constitutional amendment or act of Congress changing this established legal principle almost a century old, the Supreme Court of the United States, with no legal basis for such action, undertook to exercise their naked judicial power and substituted their personal political and social ideas for the established law of the land.

This unwarranted exercise of power by the court, contrary to the Constitution, is creating chaos and confusion in the states principally affected. It is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races that have been created through 90 years of patient effort by the good people of both races. It has planted hatred and suspicion where there has been heretofore friendship and understanding.

Without regard to the consent of the governed, outside agitators are threatening immediate and revolutionary changes in our public school systems. If done, this is certain to destroy the system of public education in some of the states.

With the gravest concern for the explosive and dangerous condition created by this decision and inflamed by outside meddlers:

We reaffirm our reliance on the Constitution as the fundamental law of the land.

We decry the Supreme Court's encroachments on rights reserved to the states and to the people, contrary to established law and to the Constitution.

We commend the motives of those states which have declared the intention to resist forced integration by any lawful means.

We appeal to the states and people who are not directly affected by these decisions to consider the constitutional principles involved against the time when they too, on issues vital to them, may be the victims of judicial encroachment.

Even though we constitute a minority in the present Congress, we have full faith that a majority of the American people believe in the dual system of government which has enabled us to achieve our greatness and will in time demand that the reserved rights of the states and of the people be made secure against judicial usurpation.

> We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decison which is contrary to the Constitution and to prevent the use of force in its implementation.
>
> In this trying period, as we all seek to right this wrong, we appeal to our people not to be provoked by the agitators and troublemakers invading our states and to scrupulously refrain from disorder and lawless acts.

With the legislatures of the eleven Southern states the Brown decision and matters related to it became a continuing obsession. Extraordinary sessions were called again and again -- in March, 1956, the Alabama legislature was in special session for the fourth time in 14 months -- and regular sessions were often so taken up with the segregation problem that little time was left for the public business which normally crowded their agenda.

Public school appropriations received much attention. Appropriation bills offered opportunities to strengthen the dikes of segregation, but a certain beneficial effect of the re-examination of the "separate-but-equal" policy also appeared here. The Mississippi legislature struggled with the problem of financing an ambitions "school equalization" program;; Governor Timmerman boasted that in South Carolina "schools for Negroes are now superior to any in the nation" as a result of a $127,000,000 construction program in which Negro schools had received 60 per cent of all funds allocated. Discounting such exaggerations, Southern states were moving with new impetus to close the gap between white and Negro school facilities. Committees were set up in all eleven

Southern states to study the problems posed by the Brown decision -- not expressly to prevent desegregation (though this became their chief objective.) Half a dozen states modified or repealed their compulsory school attendance laws, a precaution which apparently contemplated desegregation of some public schools. But budget-makers in Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina and Virginia stipulated that state appropriations would be available for segregated schools only.

Resistance to desegregation and circumvention of the Supreme Court ruling became increasingly the preoccupation [redacted] The volume of pro-segregation legislation grew steadily in 1954 and 1955, and in 1956 state assemblies launched upon a veritable legislative binge. Ingenius and imaginative politicians lay awake nights concocting schemes to baffle the NAACP and outwit the federal judiciary, and, except where one proposal duplicated or interfered with another, they all stood a good chance of being enacted into law. The legislatures of Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia — in session during the first three months of 1956 — adopted no less than 42 pro-segregation measures. By the end of the year the number of such enactments in eleven Southern states had reached a total of 106, and the flood had not yet subsided.

In examining the mood of Southern legislatures it is important to note the disproportionate representation of the rural areas, and particularly of those counties with the heaviest Negro population. It was among the white people

of these sections that race prejudice was most deeply rooted. The excessive influence in the legislatures of the Black Belt counties -- the fiercest strongholds of resistance to desegregation -- was striking. Patrick E. McCanley, assistant to the director of the Southern Education Reporting Service, in a study for With All Deliberate Speed pointed out:

> For example, in Alabama 16 Black Belt counties with 13.5 per cent of the state's total population have 27.3 per cent of the House representation and 28.5 per cent of the Senate seats. Georgia's 37 Black Belt counties with 11.5 per cent of the population have 19 per cent of the House seats and 22.7 per cent of the Senate seats. Fourteen Louisiana Black Belt parishes (counties) have 13.8 per cent of the House representation and 18.4 per cent in the Senate, with only 8.4 per cent of the population. Mississippi's 32 Black Belt counties have 40.9 per cent of the population, 43.9 per cent of the House seats and 48.9 per cent of the Senate seats.

The Black Belt was limited for this purpose to contiguous counties having populations over or near 50 per cent Negro. McCanley noted further that the Black Belts reelect the same representatives over greater numbers of years than do other sections, giving them "added influence in terms of prestige, committee and leadership appointments and greater parliamentary experience."

> In South Carolina, average statewide senatorial service in 1957 was 7.5 years; average service for Black Belt senators was 9.7 years. The state average in the House of Representatives was 2.9 years; average for the Black Belt representatives was 4.6 years. In Virginia, average length of service for all members of the assembly was 8.2 years; for Black Belt representatives it was 12 years...[18]

The stampede principle and a fetish of unanimity also contributed to the fever which seized the state legislatures.

The phenomenon was discernible at the congressional level in the recruitment of supporters for the Southern Manifesto. The dissenter faced the political consequences of being labeled an "integrationist," "a friend of the NAACP," etc. The resentment of extremist colleagues was not unlike that visited upon a conspirator who shrinks from a desperate enterprise upon which his comrades have embarked. The dissenter was denied support in his other unrelated objectives and excluded from important committees -- which impaired his usefulness as a legislator. There were in every state assembly at the outset, a minority, generally a substantial minority, who objected to extravagant measures of resistance to the Supreme Court ruling. A number of the earlier bills found division in debate and were passed by only moderate majorities. But, as the futility of opposition became more and more apparent, potentially farreaching enactments were adopted swiftly by a vote which, if not unanimous, was less than half a dozen votes short of that goal. The stampede sometimes began before a bill was introduced. Some of the most drastic bills adopted by the Virginia legislature were signed by more than a majority of the members of one chamber before they were thrown into the hopper. In South Carolina the Senate resolution of protest against the Supreme Court decision was signed by all members of that body before being introduced; it passed the House unanimously, (though eight Representatives recorded their preference for stronger language).

Resolutions of protest, or "interposition," against the Supreme Court ruling were adopted by the unanimous

vote of the Alabama and North Carolina Senates and the unanimous vote of both houses in Louisiana and South Carolina; in the lower chambers of Alabama and North Carolina the opposing votes were four and two respectively; in Virginia opposition to such resolutions was registered by only 5 votes in the House and 2 in the Senate. In Georgia half a dozen bills to aid and encourage private schools cleared the Senate unanimously. In Louisiana a dozen pro-segregation bills were passed without a dissenting vote in either chamber. When the Florida legislature approved a five-bill program the Senate acted unanimously; in the House of Representatives only one opposing vote was cast -- that of Representative John B. Orr, Jr.

In a gesture so rare as to be sensational in the Southern scene, this young legislator declared his belief that segregation was "morally wrong." It is interesting to note that such boldness in this instance brought praise from several colleagues and a barrage of commendatory messages, and that his constituents in the relatively liberal city of Miami were to return him to office for one further term before his segregationist opposition laid him low.

The strange pile of legislation beginning to clutter the statute books of Southern states included provisions for the following: the use of police powers to prevent the admission of Negroes to white public schools; the placing of schools under the control of the governor or the state legislature, (where it was hopefully calculated they could not be reached by federal courts); the financing of litigation opposing desegregation; investigation of pro-integration and pro-segregation activities (with emphasis entirely on

the former); commissions to publicize the "Southern point of view;" the closing of public schools to prevent desegregation and the sale or leasing of public school property; and aid and encouragement for private schools. In order that Negroes should be penalized equally in any school-closing, several legislatures provided for the closing of all public schools in any district in which Negroes should be enrolled in one or more schools. Among the more subtle devices, the Georgia legislature decreed that a schoolteacher could instruct only pupils of his or her own race. A number of enactments sought to hamper or frustrate the NAACP. Several legislatures memorialized their delegations in Congress urging them to seek legislation to curb the powers of the Supreme Court, and the Georgia legislature called for the impeachment of six Supreme Court justices whom it accused of "attempting to subvert the Constitution of the United States and of high crimes and misdemeanors in office."

Mississippi provided for a fine or a jail sentence for any white person attending a school also attended by Negroes. The Mississippi legislature sought to provide fines, imprisonment and civil liability for federal officers who tried to enforce desegregation, but this bill was vetoed by Governor Coleman. Coleman gave his approval, however, to an act setting up a State Sovereignty Commission to "do and perform any and all acts and things deemed necessary and proper to protect the sovereignty of the state of Mississippi and her sister states from encroachment thereon by the Federal Government or

any branch, department or agency thereof. This commission was voted $250,000 for its work. For the first three years it would engage mainly in propaganda, but it was equipped with an investigating division empowered to employ secret investigators and paid informers.

Two types of action taken by nearly all Southern legislatures deserve special attention. One of these were the pupil assignment, or "pupil placement" laws setting up elaborate requirements and criteria -- "other than race" -- to regulate the assignment of children to schools. Liberal observers could see in some of these a means of effecting selective gradualism in adjusting to the Supreme Court ruling; but the object of most of their proponents was to make it possible to deny Negroes admission to white schools or to hold desegregation to a minimum when it could no longer be prevented.

In the Virginia legislature, Senator Stuart B. Carter, who rivaled the lonely courage of Florida's State Senator Orr in averring publicly a "conscientious belief in integration," supported the pupil assignment plan at one stage, saying that "the best method of making the change is to have gradual orderly integration, where necessary controlled and regulated by the people in the school district." We have already quoted Governor Hodges' reference to the Pearsall Plan of pupil assignment in North Carolina, William T. Joyner, vice-chairman of the committee which drafted the North Carolina bill, expressed the philosophy of what might be called the "moderate" supporters of pupil assignment plans when he said:

> "I think that some mixing in the schools is inevitable and must occur. I think that the result of free choice and honest assignment according to the best interest of the child will be separation so substantially complete as to be tolerable to our people.... I do not hesitate to advance my personal opinion and it is that the admission of less than 1 per cent -- for example, one-tenth of 1 per cent -- of Negro children to the schools heretofore attended only by white children is a small price to pay for the ability to keep the mixing within bounds of reasonable control.[9]

The principle of establishing criteria to insure a regulated transition was given qualified approval by federal courts. But in practical operation the plans gave rise to interminable litigation; it was difficult, for instance, to establish an intent to comply with the Supreme Court ruling when the same legislature that set up the plans enacted laws requiring the closing of schools to prevent the admission of Negroes. Nevertheless, a trickle of integration would begin in North Carolina in 1957, and in Virginia -- after revision of its law and a radical change of policy in 1959 -- integration was to proceed somewhat more extensively under a pupil placement plan.

Some pupil assignment laws were transparently designed to exclude Negroes from otherwise white schools. While the words "segregation" and "Negro" were avoided, school authorities in determining the schools in which pupils should be placed were given such factors to consider as "... the possibility or threat of friction or disorder among pupils or others; the possibility of breaches of the peace or ill will or economic retaliation within the community; the home environment of the pupil; the maintenance

or severance of established social and psychological relationships with other pupils and with teachers; etc. etc."[10] Abundant excuses were thus provided for rejecting the applications of Negroes to enter white schools. Cumbersome systems of appeal -- promising long delay and possible expense, were calculated further to deter Negro applicants.

The climax of hostility on the part of Southern state legislatures was reached in a gesture called "interposition." This was a doctrine once held by many Southern leaders that a state had a right to "interpose its sovereignty" between the federal government and its people. In blunter language it meant that a state could nullify the effects of an edict of the federal government within its boundaries, and that the state in the last analysis was in fact independent. In the middle of the twentieth century the word "interposition" had been forgotten by all but historians; and the doctrine had been long since buried by the Civil War. But both were exhumed. The word became familiar to the general public and the doctrine was embraced in some degree by the legislatures of all Southern states.

The ancient doctrine was succinctly invoked in a statement issued in August 1955 by a group of white citizens in South Carolina, known as the "Committee of 52", which attracted little attention. These South Carolinians urged their legislature "to take such steps as may be necessary or desirable to interpose the sovereignty of the State of South Carolina between Federal courts and local school officials with respect to any effort of such courts to usurp state authority in the matter of public education."[11]

Credit for the disinterment of interposition is given also to an elderly Virginia lawyer named William Old (who was later honored by the legislature of his state for this accomplishment by being named a circuit court judge.) But it was the Richmond News Leader which broadcast the idea over Virginia and the South and its editor Kilpatrick was rightly regarded as the "father" of modern interposition.

Old put the results of his research into a pamphlet which came to Kilpatrick's attention in October 1955, and to the latter -- now a zealous resister and groping for a formula -- Old's findings were pure gold. Most of the News Leader's editorial page was given over to interposition. The Virginia and Kentucky interposition resolutions of 1798 and 1799 were reprinted in full. Voluminous editorials, written with the solemnity of great statepapers, appeared daily alongside three-column portraits of Jefferson, Madison, Calhoun and other pre-Civil War Southern immortals. "After six weeks, and 50,000 words in the News Leader, the strange new word 'interposition' had entered the vocabulary of most adult Virginians and of politicians all across the South. Reprints of the interposition editorials had been distributed beyond the News Leader's circulation range. A group of extreme segregationists, meeting in Memphis, Tennessee, urged Virginia to 'interpose its sovereignty' when the legislature met in January and called on all Southern states to fall in line...."[12]

The five Southern states whose legislatures were in session in January 1956 raced to adopt resolutions of interposition in one form or another. Alabama had the honor

of being the first across the interposition line. The Virginia legislature hagged longer over the wording, but in the debate and earlier drafts it had led the way. The Virginia General Assembly resolved in part as follows:

> That by its decision of May 17, 1954, in the school cases, the Supreme Court of the United States placed upon the Constitution an interpretation, having the effect of an amendment thereto, which interpretation Virginia emphatically disapproves;
>
> That with the Supreme Court's decision aforesaid and this resolution by the General Assembly of Virginia, a question of contested power has arisen: The court asserts, for its part, that the States did, in fact, in 1868, prohibit unto themselves, by means of the Fourteenth Amendment, the power to maintain racially separate public schools, which power certain of the States have exercised daily for more than 80 years; the State of Virginia, for her part, asserts that she has never surrendered such power....
>
> (That Virginia) anxiously concerned at this massive expansion of central authority ... is in duty bound to interpose against these most serious consequences, and earnestly to challenge the usurped authority that would inflict them upon her citizens....
>
> And be it finally resolved that until the question here asserted by the State of Virginia be settled by clear constitutional amendment, we pledge our firm intention to take all appropriate measures, legally and constitutionally available to us, to resist this illegal encroachment upon our sovereign powers and to urge upon our sister states, whose authorities over their own most cherished powers may next be imperiled, their prompt and deliberate efforts to check this and further encroachment by the Supreme Court, through judicial legislation, upon the reserved powers of the states.

Significant excerpts from resolutions adopted by five other states in 1956 are given below:

> Alabama: "(The Supreme Court decisions) are, as a matter of right, null, void, and of no effect; and the legislature of Alabama declares to all men as a matter of right, this state is not bound to abide thereby...."

Georgia: "It is the duty of the State in flagrant cases such as this to interpose its powers between its people and the efforts of said Court to assert an unlawful dominion over them."

South Carolina: "The State of South Carolina as a loyal and sovereign State of the Union will exercise the powers reserved to it under the Constitution to judge for itself of the infraction and to take such other legal measures as it may deem appropriate to protect its sovereignty and the rights of its people."

Mississippi: "Said decisions are in violation of the Constitutions of the United States and the State of Mississippi, and therefore, are considered unconstitutional, invalid and of no lawful effect within the confines of the State of Mississippi."

Louisiana: "Until the usurpation herein complained of... be settled by legal Constitutional amendment... the legislature of Louisiana does hereby solemnly declare the decision of the Supreme Court... and any similar decisions that might be rendered in connection with the public school system and public parks and recreational facilities, insofar as such decisions may affect or apply to the sovereign State of Louisiana, to be in violation of the Constitution of the United States, and of the State of Louisiana..."

New Chapter 6

The Problem of Enforcement

"The decision in Brown v. Board of Education created the greatest problem of compliance since the Marshall period." (Encyclopaedia Britannica).

The Supreme Court had said pointedly in its 1955 pronouncement: "It should go without saying that the vitality of these constitutional principles cannot be allowed to yield simply because of disagreement with them." But how in a region in hostile disagreement with its ruling was that ruling to be enforced? The question touched the foundations of the system of government under which we live.

The Russian dictator Joseph Stalin, speaking of the Roman Catholic Pope once asked scornfully: "How many divisions has he?" The Supreme Court has no divisions of soldiers at its command, and no police nor any enforcement agency. It has no direct means of invoking the power of the Government of the United States to enforce its decrees. In the normal course its place in the constitutional division of powers, its Olympian prestige and the long tradition of matter-of-fact obedience to its fiats are sufficient. But in most of the South after the Brown decision these values appeared to have lost their force. In the constitutional crisis which arose, and which would involve far more than public schools, the power of the President -- even military force -- would ultimately be used to insure compliance

with limited local and specific orders of federal courts. But the broad ruling that public school segregation violated the Constitution brought no steps on the part of the national government looking to its general abolition.

The Supreme Court received no significant aid from the executive and legislative branches. President Eisenhower strove to follow a course of disenvolvement in the controversy; Congress took no action which even suggested approval of the Brown decision. On one occasion when the President was chided by congressional critics for his apparent indifference to resistance to the desegregation ruling, he replied, via special counsel: "The President would not make any assumption that the judicial branch of the Government is incapable of implementing the Supreme Court's decision."[11] To newspaper men and others, President Eisenhower spoke frequently of "progress" -- "progress" which had been made or "progress" which should be made -- but his personal opinion of the Brown decision and of school desegregation was left in some doubt. "There are very strong emotions on the other side," he once remarked -- "people that see a picture of mongrelization of the race, they call it." Calling for "education," "patience" and "moderation," he criticized "extremists" and seemed to place those working for compliance and those working for defiance together. His comment on massive gestures of resistance were in the nature more of extenuation than of rebuke. Commenting on the Southern Manifesto, the President said with singular complacency:

"Now, the first thing about the Manifesto is this: That they say they are going to use every legal means. No one in any reasonable position anywhere has talked nullification, because -- and there would be a place where we get to a very bad spot for the simple reason that I am sworn to defend and uphold the Constitution of the United States and, of course, I can never abandon or refuse to carry out my own duty.

"But, let us remember that the Supreme Court itself talked about emotionalism in this question, and it was for that reason that it said 'progress must be gradual.'"[2]

Nullification was expressly present in some of the interposition resolutions adopted by Southern state legislatures. Asked for his comment on these, the President said:

"Now this is what I say: There are adequate means of determining all of these factors. The Supreme Court has issued its own operational directives and delegated power to the district courts.

"I expect that we are going to make progress, and the Supreme Court itself said it does not expect revolutionary action suddenly executed.

"We will make progress, and I am not going to attempt to tell you how it is going to be done."[3]

Suggestions were made in many quarters that the President should invite Southern leaders to discuss the problem with him at the White House. In February 1956 Adlai E. Stevenson, Democratic nominee for the presidency in 1952 (and 1956) proposed that the President call a meeting of Southern white and Negro leaders "to explore ways and means of allaying rising

tensions over racial integration in the South."[4] Governor Collins of Florida asked the President to call a conference of Southern governors and attorneys general. The Textile Workers Union of America asked him to summon the Southern governors for a specific discussion of ways to bring about integration of the schools. No such conferences were held. President Eisenhower told a news conference May 23 that he believed they would tend to inflame rather than alleviate racial tension and that the participants probably would feel compelled to stand by long-established positions.

The inaction of Congress did not signify disapproval of the Supreme Court decision. On the contrary, if members of Congress reflected the sentiments of their constituents, a large majority must have approved -- and they probably did approve -- of the desegregation ruling. A Gallup Poll in July 1954 found that, in spite of overwhelming disapproval in the South, 57 per cent of those with opinions in the nation approved of it. Those approving were, in the Far West, 68 per cent, in the Middle West, 61 per cent, and in the East, 76 per cent. However, not only was the powerful and determined Southern bloc to be reckoned with, but there was difference of opinion even among liberals as to what action, if any, Congress should take. Theodore R. McKeldin, who as governor of Maryland at this time was leading his state to compliance in good faith, was to say in 1959: "We don't need a special act... to tell us what the Supreme Court has stated rather clearly... We have the powers now, in the Presidency and in the Department of Justice to act as a nation against any state's act of rebellion against the

Constitution. There is a practical question, too, as to the kind of federal integration law which would suit the condition and popular temperament of, say, Maryland and Kentucky, and at the same time those of Georgia and South Carolina." 5

On the other hand, many felt that, in view of the farreaching implications of the desegregation ruling and the extraordinary hostility to it in the South, the executive and legislative branches of the federal government should share the responsibility for its implementation. A number of plans were suggested. Governor Collins advanced a proposal in 1957 for the creation of a federal commission in each state with the primary responsibility for the direction of desegregation in public schools. The commissions, under this plan, would offer counsel to individuals and school authorities, investigate allegations that persons were being denied admission to public schools on account of race, consider any plan for desegregation upon the request of school authorities and approve or disapprove of them or direct modifications. Southern governors, to whom the plan was first submitted, were cool to any plan looking to school integration; others found the Collins plan impracticable or an encroachment upon the scope of the federal judiciary. The proposal is of interest, nevertheless, as indicative of a needed service for which no governmental machinery existed.

Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas introduced a bill in the Senate in 1958 for the creation of a federal community relations service to conciliate community disagreements. His bill cautiously recognized that the requirements of the Constitution "are giving rise, or may give rise, to disagreements in communities in the various states disruptive to peaceful relations among citizens of such communities."

In the same session of Congress Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois, with the co-sponsorship of seventeen colleagues, introduced a bill with comprehensive provision for the legislative implementation of the desegregation ruling. This bill endorsed the Brown decision unequivocally as expressing "the moral ideals of the nation" and "the supreme law of the land." It provided for technical and financial assistance to state and local communities confronted with the problem of adjustment, including available information, surveys, national and local conferences, trained specialists and local advisory councils. An appropriation of 40 million dollars annually was contemplated to assist local governments to meet the costs of additional educational measures which might be taken to facilitate the transition. The Douglas Bill also provided for positive action on the part of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to promote, and on the part of the Department of Justice, to force desegregation. The Secretary of HEW would be authorized to persuade local governments to begin desegregation and, in the event of their refusal, to prepare a tentative plan for desegregating a specific school district. If, after due consultation, hearings, etc.,

local officials refused to comply with the Secretary's approved plan, the Attorney General could institute a civil action to enforce compliance with it. The Attorney General was also authorized to proceed against any official or other person preventing, or threatening to prevent, the execution of a court desegregation order.

The bill that became the Civil Rights Act of 1957, included, under a famous Title III, provision for the initiation of desegregation suits by the Department of Justice, but Title III was deleted before the bill's passage. The Civil Rights Commission in its 1959 report would request authorization to "establish an advisory and conciliation service to assist local school officials in developing plans designed to meet constitutional requirements and local conditions...." The Commission's 1961 report would recommend: "That Congress enact legislation making it the duty of every local school board which maintains any public school from which pupils are excluded on a basis of race, to file a plan for desegregation with a designated federal agency within six months after the adoption of such legislation, said plan to call for at least a first step toward full compliance with the Supreme Court's decision in the School Segregation Cases at the beginning of the following school year, and complete desegregation as soon as practicable thereafter."

In the period here under review none of the above proposals were adopted. But they are nonetheless illuminating: they represent steps which the magnitude of the problem suggested.

space

The Supreme Court administers only the lower courts in the national judicial system, and it had given responsibility for the implementation of its ruling to them. So the task of accomplishing the vast social change fell upon the federal district courts and circuit courts of appeal. It fell upon "58 Lonely Men," the federal judges in the South -- of whom J. W. Peltason has said in his book by that title: "Perhaps not since pre-revolutionary years, when royal governors imposed imperial orders on colonials, have any American officials been placed in the center of such a cross fire, a cross fire of such intensity that even the dignity of high office offers little protection."[6]

All but five of the Southern federal judges were born in the region and, privately, a majority of them probably favored race segregation. They understood better than most the difficulties which stood in the way of adopting public school systems to the new order, and they had strong ties of friendship and sympathy with local officials and community leaders. But excepting the rebellion of four or five aging jurists, the federal judges in the South strove to carry out the instructions of the Supreme Court and to adhere to the principles laid down in its decisions. Many of these judges displayed high qualities of serenity, firmness and courage -- in some cases a degree of heroism -- in the midst of turmoil and hostile pressures. When suits were filed in federal courts, orders could be confidently expected -- though not without possibly lengthy litigation -- to admit Negroes to white schools. In the few instances

where district courts failed, the federal courts of appeal were sure to bring them into line.

A number of school districts in Western and Southern Texas, like most border state districts, proceeded to remove racial barriers in response to the broad ruling that public school segregation was unconstitutional. A few scattered school districts elsewhere would accept token integration "voluntarily," -- though largely to forestall court action with expensive litigation, which they realized must come. It was hoped that the example of court-ordered integration would set off a general movement of adjustment. But, outside of Southern and Western Texas, no such movement developed in the South. For the most part departure from the system of segregated public schools in a region of 40 million people would wait upon the district-by-district action of forty-eight district judges plus ten circuit judges of the federal judiciary. It was a frail mechanism to propel a social revolution.

Moreover it was not self-starting. A federal judge cannot order a school board to cease segregating pupils until someone with proper standing invokes the jurisdiction of his court. The courts could act only when cases were brought to them; complaint of denial of constitutional rights had to be filed and adjudicated. Litigation took a variety of forms, but the standard procedure was this: a group of Negro children would apply for admission to white schools, the application would be rejected or ignored by the white school authorities, and the children

and their parents, with legal counsel, would go in due course to the federal district court for relief. Negroes who were bold enough to launch upon this onerous and often dangerous operation needed advice, moral support and, above all, legal counsel. By and large there was just one source from which these could be obtained -- the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. By a caprice of history and circumstance the NAACP thus became an accessory of the enforcement mechanism. No instrumentality of government, but the NAACP, became in effect the activating agent.

We may pause here to take another look at the organization upon which this immense responsibility fell. The NAACP's forty-four year struggle for Negro rights had reached a climactic triumph in the Brown decision. Now in the undertaking to secure the implementation of that ruling it enjoyed a larger membership and more financial support and enlisted more legal talent than ever before. Its growing roll of dues-paying members -- about 300,000 in 1956 -- did not give the full picture of its representative capacity; it spoke for nineteen million Negroes in the United States.

It had a headquarters office in New York, staffed by about one hundred employees, and its members met regularly in 1,100 branches scattered widely over the nation, over half of them in the Southern and border states. Dues collections and special donations to the NAACP and its Legal Defense and Educational Fund gave it an income in 1955 of $1,179,605.

Although the great majority of its members were Negroes, there were also white members, and white individuals had been prominent among its leadership from its beginning. Its president was Arthur B. Spingarn, a white man; another white man, Lloyd Garrison, was chairman of its legal committee. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, widow of the late President Roosevelt, was among a distinguished group, white and Negro, on its board of directors. In 1958 its members would include Herbert H. Lehman (former senator and former governor of New York); Averill Harriman and Nelson A. Rockefeller (successively governor of New York), Governor G. Mennen Williams of Michigan, Chester Bowles (former governor of Connecticut), Walter Reuther, Harry Golden and Richard Cardinal Cushing. United Nations Undersecretary Ralph Bunche and Robert C. Weaver (later Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency in the Kennedy Administration) were among nationally famous Negroes high in NAACP councils.

The chief spokesmen for the NAACP were its Negro executive secretaries -- Walter White, the veteran crusader, who died in 1955, and Roy Wilkins, the dynamic and personable leader who succeeded him. Thurgood Marshall, the brilliant Negro lawyer who led the successful fight for the historic Supreme Court decision, (now a federal circuit judge) was a hero to many. Marshall and his associates in that fight -- Robert L. Carter, Jack Greenberg, Louis T. Redding, James Nabrit, George E. C. Hayes, and Spotswood W. Robinson -- continued to be the dominant influence in the important legal phase of NAACP activities. The legal committees of local

branches which had primary responsibility for lawsuits, were aided and guided by Marshall and his staff.

The wide gulf between the thinking of white people and that of Negroes in the South -- at all cultural levels -- was nowhere better illustrated than in their attitudes toward the NAACP. The flood of vilification and the incessantly repeated smears had led many, even among white people who were otherwise moderately disposed, to regard the NAACP as an evil influence. To most white Southerners it was a mysteriously diabolical thing. In contrast, Southern Negroes looked up to the NAACP with admiration and respect, bordering on reverence; to most of them it was above criticism, an institution which all men of good will should support. The attitudes of political leaders North and South toward the NAACP offered another striking contrast: in the North politicians cultivated its friendship, were glad to appear publicly with NAACP leaders; in the South any friendly contact with an NAACP official might be enough to end a politician's career.

The basic complaint of Southern segregationists, underneath the synthetic charges of Communism and miscellaneous villainies, was that the NAACP was "stirring up" the Negroes and thus inciting racial turmoil. The NAACP did emphatically encourage Negroes to seek what the Supreme Court had declared to be their constitutional rights, but it insisted at all times upon orderly recourse to courts of law. It may have been a blessing even from the point of view of those Southerners who believed most strongly in segregation that an inevitable

rebellion on the part of the Negroes against subservient status should have been guided by an organization so devoted to peaceful procedure.

Addressing an NAACP convention a few weeks after the Supreme Court decree of May 31, 1955, Marshall said: "In all school districts we will insist that the first and minimum evidence of 'good faith' shall be the recognition by the school board that students cannot be assigned on the basis of race and that racial segregation is abolished in that school system. Next, we will insist that a plan for desegregation be worked out as soon as possible but not later than September 1955. Third, we will insist that some concrete steps toward desegregation be put in effect the next term, beginning this fall. Fourth, we will insist that the plan include step-by-step desegregation during the next school year. Finally, we will insist that desegregation be completed not later than the school term beginning September 1955."[7]

This ambitious program was not inconsonant with the momentum of desegregation in the border states. But with respect to the former Confederate states of the South, as we look back upon it, it seems a fantasy without relevance to the actual situation which was developing. Ten years later it would still be an unrealistic undertaking.

First to receive district court attention in the South were the two cases -- that of Clarendon County, South Carolina, and that of Prince Edward County, Virginia -- which had been remanded specifically by the Supreme Court. In July three-judge courts heard each of these cases and in each ordered that discrimination in the admission of children to public schools should be terminated "with all deliberate speed." But no date was fixed for compliance. These two Black Belt counties were among the most difficult communities in the entire South from the standpoint of both practical obstacles and intransigent hostility among white citizens. Years would go by and desegregation would be accomplished in many other Southern localities before the first Negro would attend school with white pupils in either of these.

A statement made by United States Circuit Judge John J. Parker, who presided in the hearing of the Clarendon County case proved one of the most important glosses of the Brown decisions; it would figure prominently in segregationist planning and argument thereafter. Judge Parker said:

"It (the Supreme Court) has not decided that the states must mix persons of different races in the schools or must require them to attend schools or must deprive them of the right of choosing the schools they attend. What it has decided, is that a state may not deny any person on account of race the right to attend any school that it maintains... Nothing in the Constitution or in the decision of the Supreme Court takes away from the people freedom to choose

the schools they attend. The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It does not forbid such segregation as occurs as the result of voluntary action. It merely forbids the use of governmental machinery to enforce segregation."[8]

Thus compliance with the ruling would not necessitate as drastic and sweeping an operation as some supposed; with careful planning and a gradual program, it could be accomplished in the most difficult situations. But the statement was widely interpreted to mean that desegregation could be postponed until Negroes took positive steps in each locality to secure admission to white schools. Segregationist efforts were intensified to prevent Negroes from doing that.

However, formal application was already being made by hundreds of Negro children in widely scattered districts for admission to white schools. This first step was in the form of petitions filed with local school authorities. By September desegregation petitions had been filed -- 13 in Alabama, 4 in Florida, 5 in Georgia, 2 in Louisiana, 5 in Mississippi, 14 in North Carolina, 10 in South Carolina, 2 in Tennessee, and 6 in Virginia.[9] A majority of the signers of these petitions yielded to segregationist pressure and withdrew their names; many of the petitions were withdrawn; most would be ignored by school authorities.

Elsie Horn, who with six other Negro parents withdrew a suit against the board of education in Montgomery County, North Carolina, said she had been asked if she would like it if she sent her "kids to a white school and they came up missing or didn't come back at all." Intimidation in Mississippi

and Alabama effectually put a stop to Negro applications for enrollment in white schools here for years to come. In Yazoo County, Mississippi, the Citizens' Council published a full-page advertisement in a local paper giving "an authentic list of the purported signers to an NAACP communication to our school board." Many of the signers promptly lost their jobs; a plumbing contractor was taken off the two construction jobs which he had under way and was refused plumbing supplies by a wholesale house. Economic reprisals against the signers of school desegregation petitions were reported in three Alabama Counties, Dallas, Bullock and Selma. In Selma, the county seat of Dallas, White Citizens' Council Chairman Alston Keith estimated that of the 29 Negro petition signers "about 16 -- probably all of them who had jobs -- were fired," explaining that some were self-employed.

The economic reprisals against Negro signers of school desegregation petitions were carried to the most sweeping and protracted extremes in the South Carolina city of Orangeburg; but the Orangeburg episode was even more significant in that it represented the first important instance of Negro retaliation. For several years after the Brown decision economic pressure was widely hailed among segregationists of the Ku Klux Klan -Citizens' Council school as a sure means of extinguishing Negro initiative. It was used also to intimidate white business men who refused to join Citizens' Councils or who betrayed some measure of sympathy with the Negro cause. But economic reprisals could not be carried out on a large

scale without loss or hardship to some of their authors. In the end the Negro himself -- in his campaign for access to lunch counters and various public facilities and for equal employment opportunity -- would use the economic weapon more systematically and with dramatic effect. Judge Brady had said in Black Monday: "It will be inconvenient upon the white women of the South to discharge their maids and cooks, but this can be done." But he little understood the Southern housewife -- who would regard doing her own floor-scrubbing and dishwashing a high price to pay even for state rights and white supremacy! Few economic relationships between whites and Negroes could be terminated without some harm to both parties. And in Orangeburg the Negroes struck back.

In this city of 17,000 population the economic struggle began when 57 Negroes petitioned the school board in July 1955, asking that immediate steps be taken to "reorganize the public schools on a non-discriminatory basis." The Orangeburg Times Democrat said: "The petition stunned citizens who had taken pride in the equalization of schools and of teachers' salaries, and who were sincerely convinced that they had dealt fairly and intelligently with racial problems...."

Indignant whites promptly organized a Citizens' Council and 3,000 gathered in a mass meeting, at which a campaign of reprisals was launched against the petitioners, their families and members of the local NAACP. In the January 24, 1957 issue of The Reporter magazine Edward Gamarekian gave

this picture of the economic sanctions which were applied:

"Those who worked for white employers were fired. Those who rented from white landlords were evicted. Those who bought from white merchants and suppliers were denied further credit and asked to settle outstanding accounts at once. Some were no longer able to buy in some places, even for cash.

"Mayor Jennings, who was the president of the Orangeburg Coca-Cola Bottling Company, the Palmetto Baking Company, and the Orangeburg Ice & Fuel Company, cut off the supply of Cokes, bread, and ice cream to three Negro grocers and a gas station owner who signed the petition. The Coble Dairy stopped the delivery of milk to these grocers and to all the petitioners on its home delivery routes. The owner of a taxi company was threatened with the loss of his Western Union delivery contract and his drivers were harassed by the local police. A Shell service-station operator was forced out of business by the owner-distributor.

"Petitioners were refused new insurance policies. Immediate payment was demanded on loans and mortgages where agreements were oral or loosely drawn. Banks, loan companies, and individual lenders refused to give any further financial assistance. Teachers related to petitioners were threatened with the loss of their jobs when their contracts expired at the end of the school year. A few of the petitioners receiving welfare aid were told it would be cut off."

The Negroes, who constituted 63 per cent of the population of Orangeburg county, and united generally behind the petitioners, replied with the only weapon available to them -- the

boycott. They ceased to patronize the white merchants who were leading the reprisal movement. The fall of 1955 and the winter of 1955-1956 was a period of business stagnation in Orangeburg, and one of privation for many Negroes. Food, clothing, money, and messages of sympathy were sent to the Orangeburg Negro community by the NAACP and various churches, organizations and individuals in the North. On the white side, one grocer went out of business, the laundry closed its pick-up station in the Negro section and many merchants saw their sales dwindle. By the spring of 1956 the white business community was ready in effect to cry enough; economic peace returned to Orangeburg.

On the basic issue -- the desegregation of Orangeburg public schools -- the Negroes lost: there would be no public school desegregation in South Carolina for long years to come. The case was not taken to federal court. But 25 of the petitioners stood fast to the end, and it was impressively demonstrated that the economic weapon was not the exclusive property of the white man.

NAACP lawyers were kept busy. A variety of problems claimed their attention in the South -- including the unfinished business of removing racial barriers in institutions of higher learning. Litigation was under way for the desegregation of universities in Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana and Tennessee. In several states NAACP lawyers found themselves engaged in a struggle to defend the very existence of the

Clearcopy Onion Skin

NAACP locally, and its right to operate. They were also prodding lagging public school districts in the border states, and in the South a few hardy petitioners were laboring through the application procedure to the filing of school desegregation suits. A few scattered suits seeking the admission of Negroes to white public schools had been filed during the period when the cases leading to the Brown decision were in litigation, and had been held in abeyance pending the outcome of that supreme effort. These cases were now re-activated. In Southern and border states by mid-1956 federal courts had handled 95 suits related to the problem, 65 of them requesting desegregation of public schools.

Desegregation litigation was under way before the end of 1955 in Anderson County (Clinton) and Nashville, Tennessee; Big Spring, Wichita Falls, Mansfield and Dallas, Texas; Atlanta, Georgia; Pulaski County, Virginia; Bearden, Arkansas; two North Carolina counties; and two Louisiana parishes; suits were filed early in 1956 in Miami, Florida; Charlottesville and Newport News, Virginia; and Little Rock, Arkansas. In Atlanta, New Orleans and Bearden, and in Anderson and Pulaski Counties, pre-1954 suits were revived. In McDowell County, North Carolina, an old equalization suit was changed to one requesting desegregation. In Little Rock NAACP lawyers sought to force quicker action by a school board that had announced a gradual desegregation program.

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Two litigations proceeded without NAACP involvement: in Bearden, where local Negroes moved independently, and in Hoxie, Arkansas, where a school board sought an injunction to prevent segregationist interference with a desegregation program which it had voluntarily adopted.

Initial rulings in the desegregation cases were generally inclusive: in most cases school boards were allowed more time without a fixed deadline or the door was left open for further litigation; when ground could no longer be found for delay in district courts, appeal was nearly always had to higher federal courts. Nevertheless, as the beginning of the 1956-1957 school term approached, two cases were headed for a stormy climax. In Mansfield, Texas, the federal circuit court of appeals had overruled a district court that refused to order immediate desegregation, and had rejected a request of the school board for more time. In Clinton, Tennessee, the Anderson County school board was preparing to comply with an order issued by Federal District Judge Robert L. Taylor in January, that the county high schools should be desegregated at a time not later than "the beginning of the fall term of the year 1956."

Chapter 7

Mansfield and Clinton

For students of the public school desegregation problem the month of September each year was a time of anxiety and suspense. That was when summer vacations ended and schools opened for a new term. School-opening sometimes occurred in the last days of August and in several instances desegregation difficulties caused it to be postponed until October or even early November, but September was generally the month of school-opening, of desegregation attempts and of crisis. September 1956 saw convulsions at Sturgis and Clay and reassuring progress in Louisville, as we have already related, in Kentucky; it also saw disturbing crises in Texas and Tennessee. National magazines and news media were hard put to deploy reporters and photographers to scenes of turmoil sputtering simultaneously in those three states.

Texas furnished the first clearcut example of failure of enforcement of a federal court order for desegregation of a public school. It furnished an example also of failure in the case of an institution of higher learning, which -- unless the anomalous outcome of the attempt of Miss Lucy to enter the University of Alabama be taken as a failure of enforcement of a court order -- was the first in this category. The performance of Texas was in some respects paradoxical. Among the eleven Southern states Texas had the best record of compliance with the Brown decision. While eight states made no move toward public school desegregation

In 1955 and 1956, racial barriers in school enrollment were disappearing fairly briskly in this state. The Supreme Court of Texas in October 1955 had accepted the decision of the United States Supreme Court, and declared the provisions of the constitution and statutes of Texas requiring public school segregation void. Segregation had come quietly to an end in the three high schools of Austin, the state capital. By the fall of 1956 desegregation had taken place in 104 of the state's 1,857 public school districts. Negroes had been admitted also to twenty-nine colleges and universities that previously had been restricted to white students, nineteen of these institutions being publicly-supported and ten being church-supported.

But peaceful adjustment to the new order had been almost entirely confined to the wide expanse of western and southern Texas where Negroes were few. In a populous northeastern one-third of the state, in which approximately 90 per cent of the Negro population resided, a radically different spirit prevailed. This section resembled Louisiana and Mississippi in its deeply rooted race prejudice. The Ku Klux Klan had been active here in the 1940's; lynchings were still remembered. A report (later proven false) that a white woman had been raped, had precipitated a sensational race riot in Beaumont in 1943, resulting in two deaths, one white and one Negro. The hostility of this region to desegregation was reflected in the state administration and in the state political hierarchy.

East Texas produced in one week the two incidents in which federal court desegregation orders were allowed to yield to local hostility -- by, or with the acquiescence of, state authorities. Texarkana Junior College, a segregated white institution, had been ordered by a federal district court to cease discriminating on account of race and specifically to admit two named Negro students. Local opposition was encouraged and in effect endorsed by Dr. W. H. Stillwell, president of the college, who told an audience of protesting citizens: "If integration results in lowering educational standards, it is not only your right but your duty to resist it."[1] An effigy of a Negro was hanged on the campus, a cross was burned, and a shotgun blast was fired at a filling station owned by a Negro leader. Four Texas Rangers came to preserve order. They arrested four Negro teen-agers for throwing stones at an automobile containing white youths, but the Ranger in charge refused to escort the Negro students through the white mob surrounding the college. The Negroes were driven back and the integration attempt was given up -- though order was restored in Texarkana.

The village of Mansfield on the outskirts of Fort Worth presented the first test of court-ordered public school desegregation in hostile East Texas, and one of the first in the South. Mansfield had a population of approximately 1,500, of whom some 350 persons were colored. A one-room schoolhouse without indoor plumbing had been replaced in 1954 by a four-room grade school for Negroes, but Negro high school students

still had to ride approximately forty miles daily by public bus to attend high school in Fort Worth, the schedule involving a two-hour wait in that city. In April 1955 the Negroes complained to the school board of a variety of school deficiencies, including this hardship, which they hoped to have relieved by the assignment of a regular school bus. When they were unable to secure satisfaction, some of the bolder Negroes decided to apply for the admission of their children to Mansfield High School, a segregated school for whites only. After unsuccessful efforts in July and August and at school-opening in September, a suit was brought in federal court in October on behalf of twelve Negro students. In November Federal District Judge Joe E. Estes dismissed their petition as "premature and precipitate" -- on the ground that the school authorities had not had sufficient time for the transition to an integrated system. In June 1956 the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals reviewed the case and ruled that, the obstacle being only "a difficulty arising out of the local climate of opinion," the defendants should have been ordered to abolish segregation in Mansfield High School -- "acting promptly, and completely uninfluenced by private and public opinion as to the desirability of desegregation...." On remand, the district court issued the necessary orders and a plea for a year's postponement was denied.

During the summer the little community was subjected to a steadily increasing barrage of anti-Negro and anti-integration propaganda, in which the local newspaper joined. A cross was burned on August 22, and another on August 23, in the Negro section of the town. On August 28 a dummy representing a Negro was hung over Mansfield's main street, with signs

reading THIS NEGRO TRIED TO GO TO A WHITE SCHOOL and WOULDN'T THIS BE A HORRIBLE WAY TO DIE? Other Negro effigies were hanged on the flagpole (in lieu of the national flag) and over the entrance to Mansfield High School. A White Citizens' Council was formed.

Registration at the school took place on Thursday and Friday, August 30 and 31, and -- after the Labor Day week-end -- on Tuesday, September 4. A turbulent crowd of whites, sometimes estimated at as high as five hundred, surrounded the school each registration day, prepared to turn back any Negroes who appeared. On September 4, the Rev. C. W. Clark, an Episcopal clergyman from Fort Worth, who urged a "Christian" attitude, was harassed and had to be rescued by a Texas Ranger. Two Rangers had been sent to Mansfield by Governor Allen Shivers to restore order.

Governor Shivers was faced squarely with the question which in time would confront three other Southern governors: whether to preserve order in compliance with federal court desegregation rulings or to preserve order by causing, or allowing, those rulings to be disobeyed. In a crisis which occurred almost simultaneously in Tennessee, the governor of that state chose the former course. The governor of Texas chose the latter. Governor Shivers announced on August 30 that he had urged "that the Mansfield School Board go ahead and transfer out of the district any scholastics, white or colored, whose attendance or attempts to attend Mansfield High School would be reasonably calculated to incite violence," and that he had "asked Colonel Garrison (of the Texas Rangers) to instruct

his men to arrest anyone, white or colored, whose actions are such as to represent a threat to the peace at Mansfield."
The governor added:

"I am taking this action not in a spirit of defiance of federal authority but as the only course I can conscientiously pursue in upholding my constitutional responsibility for maintaining law and order in Texas. Should the resulting actions on the part of the Mansfield school authorities be construed as contempt of the federal courts, I respectfully suggest that the charge should be laid against the Governor and not the local people.

"It is not my intention to permit the use of state officers or troops to shoot down or intimidate Texas citizens who are making orderly protest against a situation instigated and agitated by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. At the same time we will protect persons of all races who are not themselves contributing to the breach of peace. If this course is not satisfactory under the circumstances to the federal government, I respectfully suggest further that the Supreme Court, which is responsible for the order, be given the task of enforcing it."[2]

Calm was restored in Mansfield; but Mansfield High School has remained segregated to this writing, eight years later. The mob accomplished its purpose. The procedure followed by the governor of Texas had in it an element of rebellion which, when manifested later elsewhere -- on a larger scale, in a more spectacular fashion and more sharply under the eyes of the nation and the world -- would invite the intervention of federal military forces. But in tiny Mansfield the incident was quickly closed.

Space

The Mansfield incident drew from President Eisenhower a significant revelation of his attitude toward the Brown decision and the problems that it posed in the South. In his press conference of September 5, 1956 the following colloquy took place:

> Robert E. Clark, International News Service: Do you think there is anything that can be said or done on the national level to help local communities meet this problem without violence?
>
> The President: Well, in each case I think the local governments have moved promptly to stop the violence. And let us remember this: Under the law the federal government cannot, on the ordinary normal case of keeping order and preventing rioting, cannot move into a state until the state is not able to handle the matter.
>
> Now, in the Texas case there was -- the attorney for the students did report this violence and asked help, which apparently was the result of unreadiness to obey a federal court order.
>
> But before anyone could move, the Texas authorities had moved in and order was restored, so the question became unimportant.
>
> Sarah McClendon, El Paso Times: Mr. President, in doing so, Governor Allan Shivers sent Rangers to defy the court order, reassign out the Negro pupils, and said in a public statement which was carried in the newspapers:
>
> "I defy the federal government," he said, "Tell the federal courts if they want to come after anyone to come after me and cite me in this matter."
>
> I wonder if you have discussed this with anyone in the Department of Justice?
>
> The President: I have not discussed it because you are quoting both an order that I have not read and a statement that I have not seen.
>
> Now, I have -- we have -- actually sent for the district court order to know what it says. I don't know what it says. And remember that the Supreme Court placed in the hands of the district judges the primary responsibility for insuring that progress in every sector was made.
>
> Now, just exactly what Governor Shivers said I don't know. This is the first I have heard of it.
>
> John L. Steele, Time magazine: With the schools opening up this week and next in places of serious tension I wonder if there is anything you would like to say, through us, to the younger people who are going to school regarding this problem?

The President: Well, I can say what I have said so often: It is difficult through law and through force to change a man's heart. It seems to me that all of us who are so interested in this question of equality of rights regardless of religion and of race and color should do more about it. I try to miss no opportunity to urge people -- I have done it; I have asked the clergy in and I have asked them to help. I have asked educators in; I have asked them to help.

Whenever I see a governor I ask him to help.

But I do believe that we must all, regardless of our calling in this world, help to bring about a change in spirit so that extremists on both sides do not defeat what we know is a reasonable, logical conclusion to this whole affair, which is recognition of equality of men.

Now, there -- the South is full of people that are adamant and are so filled with prejudice that they can't keep -- they even resort to violence; and the same way on the other side of the thing; the people who want to have the whole matter settled today.

This is a question of leading and training and teaching people, and it takes some time, unfortunately.

Arthur Sylvester, Newark (N.J.) News: Mr. President, in view of your statement just now, do you endorse the finding of the Supreme Court on segregation or merely accept it as the Republican platform does?

The President: I think it makes no difference whether or not I endorse it. What I say is they -- the Constitution is as the Supreme Court interprets it; and I must conform to that end and do my very best to see that it is carried out in this country.

Robert G. Spivak, New York Post: Governor Shivers, when he made his announcement last week, ordered the removal of Negro students from the Mansfield school after mob action had been in effect in that area. I wonder if you think that that is a surrender to mob rule?

The President: Well, you don't know for how long he has ordered this. I don't know whether he has ordered the permanent transfer of these people or until the situation is under control.

The -- I want to re-emphasize this -- Certainly, every liberal will be very jealous of protecting the locality's right to execute the police power in this country.

When police power is executed habitually by the -- and exercised habitually by the federal government we are in

a bad way. So, until states show their inability or their refusal to grapple with this question properly, which they haven't yet, at least as any proof has been admitted, we'd better be very careful about moving in and exercising police power.

Clinton, Tennessee, received the biggest headlines of September 1956. The agony of Clinton was a demonstration above all of the incendiary capabilities of visiting agitators in a peace-loving community. It was a reminder also of a related phenomenon that would continue to aggravate and expand disorders in the South, and one which needs to be borne in mind by law enforcement authorities everywhere. That is the universal availability today of automobile transportation. Hoodlums and lovers of excitement, of whom every community has its share -- not to mention Negrophobes and pro-segregation extremists -- from as far as a hundred miles are able to converge upon any point of seething unrest within a few hours and return to their homes the same night. Riots, therefore, are not necessarily spontaneous or of local instigation. Those in Clinton were neither. The Clinton story was exciting fare for newspaper and magazine readers; it was one of villains and heroes, of hysteria and courageous common sense, of irresponsible fanaticism and steadfast dedication to the public good, of drama, tragedy and pathos -- ending at long last in the triumph of embattled decency. It illuminated many aspects of the problem of the transition to the new order in the South and merits examination in some detail.

Clinton was a pleasant town in Anderson County in the Cumberland Mountains of East Tennessee, about fifteen

miles northwest of the metropolis of Knoxville -- where Clinton Negroes had been sent to a segregated high school hitherto. It had a population of 3,712, including 220 non-whites, by the 1950 census. In the federally-run "atomic city" of Oak Ridge, nine miles north of Clinton, high schools had been peacefully integrated a year earlier. It is to be noted, too, that the desegregation controversy here was devoid of any suggestion of nostalgic Confederate loyalty; this section of Tennessee had stood with the Union in the Civil War.

The Anderson County school board, which had charge of the Clinton high school, had been involved in federal court litigation since 1950. Once the Brown decision appeared, thoughtful citizens of the area had sensed that it would be implemented before long in the local case. When in January 1956 the district court issued a definitive order for the desegregation of Clinton High School, the town authorities resolved to do everything possible to insure a smooth and peaceful transition. D. J. Brittain, Jr., the high school principal, instituted a program of theme assignments and debates to make students aware of their coming responsibilities. The correspondent of the scrupulously objective Southern School News wrote in August for its September issue: "Based on interviews with parents and other citizens in the community, it is fair to describe their attitude as one of resignation."

Both before and during the turmoil that came, the performance of local officials was on the whole exemplary; and they were supported by the town's leading business and professional men. Horace Wells, editor of the local weekly

newspaper, received the 1957 University of Southern Illinois Elijah P. Lovejoy Award for "realistic devotion to law and order." The faculty and a large majority of the students of Clinton High School behaved admirably. The police power of the state was exerted on the side of order within the law.

School was scheduled to open Monday, August 27, 1956. On August 23, the Anderson County school board reaffirmed its intention, announced the previous autumn, "to comply with any and all court mandates...."

But on Saturday afternoon, August 25, John Kasper arrived in town. This roving missionary of white supremacy, whom we met in an earlier chapter, immediately started buttonholing people on the street and, as he later testified in court, "Went from door to door and talked with each neighbor about the pending integration." Sunday he told a little crowd gathered in front of the courthouse that "people are superior to courts," and urged the students present to picket the high school and stay away from classes. His inflammatory crusade began to arouse apprehension. Town and county officials, editor Wells and others met Sunday afternoon to plan for the protection of the school on Monday -- and to decide what to do about Kasper. When efforts to persuade him to leave town failed, Kasper was arrested on charges of inciting to riot and vagrancy.

Monday -- with Kasper in jail -- twelve Negro and 715 white students began attending classes together at Clinton High School. Some disorder occurred outside the school,

where a crowd of about fifty had gathered, but, inside, the Negro students were received peacefully, even with some cordiality. One of their number, Jo Ann Allen, an attractive fourteen-year-old junior -- drawn out in friendly questioning by her teacher -- was elected vice-president of her homeroom class.

Tuesday attendance at the school reached a full 806. But John Kasper was free again. Tried at nine A.M., and his case dismissed for want of evidence, he betook himself to the high school and told the principal to "run the Negroes off or resign." "I told him," Brittain said later, "I would resign if 51 per cent of the parents with students in school wanted it."[3] Kasper went to work distributing anti-Brittain signs demanding that the principal resign. Tuesday evening he delivered a fiery speech to several hundred on the courthouse square.

The next day, Brittain, who had been bombarded with anonymous phone calls -- some of them threatening his life -- called an assembly of the students and turned it over to Jerry Shattuck, president of the student council; he told Shattuck to conduct a poll while teachers and principal were outside of the auditorium. The vote of confidence in the principal was unanimous. It was followed by a singing of the school song -- hearing which, Brittain returned and received an ovation. He asked the students to poll their parents when they got home. The returns from this poll were 447 to 6 in favor of Brittain.

There was a crowd of over one hundred outside the school Wednesday. Negro students now were attacked or chased; some were slipped out of the back door of the school to protect them from the mob. In the evening about one thousand gathered in the square to hear Kasper. His speech was interrupted by a federal marshal. The marshal served a temporary restraining order with notification of a hearing the next day on a permanent injunction. But Kasper resumed his harangue.

Thursday, August 30, his federal court hearings began, and he was jailed again. Kasper would remain in jail for the next eight days -- the period of greatest turmoil in Clinton.

Many who have analyzed the crisis have concluded that this community would have adjusted itself to the school change without serious difficulty if John Kasper had stayed away. Certainly this tall, brooding fanatic -- with his tone of literate sophistication and his ability to cast a strange spell over the ignorant -- was the foremost kindler of the blaze that ignited there. He aroused hundreds -- even thousands -- and a few score became his slavish disciples. But there were other factors. The Clinton area was not without its criminal element; and practically all its white citizens objected to the mixing of races in public schools. Moreover, Kasper had many allies and coreligionists from afar. They were all too ready to carry on the work which he had started while he languished behind prison bars.

Clinton had had no segregationist organization; now several imported ones got into the picture. Emmissaries of the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government had arrived in Clinton before Kasper. Incidentally, TFCG had filed suit in the state court demanding that state funds be cut off from Mansfield High School and that county officials be restrained from admitting Negroes to it. (Five of the fifteen local residents listed as complainants said they did not understand that their names would be used in the suit and four took legal action to have their names removed.) Judge Taylor rejected the petition on August 28.

Without Kasper, a crowd of about three hundred persons milled around the school Thursday -- hurling stones, tomatoes and epithets at the Negroes when they left for home. Three youths were arrested. A score of miscellaneous segregationists harangued the crowd on the square in the evening. Friday, attendance at the school dropped to 446, including ten Negroes. Meanwhile, in the federal court, Kasper was found guilty of contempt and sentenced to one year in prison.

Friday night saw a kind of pandemonium. One Asa, or "Ace," Carter had arrived in town from Alabama. Among the roving segregationist agitators of 1955 and 1956, Carter a busy organizer of both Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens' Councils, was less famous only than Kasper himself. He came to substitute for Kasper at the Friday night mass meeting. If Carter lacked the latter's mystical magnetism, he was no less capable of setting a large crowd on fire. He attacked

Negroes, the NAACP, the Supreme Court and the "carpetbagging judge that put Kasper in jail" -- and left immediately after his speech. (Incidentally, he launched a movement for a Clinton White Citizens' Council; local segregationists were signing up when he departed.) The crowd quickly became a rioting mob which spread over the town, shouting, "We want Kasper!" Some marched to the mayor's home and threatened to dynamite it. The cars of Negro tourists were attacked. Crowds of frenzied teenagers began blocking traffic on Highway No. 25, which is a major north-south road and Clinton's main street. Cars carrying Negroes were stopped and tilted, windows and windshields were smashed and air was let out of tires. The rioting continued until about one A. M. The harried police made no arrests: to have sent two officers to escort a prisoner to jail would have immobilized one-third of Clinton's six-man force!

Saturday the Clinton board of aldermen declared the town in a state of emergency and issued formal requests to the governor of Tennessee on the one hand and to citizens of Clinton on the other to assist in restoring order. Sheriff Glad Woodward joined the town board in the appeal to the governor, which was put in writing and flown to Nashville by chartered plane. Governor Clement also received approximately fifty telegrams from Anderson County asking for help. Meantime a volunteer force of auxiliary police was quickly formed in Clinton. Leo Grant, Jr. a 28-year-old lawyer who took the lead in this, related afterward: "Forty-seven were rounded up in all -- preachers, doctors, clerks -- and most of us mighty scared, but also mighty provoked."[4]

The rally Saturday night was sponsored by five organizations previously foreign to little Clinton -- the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government, the Pro-Southerners, the White Citizens' Councils, the Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation and the States' Rights Council of Tennessee. The crowd began to gather soon after six P.M. and by eight it had reached an estimated two thousand.

The story from then on suggested a moving picture melodrama, though its climax might have been considered too neat for plausible fiction. We let a reporter for the Chattanooga Times tell it, noting that the facts are amply borne out by other witnesses. This happened in an American town in the middle of the twentieth century!

> Gradually, at one corner of the courthouse square, a crowd gathered. At its center was the hard nucleus of teen-age hoodlums and segregation extremists who had been the leaders of the last riot. They milled about, shouting about "nigger-lovers," "coon-hunting" and "let's run the niggers out."
>
> The situation was rapidly getting out of hand. Leo Grant, burly 220-pound commander of the "home guards," wearing a .45 pistol and carrying a sub-machine gun, mustered the regulars and volunteers in a skirmish line across the courthouse lawn.
>
> They moved, shoulder to shoulder, toward the crowd. In civilian clothes and carrying shotguns, rifles, an assortment of pistols and clubs, they resembled a colonial Minute Man platoon setting off against the British.
>
> They reached the mob and halted. The police and the mob stood face to face. A foot apart. Neither gave an inch. The air was so charged with electric tension you almost could have lighted a cigarette on it.
>
> Grant ran back into the courthouse and returned with tear gas grenades. The police line drew back.

"Psst! Psst!" Three grenades exploded in the crowd and gas billowed over the lawn. The crowd began scattering. Three more grenades followed.

But the tough element which was giving this town such a difficult time began assembling again. The police, regulars and volunteers, drew into a knot near the courthouse.

"Let's take their guns and kill the 'nigger-loving ----," someone in the mob shouted. More shouts went up. The mob was on the rampage again, madder than ever. Another minute and the war would be on.

At that precise moment, over the hill southeast of town, came 39 highway patrol cars. They moved down on the town, 39 sirens wailing, all 39 red dome lights flashing. They sped down the hill, turned with tires screaming, and circled the courthouse square. They screeched to a halt.

Out of the first car stepped Gregg O'Rear, 6 feet, 7 inches tall, 290 pounds, two stars of a highway patrol inspector glistening on his shoulder, his hand on his pistol, his campaign hat cocked over his right eye, a grim expression on his face.

He walked down the middle of Main Street, followed by 109 state troopers carrying riot guns and submachine guns at the ready, and night sticks.

.....

Deadly silence fell....[5]

Throughout the disorders in Clinton the animosity displayed by the rioters toward representatives of news media was second only to their rage against Negroes. Fearful that reports and pictures would be used against them, they attacked photographers and reporters and smashed or damaged photographic equipment.

Sunday at about noon the National Guard detachment moved in to relieve the state troopers -- 633 battle equipped guardsmen behind seven M-41 tanks and three armored personnel carriers, under the command of State Adjutant General Joe W. Henry. Further disorders occurred Sunday night and Monday (Labor Day)

-- the nightly rally in the square was attempted again, until a crowd of 1,000 was dispersed by two platoons of guardsmen with bayonets fixed -- but, as the military made their presence felt, the community gradually quieted down. On Monday General Henry issued stern orders for the town: outdoor public-speaking, parking cars or assembling in the courthouse square after six P.M. and the use of public address systems out of doors were prohibited.

The unrest having spread to the nearby town of Oliver Springs, two tanks and 71 guardsmen were dispatched to quell rioting there.

Tuesday, September 4, attendance at the high school dropped to 266 including nine brave Negroes; but it increased daily thereafter until it reached a total of 652, including all twelve Negro pupils, by September 15. The last contingent of the National Guard withdrew on September 11. The town police force had been doubled and the sheriff's deputies had been multiplied until nearly 200 local law enforcement officers were ready for any further emergency.

On Thursday, September 6, Federal District Judge Taylor granted Kasper right to bail, and issued a permanent injunction against further interference with desegregation. Friday two Clinton admirers put up the required $10,000, and Kasper was released. On September 25 Kasper went to jail again, briefly, until released on another bond, of $2,000 -- this time under a different jurisdiction. The reader will be taxed, as the public was, to keep up with Kasper's legal vicissitudes. He

was arraigned now in the Anderson County Criminal Court, after grand jury indictment, under Tennessee law, on charges of sedition and inciting to riot. His next appearance in court would be for his trial on these charges, set for November 5.

Violence flared in late September with the night-blasting of a Negro home. In mid-October 125 carloads of hooded Ku Klux Klan members paraded through Clinton; four crosses were burned; newsmen were chased from the vacant lot near the town where hooded speakers denounced integration. Otherwise, quiet settled over the area until November.

The August attempt of the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government to halt desegregation of Clinton High School by state court injunction backfired. An application to the Supreme Court of Tennessee for certiorari produced a ruling from that body on September 3: "We are of the unanimous opinion that the question is fully foreclosed by the U. S. Supreme Court. The application is denied." The state Supreme Court granted a re-hearing, and in a comprehensive opinion on October 3, it said: "The plain fallacy of this insistence is that the Segregation Statutes referred to are not now in full force and effect, the same having been declared unconstitutional in Brown v. Board of Education...."

The Tennessee court cited the following opinion, which had been rendered by the Supreme Court of North Carolina:

"In the interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, the Supreme Court of the United States is the final arbiter. Its decision in the Brown case is the law of the land and will remain so unless reversed or altered by constitutional means. Recognizing fully that its decision is authoritative in this jurisdiction, any provisions of the Constitution or statutes of North Carolina in conflict therewith must be deemed invalid."

It noted that the Supreme Courts of Florida and Oklahoma had reached similar conclusions. The Texas Supreme Court also, as we had earlier in this chapter, had invalidated that state's school segregation laws.

The Kasper trial dragged through two weeks of November. Crowds, mainly of Kasper sympathizers packed the courtroom as a stream of witnesses -- and the irrepressible defendant -- recalled events of early September and revived bitter controversy in the town. Acquitted November 20, amid loud cheers, Kasper immediately announced plans to continue his fight against school integration in Tennessee.

A political contest now began to rage around the school segregation issue, the White Citizens' Council backing extremist candidates for mayor and alderman. Meanwhile White Youth Councils, organized by juvenile Kasper devotees, introduced a new rancor and unrest within Clinton High School. A handful of these young white supremacists who had been out of school since early September now returned -- mainly, it seemed for the purpose of making life unbearable for the Negro students.

As tension increased, inside now as well as outside of the high school, a nervousness which was not present in the earlier anarchy, was apparent among the Negro community and the Anderson County school board. Wednesday, November 29, the Negroes, after their long brave attendance record, stayed out of school. But they were not ready to give up. The school board was. In a fatuous hope of calling off the desegregation attempt, the board suggested to the Negroes that they be transferred back to the segregated Negro high school in Knoxville. The Negro parents would have nothing to do with this "voluntary withdrawal plan." Friday five Negro students started to the school again, but now the youngsters, seeing a truck and adults standing ominously in front of the building were frightened away. Negro parents appealed to the school board for protection of their children. Chairman R. G. Grossno said he knew of nothing it could do. On September 3 the board ~~wrote~~ sent a letter to United States Attorney General Herbert Brownell in which it declared:

> Considerable confusion has arisen as a result of the Board's conscientious attempt to comply with the Court's order abolishing segregation while at the same time the federal authorities fail to enforce the same Court's injunction forbidding anyone, including students, from interfering with the integration.
>
> ...The Board feels that under no circumstances should the school authorities be expected to police the carrying out of such an order -- but rather it is a matter for the appropriate federal authorities. Local FBI agents and United States district attorney's officers... for some unexplained reason are oblivious to the internationally-known Clinton integration problem.
>
> The Anderson County School Board must know whether the Department of Justice intends to continue lack of enforcement of the Federal Court injunction. If so, it might become necessary to close the Clinton High School so long as we are under court order to abolish segregation.

It is imperative that we hear from you within five days so that we may plan accordingly.[6]

Tuesday, September 4 -- Election Day -- saw another of those Clinton incidents which flashed across the nation. Rev. Paul W. Turner, a 33-year-old white clergyman who had preached for eight years at the First Baptist Church, Clinton's largest church, had sent word to the Negro children that if they wanted to return to school he would come and walk with them. Tuesday morning, the Reverend Turner, accompanied by two fellow townsmen, Sidney Davis and Leo Burnett, met six Negro boys and girls on a hillside nearby and carried them past about fifty jeering whites safely into the school. As they walked away, after the three adults had separated, half a dozen plug-uglies fell upon Turner and beat him. Blood stained the sidewalk and spattered on the car against which he was leaning when police came to his rescue. (Though his nose bled profusely, his injuries -- several minor cuts on the face -- proved slight.)

News of this barbarity spread rapidly through the community. It had an undoubted effect upon the town election: apathy at the polls in the morning was changed to waiting lines of voters in the afternoon. But the election results reflected more than sympathy with a beloved clergyman: they proved that in spite of all the poison that had been spewed in its midst, Clinton remained basically healthy. All of the extremist candidates were badly defeated. James B. Meredith, its candidate for mayor, received only 343 votes to 1,241 for T. Lawrence Seeber, a respected and moderate former county judge.

Added to the events of that crowded election day, principal Brittain announced over a loud-speaker at noon that Clinton

High School would be closed until further notice. A delegation headed by Mayor Lewallen conferred with the federal district attorney in Knoxville and, at the latter's instance, Judge Taylor ordered the arrest of sixteen persons on charges of violating his injunction against interference with school desegregation. While the writs were being drafted, Attorney General Brownell in Washington was responding to the school board's call for help. He announced that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had been ordered to investigate the Clinton case and promised that the federal government would prosecute "all persons" who attempted to block public school desegregation as ordered by a federal court. During the next two days federal marshals rounded up the sixteen named by Judge Taylor.

Brownell also said, however, that responsibility for the protection of students rested with state and local authorities, and that "this is fully understood and recognized by the governor of Tennessee." Governor Clement confirmed this, saying: "I have had no official request from officials of Anderson County or Clinton. I am still of the opinion that the state of Tennessee and its local authorities should handle their own problems and that the federal government should not unnecessarily intervene."

On December 10 the school opened again, with the Negroes in attendance. In what Time magazine described as "one of the most forthright Southern law-enforcement performances thus far in the desegregation struggle,"[7] County Attorney Eugene Joyce lectured the students sternly in Clinton High School auditorium, warning them that misconduct in the school would be "dealt with severely and swiftly." None of a serious nature was reported thereafter.

Space

We move ahead of our larger Southern story now to carry the reader to the end of Clinton's travail, and its terminal tragedy. Excepting minor incidents during the winter and spring of 1957, the little Tennessee community disappeared from the headlines of out-of-town newspapers for nearly two years. Occasional racist visitors made unsuccessful attempts to blow the embers of dissension into flame again. Retired Admiral Crommelin, came from Alabama to address a White Citizens' Council meeting; Kasper and Carter returned for a joint appearance. But segregationist rallies were mild now and drew only several hundred people at the most. Violence was underground, when it occurred and the authors were rarely apprehended. Of several dynamitings, one destroyed a Negro restaurant and damaged thirty Negro homes; Clinton white citizens raised funds to repair the damage. A Negro student, a 21-year-old senior, with a "poor scholastic record," charged with striking a white boy and drawing a knife, was expelled from Clinton High School. Another Negro boy stood, with no unpleasantness, among the graduating class of May 1957. The sixteen Clinton defendants on federal contempt charges were acquitted or released on probation.

Kasper was in and out of jails in Clinton, Knoxville, Nashville and Washington, D.C. and his trials, retrials and appeal hearings consumed much of the time of state and federal courts. He settled down to a long imprisonment only in November 1957.... When the United States Marshalls left Knoxville to carry him to the federal prison in Tallahassee, Florida, he was observed

to be carrying a copy of Mein Kampf!

Eight Negroes entered Clinton High School in September 1957 -- "without a taunt or a jeer." A year of quiet descended upon the little town. School-opening in September 1958 was similarly tranquil, with eleven Negroes in school. Clinton appeared to have been forgotten by the sowers of discord.... But this was not quite the case.

Early in the morning of October 5, 1957, Clinton High School was shattered by three dynamite blasts and its classrooms were reduced to rubble. The perpetrators of the outrage were never discovered.

Officials at Oak Ridge promptly offered the use of an empty school building. On October 9 the Clinton students, driven in fifteen buses -- Negroes included -- resumed classes in their improvised place of education.

Efforts to secure federal funds for rebuilding the school met with complications and little success. Columnist Drew Pearson called for nationwide contributions and in mid-December he presented the Anderson County school board with a check for $27,000. Private contributions eventually reached nearly $50,000, from 3,617 individuals. Insurance yielded $73,000. The federal government finally found it possible to contribute $45,000 from funds for areas under the impact of federal installations. The apparent niggardliness of the federal contribution was resented by Anderson County citizens who felt, not without reason, that their ruined high school was havoc of a war between Southern fanatics and the federal judiciary. The school rejected a proferred contribution of $14,200 from the Tennessee state treasury "on principle." "We feel,"

Chairman Crosano said, "that this is a federal responsibility."[8] However, in the spring of 1959 the county sold $500,000 of bonds and went forward with plans for rebuilding and enlarging the school.

Clinton High School opened in September 1960 in its new building. Fourteen Negro students now attracted little notice. It was a festive occasion. Four hundred local citizens and visiting celebrities gathered at a dinner in the high school cafeteria. Drew Pearson, introduced by editor Wells, was the principal speaker. All America, Pearson said, "stands in need of the sort of courage and determination shown by the people of Clinton."[9]

Chapter 9

Three North Carolina Cities and Nashville

Negroes were admitted for the first time to previously all-white public schools in 1957 in five Southern cities: Charlotte, Winston-Salem and Greensboro in North Carolina; Nashville, Tennessee; and Little Rock, Arkansas. These were all situated in the Upper South, and they were comparable in many ways, including size.

Their population within corporate city limits ranged by the 1960 census from 107,813 in Little Rock to 201,564 in Charlotte. When its populous environs are taken into account, Nashville was the largest, with a total of 399,743 inhabitants. The metropolitan area population of the other four was: Charlotte, 272,111; Greensboro, 246,520; Little Rock, 242,980; and Winston-Salem, 189,428. The proportion of Negroes to the total population within corporate limits, widely regarded as a useful measure of the magnitude of the local race relations problem -- was in each case as follows: Nashville, 37.9 per cent; Winston-Salem, 37.1 per cent; Charlotte, 28 per cent; Greensboro, 26 per cent; and Little Rock, 23.5 per cent.

One disturbance in North Carolina, small, but ugly and much publicized, and the bombing of a school in Nashville by unknown fanatics, together with the staggering events in Little Rock -- on top of the disorders at Sturgis, Mansfield and Clinton the previous autumn -- gave a widespread impression of rebellious violence, approaching anarchy, in the South, and aroused the deepest pessimism. It was indeed during the thirteen months from August, 1956, through September, 1957, that disorder in connection with public school desegregation reached its apex. Nevertheless, the desegregation operation itself in Nashville was not conspicuously disorderly; and press reports agreed that the

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break-through in North Carolina "proceeded with relative calm."

Hostility to school desegregation had been expressed in North Carolina in much the same manner as elsewhere in the South, but the volume of resistance agitation was somewhat less in comparison with the sobering influences at work in that state. Dr. Frank P. Graham, who had been president of the University of North Carolina, governor and United States senator and was then a mediator for the United Nations, supported the Brown decision vigorously. Irving Carlyle, of Winston-Salem, a former state senator, was a rare example of a Southern politician who not only accepted the desegregation ruling, but became a crusader for compliance with it. Two literary celebrities, Harry Golden, of Charlotte, and playwright Paul Green, of Chapel Hill, were voluble enemies of every kind of race discrimination. The constructive attitude of the state administration was more than matched by that of the press. No important daily newspaper in North Carolina descended to inflammatory opposition and most of them counseled orderly adjustment to the Brown ruling. In the three cities where public school desegregation was first essayed, the local newspapers rendered invaluable service in preparing the public for the change. Three of their editors -- C. A. McKnight, of the Charlotte Observer; Reed Sarratt, of the Winston-Salem Journal; and Henry Kendall, of the Greensboro Daily News -- were noted students of the Southern race problem; McKnight was the first editor, and Sarratt is the latest editor, of the Southern School News.

Fifty-eight Negro children filed applications for admission to white schools in June: forty-one in Charlotte, nine in Greensboro, seven in Winston-Salem and one in Raleigh. All of these applicants were eliminated except twelve; the Raleigh application was rejected. The Charlotte, Greensboro and Winston-Salem school boards, which decided to take the perilous desegregation plunge, followed identic schedules and took frequent counsel together. Negro pupils were assigned to white schools: five in Charlotte, six in Greensboro and one in Winston-Salem.

With fresh memories of Sturgis, Mansfield and Clinton, the school boards moved toward the showdown with no little trepidation. They announced the assignments of simultaneous meetings Tuesday night, July 23. In opening the Charlotte meeting, a board member, Richard Brown, called upon the Almighty: "We pray for those who disagree. Enter into their minds and hearts, grant them enlarged understanding, patience and forbearance.... Place thy protecting arm around our children." Afterwards, a spokesman for the "North Carolina Patriots, Inc." presented a spectacular petition said to bear 16,000 signatures and pointed a threatening finger at Charlotte board members while he denounced this "ungodly thing;" a majority of some forty visitors present applauded. In Greensboro about seventy-five heard a North Carolina Patriot deliver a vehement oration -- "You shall be condemned, vilified, damned and cursed!" [1] In Winston only four visitors attended the school board meeting, where a Patriot protested with more restraint.

In Charlotte and Greensboro segregationists attempted to block school integration by state court injunctions -- without success. The North Carolina Patriots, Inc., was a somewhat dignified relative of the Citizens' Councils, headed by Dr. Wesley George, a University of North Carolina professor; it was cool toward the likes of John Kasper -- who, be it noted ~~by the way~~, appeared on the scene. Out of jail for the time being, Kasper visited each of the three cities a few days before school-opening. His coming was hailed by officials and the press in the spirit of a Winston-Salem Journal editorial, headed: "Unwelcome." An audience of about two hundred gave him a jeering reception in Winston-Salem, about three hundred heard him in Greensboro and about four hundred listened impassively to his harangue in Charlotte. Ku Klux Klansmen also appeared in Charlotte, but they folded up their robes and dispersed when police broke up their picket line. On September 3, Governor Hodges warned against "any lawlessness or violence" and, in answer to a reporter's question, did not rule out the use of the National Guard if it should be needed to preserve order.[2]

The opening of schools and the integration of the Negro pupils on September 4 was anti-climactic. Press dispatches agreed that the North Carolina break-through "proceeded with relative calm." Disturbances occurred at Harding High School in Charlotte in connection with the arrival and departure of its one Negro student, Dorothy Counts. When Miss Counts walked home, she was pursued by a rowdy crowd of juveniles

-- indoctrinated by adult racists --jeering, spitting and throwing pebbles, sticks and paper balls. A white girl, who spat in Dorothy's face, and a white boy, who threw a stick, were arrested. However, Negroes entered three other white high schools in Charlotte without incident. There was some heckling but no suggestion of violence in Winston-Salem and Greensboro. Disorder in all three cities was almost entirely limited to the first day, although Miss Counts continued to be made uncomfortable in Harding High School.

Photographic excellence and an exceptional view through the camera lens of the distressing little scene in Charlotte gave the world an exaggerated impression of turmoil in North Carolina. It was a striking example of the manner in which the dramatic, the colorful and the photogenic in school desegregation crises often received a degree of publicity inconsistent with a balanced appraisal of events. (Southerners who felt their region was undeservedly being given a bad name sometimes accused television and news camera men of "staging" incidents.) The essential news from North Carolina was that white schools in three cities had admitted Negro pupils without serious public disorder.

The Dorothy Counts incident spoke eloquently nonetheless, while it offered one of the finest opportunities for expressive photography that the commotion in the South had produced. Dorothy was the fifteen-year-old daughter of the Rev. Herman L. Counts, an instructor at Johnson C. Smith University. A comely young lady of unmistakable gentleness and breeding, in a neat plaid dress, she walked in front of

the bawling mob with a quiet dignity that made theories of Negro inferiority seem grotesque. A Charlotte Observer columnist, Hays Gary, was inspired to comment in verse, under the heading: "Her Skin Was Dark And Her Head High." His poem read in part:

> They spat and she was covered with it;
> Spittle dripped from the hem of her dress;
> It clung to her neck and arms and she wore it.
> They spat and they jeered and screamed;
> Debris fell on her shoulders and around her feet;
> And the posture of the head was unchanged.
> That was the remarkable thing.
> And, if her skin was brown, you had to admit her
> courage was royal purple.[3]

Photographers met the challenge with distinction. Dorothy's walk home from school carried her all over the United States, to London and Paris, and around the world. One of the photos won an international award.

To the dismay of many, after one week, Dorothy Counts -- seeing no hope of enjoying tolerable relations with her white schoolmates -- withdrew from Harding High School and enrolled in a bi-racial private school in suburban Philadelphia.

Space

Nashville received more attention from John Kasper and the Ku Klux Klan, as well as from more respectable segregationist organizations, than the North Carolina cities; and at the same time longer and more thorough efforts were made in the Tennessee capital to condition the public for the change. The issue was fervently contested there on both sides and from every angle. Nashville, with such noted universities and colleges as Vanderbilt, Fisk, Scarritt and Peabody -- all biracial to some extent -- was a renowned study center for Southern problems; it was the home of both the Southern School News and the Race Relations Law Reporter. The city's large Negro community was progressive and politically alert; Negro participation in public affairs in Nashville was unique among Southern cities: two Negroes sat in the city council and one on the board of education. The city had already witnessed successful desegregation in the Catholic ~~public~~ parochial schools, the public library, the municipal golf courses and the railroad station.

One of the city's two daily newspapers, the afternoon Banner, fiercely attacked the desegregation rulings. The press of Tennessee was predominantly critical of the Brown decision. But two newspapers were outstanding in their call for orderly adjustment to it. One of these was Nashville's morning paper, the Tennesseean. The other was the Chattanooga Times (related by family ties of publishers to the New York Times), which labored diligently to combat resistance sentiment in Chattanooga and the South.

Though Governor Clement had vetoed several earlier pro-segregation bills, when the legislature met in January 1957, he endorsed a school bill package which included a pupil assignment plan and a measure called in Tennessee the "School Preference Law." The latter, resembling a "Freedom of Choice Plan," adopted in Alabama the year before, was a specious device which theoretically would set up three school systems and allow parents to choose for their children between white or Negro schools, according to their race, and integrated schools. It required little imagination to see that in the South such a scheme would result in little -- or, more probably, no -- change in the existing segregated pattern (and the law would be invalidated in September by a federal district court). At the same time, Clement was more forthright than any other Southern governor in upholding the Supreme Court decision and in urging a sympathetic approach to the problem of the Negro. In his address to the legislature he said this was not only America's greatest crisis, but "our greatest opportunity;" and: "...We must not overlook the fact that the Negro is equal to the white in the eyes of the law and in the sight of God..." In a letter to the chairman of the Anderson County school board a few weeks later the governor said:

"I am sure you are aware of the fact that no gubernatorial or legislative action can overturn a decision of the U. S. Supreme Court."[4]

The admission of some Negro pupils to white schools in Nashville became a definite prospect in January 1957 when Federal District Judge William E. Miller gave tentative approval

to a school board proposal to begin compliance with the Brown decision with the desegregation of all first-grade pupils the following September. This plan -- the impact of which was greatly reduced by a liberal transfer privilege -- was the germ of what would become the "Nashville Plan" of one-grade-a-year desegregation. Judge Miller retained jurisdiction of the case and instructed the school board to submit a plan for desegregation of the other eleven grades by December 31.

William A. Bass, the superintendent of schools began meeting in April with principals, supervisors and both white and colored Parent-Teacher Associations in pursuance of a school board resolution, to "inform, elucidate and help solve problems which may grow out of the effort...to comply with the ruling..." Many Nashville clergymen asked their congregations to accept school desegregation in a "Christian spirit." Not all of them were willing to meet the issue squarely in their churches, but, as was often the case in this controversy, ministers' courage rose when they assembled in clerical meetings. Moreover, a divinity school and several church-related colleges and some denominational headquarters had brought to Nashville an exceptional number of ministers who did not have to answer to local congregations for their liberal views. The Nashville Ministers Association and the Association of Churches addressed letters to all Protestant clergymen, suggesting that they help prepare the public in statements, sermons or, at least prayers for the children, parents and teachers involved. The Association arranged helpful television

programs. Catholics and Jews were also active. The Nashville Community Relations Conference, a bi-racial organization formed the previous year, labored effectively to mobilize public sentiment behind the desegregation move. It secured six hundred signatures to a memorial of support for it which was published in the press, along with the names of the signers, many of whom were well known religious, educational business and civic leaders. Sixteen other organizations supported the memorial and added 350 more names before it was presented to the school board. Literature both pro and con circulated in abundance.

On the segregationist side, a Parents' School Preference Committee and the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government urged that the school board abandon its desegregation plan and fall back on the recently-enacted Tennessee legislation; the petition they presented to the school board bore 6,000 names! The Ku Klux Klan and John Kasper confronted the embattled school board with harsher demands. These, by the way, were not congenial collaborators. Kasper's extremist friends had been steadily deserting him, and now the KKK told him to "go back to New Jersey;" he was ordered away from a Klan meeting and Klansmen chased him out of a neighboring restaurant. The rallies of the KKK generally drew a handful instead of the thousands anticipated in Klan advertising, but Klansmen were blusteringly persistent -- and Kasper no less.

The latter addressed himself especially to the poorer white quarters of Nashville, where he found abundant scope. During the first half of 1957, Kasper's battered convertible

had traveled much on the roads connecting Clinton, Knoxville and Nashville, while he attended to the exigencies of police, courts and jails, and filled the intervening time with agitation to keep the white race pure and the Negroes segregated. "I'll never desert the white race in Tennessee," Kasper said, "until the outcome of our struggle is crystal clear and spells victory over the race mongrelizers."[5] Sometimes in Nashville he stayed at the home of the Reverend Fred Stroud, pastor of a "Bible Presbyterian Church" (not affiliated with other Presbyterian bodies), who gave Kasper his blessing. Stroud was himself a busy segregationist agitator, he proclaimed: "The Lord is on our side." Asa Carter from Alabama also found time to pay Nashville a visit. Representative James C. Davis of Georgia -- he of the District of Columbia school investigation -- came to address the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government and urged that Nashville parents boycott the public schools and send their children to private schools.

The desegregation plan provided for first grade pupils to be assigned first to schools indicated by the residential pattern without regard to race, but Negro pupils assigned to schools in which they found themselves in a racial minority were permitted to transfer back to predominantly Negro schools, and a similar privilege was extended to white pupils. As was to be expected, all the white pupils elected to stay in predominantly white schools, and most of the Negro pupils chose the easier and safer course -- not without an element of intimidation -- of continuing to attend effectually segregated

schools. However, nineteen Negro pupils held to their assignments to white elementary schools. That was the extent to which the pattern of segregation was broken. When the schools opened on September 9, the nineteen entered five schools along with whites -- without incident other than some minor scuffling of pickets with police and the arrest of several white women for throwing rocks. Crowds which gathered at several places that night were more obstreperous -- one group was addressed by Kasper -- but police had the situation well under control.

Shortly after midnight of school-opening day -- early on September 10 -- a dynamite blast was heard in East Nashville. One wing of Hattie Cotton School, a previously all-white elementary school which had admitted one six-year-old Negro girl, had been demolished. (The damaged rooms were replaced four months later at a cost of $71,000.) When daylight came and the news spread, Nashville was seized with a degree of panic. Police deployed before the desegregated schools and barricades were erected on the streets a block away from each. Hattie Cotton was closed; attendance at the other six desegregated schools was down to less than 40 per cent of normal. During a day of tension, 29 arrests were made.

But within a week street barricades had been removed, attendance at the desegregated schools had risen to approximately 90 per cent -- with eleven Negro children still in schools with whites -- and the situation had returned to normal.

From the first news of the Hattie Cotton School bombing, fingers of suspicion pointed at Kasper -- who had talked of "the shotgun, dynamite and the rope." [6] He was arrested along

with half a dozen other suspects; but evidence definitely linking him, or any one else, with the crime was never found. Kasper faced plenty of charges nonetheless. His adventures with police and courts reached a crescendo at this point. Arrested in a general crackdown on trouble-makers, he was charged with vagrancy, loitering and two counts of disorderly conduct; posting $2,000 bond and walking toward his car, he was arrested again and charged with illegal parking; this called for an additional bond of $500. Twelve hours later he was pulled from his bed and arrested by a constable and taken to the jail of Davidson County (which shares jurisdiction with Nashville,) on the charge of inciting to riot. Before he could settle down in this jail, city police "borrowed" him to be tried and convicted in the city court on the first charges; temporarily short of cash now, Kasper paid a visit to the city workhouse. When he raised the $200 city court fine, he was hustled back to the county jail once more; in the county court he was indicted by a grand jury for inciting to riot, scheduled for trial in November and placed under a $2,500 bond. A few days later he was taken briefly from the county jail to appear as a defendant in a hearing in the federal district court, which resulted in an injunction forbidding him and nine others named, and their followers, to interfere "by acts of trespass, boycott or picket with the free operation of the schools." On September 18 Kasper's attorney showed up with $2,500 in cash and he was released from the county jail. He climbed into his convertible and left immediately for Knoxville.

The mystery of how Kasper was never long in want of funds intrigued many. Questioning him on the point was likely to be as futile as this dialogue between Kasper and the prosecutor in the Nashville city court:

Q. Do you have a check here issued to you, showing how you are paid?

A. I don't have any financial records.

Q. Then how are you paid?

A. On the basis of what needs to be done.

Q. What do you mean?

A. All the funds are available to me and the organization. I am not on a salary basis.

Q. When was the last time you drew a check?

A. None of your business.

(Interruption from the judge: Yes it is. Answer the question.)

A. I never drew a check.

Q. Are you paid in cash? How are you paid?

A. In cash.

Q. By whom?

A. By the finance committee of the councils.

Q. Who is on it?

A. Lots of folks.

And so on and on. Evidently, some well-to-do racists were ready to put up money to keep Kasper in circulation. It was revealed that cash for the last-mentioned $2,500 bond was advanced by Lee Foster, a building contractor, of Knoxville.

Spence

Little Rock dominated the news now. In that city soldiers stood guard around a high school with instructions from Governor Faubus to prevent the entry of Negro pupils whom a federal court had ordered to be admitted to it. While John Kasper was fretting in the Davidson County jail, the governor of Arkansas and the President of the United States were conferring tensely in Newport, Rhode Island, -- in an historic collision of state and federal authority. Withdrawal of the forces under the command of the governor would be followed by uncontrolled rioting and the arrival of a detachment of the United States Army to restore peace and insure compliance with the orders of federal courts. But before we move to that exciting theater, it behooves us to observe the evolution of the Nashville Plan, which would be widely studied and copied; and to look ahead briefly to the progress under it that would keep Nashville in the forefront of Southern cities in the elimination of segregation in public schools.

The Nashville school board was under a federal district court order to submit by December 31, 1957, a plan for abolishing segregation in the remaining eleven grades. Under heavy local pressure, the board attempted to abandon the grade-a-year desegregation principle and submitted a plan based largely on the state's School Preference Law, which had already been declared unconstitutional. At the same time the Negro plaintiffs in the original Nashville school desegregation suit petitioned the court to order an end to segregation in all grades the following year. In January, 1958, the court rejected the latest

school board proposal, and in April the board committed itself formally to a program of desegregating one higher grade each year until all segregation should be eliminated. This plan was allowed by the federal courts to stand.

The schools opened in September, 1958 -- with both first and second grades desegregated -- in complete tranquility. Only a handful of Negro pupils accepted their assignments to mixed schools during the first two years, then a concerted movement in the Negro community caused a dramatic increase in the number of Negroes in school with whites. During six years, the year-by-year totals of Negro pupils in previously all-white schools in Nashville were: 1958, 34 in two grades; 1959, 41 in three grades; 1960, 183 in four grades; 1961; 270 in five grades; 1962, 363 in six grades and 1963, in seven grades.[7]

Chapter 10

Little Rock

The events of September 1957 in Little Rock, Arkansas, made the name of that city familiar to all the world. For many months afterward among ordinary folk in Bombay, Nairobi or Singapore, when the United States was mentioned the city that came first to mind was not Washington or New York, but Little Rock. Informed foreign observers were concerned over the constitutional crisis in the most powerful nation on earth; millions of people overseas received impressions of Negro children being first barred by soldiers from a public school and later escorted through a hostile mob into that school by other soldiers, and of Negroes being beaten by white men on the streets of an American city.

The flood of Little Rock news, comment and pictures both at home and abroad was swelled by the protraction of the situation of defiance of federal authority. A state governor persisted for eighteen days in preventing by military force, the execution of an order of a federal court, affording abundant time for publicity and debate over that posture from every conceivable angle; a tense week-end and a day of rioting followed; then troops of the United States Army arrived on the scene. There were twenty-two days of suspense before the conatitutional issue was thunderously decided in favor of federal authority. It is easy to observe in retrospect that the journalistic output on Little Rock would have been less overwhelming -- and much grievious damage would have been averted -- if events had moved with greater dispatch.

The task of the historian would certainly be easier if the source material were less massive and discordant. Writing now, however, eight years after the crisis, subsequent events and a marked change in the Southern temper have joined with a quieter sifting of evidence to make for clarity and concensus in our appraisal of what happened at Little Rock. The possibility of peaceful integration of public schools, at least on a token scale, has been demonstrated in many Southern cities; extremist sentiment has markedly subsided; and many erstwhile defenders of the Arkansas governor have withdrawn from that side of the debate.

An elementary fact that needs to be borne in mind in any examination of the Little Rock events is that the National Guard detachment which was called into service by the governor of Arkansas, was at the time a state, rather than a national, military force. The National Guard is a reserve component of the United States Army and is supported mainly by the federal government; but, except when it is formally called into federal service, it retains the status of state militia and is under the command of the governors of the several states. It is normally, and properly, called upon by state governors when the public order is seriously threatened. From this distance detached observers generally agree that the danger in Little Rock at the beginning of September 1957 was not sufficient to justify Governor Orval Faubus in walling out the National Guard as a public safety precaution. But it is more apparent also since the smoke has cleared away that the questions of calling out the National Guard and withdrawing the National Guard -- to which so much passionate argument was directed -- were irrelevant to the central issue. Deploying guardsmen around Central High School

may have been -- and probably was -- unnecessary; but it was constitutionally correct. The impropriety, or the rebellion, lay in the orders which the troops were given to carry out.

If the guardsmen had been used to protect the school and its pupils in complying with federal court orders, as the governor of Tennessee had used the National Guard at Clinton -- and as Representative Brooks Hays urged upon the governor of Arkansas -- a totally different chapter of history could have been written. It is interesting, if fruitless to dwell on the hypothetical consequences of this "if:" the Little Rock experience would surely have been recorded as one more instance of orderly adjustment to the Brown ruling; and, elsewhere in the South, instead of a stiffening of resistance, we would probably have witnessed some acceleration of the movement toward school desegregation.

When the Arkansas National Guard blocked the execution of a federal court mandate, Harry S. Ashmore, a distinguished author, then editor of the Little Rock Arkansas Gazette, urged that it should be promptly federalized, and its orders changed -- a remedy which would have placed a minimum of onus upon Governor Faubus. This move was considered in Washington, but, as Congressman Hays -- who played an active mediatory role throughout the crisis -- recalls in his book A Southern Moderate Speaks, Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams was "not convinced that federalizing the National Guard was the answer." This step was taken only after the withdrawal of the detachment sent by Faubus, and the subsequent explosion, along with the dispatch of regular Army troops -- as a final act in the drama. Often obscured in the talk about a

governor's duty to preserve order, the paramount question in Little Rock was whether military force could be used by a state to nullify the law of the land.

The issue was further clouded by the impression widely given by the deployment of federal troops that "bayonets" were being used to ram integration down the throat of the South." It was inevitable that this interpretation would be given it in many quarters; but it was made more emphatic by the circumstances that action to assert federal authority was taken only after -- and ostensibly inspired by -- a riotous popular demonstration of opposition to school integration. The troop action appeared to be directed against the populace rather than against a rebellious governor.

The Little Rock move was not a "break-through" from a state point of view. Negroes had already been admitted to previously all-white public schools in five Arkansas districts -- without incident, excepting some minor disturbances in the town of Hoxie. All state-supported institutions of higher learning in Arkansas were open to Negroes. The Little Rock school board had announced its decision to comply with the Brown ruling in May, 1954, six days after the decision was handed down. A year later it had adopted a plan of gradual integration, under which senior high school grades would be desegregated in September 1957. The remaining classes would be desegregated during a six-year period thereafter, with the lower classes the last to be affected. Students assigned to schools in which they might be in a racial minority were to be permitted to transfer. Twenty-seven Negroes who applied for admission

to white schools ahead of the schedule, in 1956, were rejected; when NAACP attorneys complained, federal courts upheld the Little Rock school board plan.

The emotional climate of Little Rock with respect to the segregation question before the pyrotechnics of September 1957, was comparable to that in the four other Upper South cities whose experiences were related in the previous chapter. Similar agitation had taken place in Little Rock on both sides of the segregation question, but it had involved a somewhat smaller fraction of the community and was less heated, for instance, than that in Nashville. In the March school board election Little Rock voters had elected two supporters of the desegregation plan by 2-to-1 majorities over two opponents of it. John Kasper, who had considerable talent for detecting potential trouble centers, had not found the prospects of turmoil in Little Rock sufficiently promising to draw him away from Nashville; nor had the Ku Klux Klan appeared. The most disturbing incident had been a visit to Little Rock by Governor Marvin Griffin of Georgia, who addressed 350 persons -- "a courageous bunch of patriots" -- at a $10-a-plate Capital Citizens' Council rally two weeks before school-opening. In a vitriolic speech, Governor Griffin pointed to the "steadfast" resistance to school integration in Georgia, and said he would use the highway patrol -- indeed, "enlist every white man in Georgia" -- if necessary, to prevent racial integration in that state. The Georgia governor's speech undoubtedly did much to stimulate the mobilization of resistance elements when Faubus's spectacular maneuvering began, but at the end of August no signs of upheaval were visible.

Born January 7, 1910, in Madison County in the hills of northwest Arkansas, Orval Faubus had risen from humble beginnings; but he was by no means a "hillbilly": in 1957 he was an urbane and personable executive, with a fairly creditable record first as state highway director and later, for nearly three years, as governor. He was not a true segregationist from the point of view of the Deep South: he voiced acceptance of the Supreme Court ruling as the law of the land, and his criticism of desegregation moves was mainly on the scores of method and timing.

The first conspicuous sign of Faubus's obsession with the danger of violence in Little Rock was on August 29 when he testified in the county chancery court in a suit brought by the segregationist "Mothers' League of Central High School" to block the admission of Negroes to that school. Predicting "violence bloodshed and riots" then if integration should proceed as scheduled, he said he had personal knowledge of increased sales of knives and revolvers to Negro and white students. (Neither school and police officials nor newspaper men were able later to verify the latter statement.) However, Chancellor Murray J. Reed concluded: "In view of the testimony... and particularly in the opinion of Governor Faubus, I feel that I can only grant the injunction."[1] Chancellor Reed's ruling was nullified the next day by the federal district court, which ordered the school board to proceed with its plan of gradual integration and issued a blanket injunction against any interference.[2]

The degree of sincerity in Faubus's attitude at this point is difficult to measure. He had not encouraged the Georgia governor's visit -- which, he said, was "one thing that triggered" a change

in sentiment; he did not attend the Capital Citizens' Council rally, though he entertained the Griffin party afterward at the governor's mansion. Faubus was habitually prone to seize upon a rumor that came over the telephone, or that some unimportant individual brought to his office, and broadcast it without investigation. Less charitable observers suspected that some of these rumors were creatures of the governor's imagination or -- like FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover in a later instance -- described the practice as "disseminating falsehoods."[3] At any rate the rumors circulated were generally calculated to serve some purpose, and it began to be his apparent purpose to create an impression of impending violence. As to just when Orval Faubus caught the vision of himself as the idolized hero of Southern Resistance we can only speculate, but from early September on his words and actions could not have been more skillfully designed to achieve that alluring distinction.

Nine Negro pupils had been assigned, under federal court orders, to Little Rock's Central High, which had an enrollment of approximately 2,000, and which had been open hitherto exclusively to white children. Classes were scheduled to begin on September 3. It will be an aid to clarity, and bring out the salient points in the constitutional debate, if we trace the course of the crisis from here on in day-by-day bulletins, relying for much of the story on excerpts from the verbal exchange.

Monday, September 2

Monday night troops of the Arkansas National Guard suddenly appeared at Central High School and surrounded it. An hour later Governor Faubus announced this move in a radio-television speech in which he said in part:

Units of the National Guard have been, or are now being mobilized with the mission to maintain or restore the peace and good order of this community. Advance units are already on duty on the grounds of Central High School.

I have informed Chief Lindsey, director of the Arkansas State Police, of the developments and he is now mobilizing a force to act as an arm of the State Militia in maintaining or restoring the peace and order of the community and to act in every way possible to protect the lives and property of the citizens of Pulaski County.

This is a decision I have reached prayerfully. It has been made after conferences with dozens of people and after the checking and the verification of as many of the reports as possible.

The mission of the State Militia is to maintain or restore order and to protect the lives and property of citizens. They will act not as segregationists or integrationists, but as soldiers called to active duty to carry out their assigned tasks.

But I must state here in all sincerity, that it is my opinion -- yes, even a conviction, that it will not be possible to restore or to maintain order and protect the lives and property of the citizens if forcible integration is carried out tomorrow in the schools of this community. The inevitable conclusion, therefore, must be that the schools in Pulaski County, for the time being, must be operated on the same basis as they have been operated in the past. [4]

.....

Tuesday, September 3

Monday had been a holiday, Labor Day. Acceding to a school board request that they stay away for the present, no Negroes attended the school on Tuesday.

Little Rock was now in newspaper headlines throughout the world, and news and camera men were swarming there.

The mayor of Little Rock, Woodrow W. Mann said of the governor's action the night before:

.....

The people of Little Rock recently had a school board election and elected by an overwhelming vote the school board members who advocated a projected court-approved Little Rock plan (of gradual integration).

The governor has called out the National Guard to put down trouble when none existed. He did so without a request from those of us who are directly responsible for preservation of peace and order. The only effect of his action is to create tensions where none existed.

I call the governor's attention to the fact that after almost a week of sensational developments brought about by his own action, the Little Rock police have not had a single case of interracial violence reported to them. This is clear evidence that the governor's excuse for calling out the Guard is simply a hoax.[4]

That night Federal Judge Ronald N. Davis ordered the school board to "put in effect forthwith the plan of integration...."

Wednesday, September 4

The nine Negro pupils sought to enter the school and were stopped by Faubus's soldiers. The Negro children were accompanied by two Negro clergymen, Rev. Z. Z. Driver and Rev. Harry Bass, and two white clergymen -- Rev. Will Campbell, of the National Council of Churches, and Rev. Dunbar Ogden, Jr., president of the Little Rock Ministerial Alliance. They were told that the Negroes were barred by order of the governor. A crowd of whites watched and jeered. However, since the troops were carrying out its wishes, only minor harassment of the retreating Negroes required the intervention of guardsmen. The National Guard force numbered only 270, but, having only nine Negro children to repel, that was more than enough.

The scenes at the school were profusely photographed and reported. The first of the Negro children to be turned back was an attractive 15-year-old girl named Elizabeth Eckford. In order to find an exit from the barricaded street this dainty little miss had to walk a 100-yard gauntlet of sneering, threatening demonstrators

-- before many cameras. Some of the photos resembled those of Dorothy Counts in Charlottesville and rivaled them in circulation.

The day's rumors included one that federal marshals or agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation would escort Negroes into the school. If they should try to do that, State Adjutant General Sherman Klinger said, "a bunch of resolute boys are going to resist." But no such federal-state confrontation occurred.

Judge Davies asked the United States attorney general to order an investigation.

Governor Faubus sent a telegram to President Eisenhower which read somewhat like a message to a hostile foreign government and tended further to erect the image of himself as the embattled Southern champion of state rights. Typical Faubus "rumors" were included. The governor's telegram said in part:

> ...The question at issue at Little Rock this moment is not integration vs. segregation. Peaceful integration has been accomplished for some time in the University of Arkansas, state-supported colleges, and in three more of our largest public schools -- Fort Smith, Ozark, Van Buren. It is impossible to integrate some of our schools at this time without violence. The Supreme Court recognized that conditions in each community must be considered and I have interpreted your public statements to indicate that you are in agreement with this premise.
>
> The question now is whether or not the head of a sovereign state can exercise his constitutional powers and discretion in maintaining peace and good order within his jurisdiction, being accountable to his own conscience and to his own people.
>
> .....
>
> I am reliably informed that federal authorities in Little Rock have this day been discussing plans to take into custody, by force, the head of a sovereign state. This would be in complete disregard of the constitutional guarantees of the separation and independence of the three branches of government and the rights and powers of a state. As the duly elected governor and representative of the people of Arkansas, I can no more surrender these rights than you could surrender the rights of the duly elected chief executive of our nation...
>
> .....

I have reason to believe that the telephone lines to the Arkansas executive mansion have been tapped -- I suspect the federal agents. The situation in Little Rock and Arkansas grows more explosive by the hour. This is caused for the most part by the misunderstanding of our problems by a federal judge who decreed "immediate integration" of the public schools of Little Rock without hearing any evidence whatsoever as to the conditions now existing in this community. The situation is further aggravated by the impending unwarranted interference of federal agents. If these actions continue, or if my executive authority as governor to maintain the peace is breached, then I can no longer be responsible for the results. The injury to persons and property that would be caused -- the blood that may be shed will be on the hands of the federal government and its agents. The splendid progress we have made in Arkansas the past few years toward meeting our problems of race relationship will have been completely and utterly destroyed... As governor of Arkansas I appeal to you to use your good offices to modify the extreme stand and stop the unwarranted interference of federal agents in this area so that we may again enjoy domestic tranquility and continue in our pursuit of ideal relations between other races.

Time is the essence of the situation with which I am confronted. May I have the assurance of your understanding and cooperation.

Thursday, September 5

The President replied the next day:

Your telegram received, requesting my assurance of, understanding of, and cooperation in the course of action you have taken on school integration recommended by the Little Rock School Board and ordered by the United States District Court pursuant to the mandate of the United States Supreme Court.

When I became President, I took an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States. The only assurance I can give you is that the federal Constitution will be upheld by me by every legal means at my command.

There is no basis of fact to the statements you make in your telegram that federal authorities have been considering taking you into custody or that telephone lines to your executive mansion have been tapped by any agency of the federal government.

At the request of Judge Davies, the Department of Justice is presently collecting facts as to interference with or failure to comply with the district's court order. You and other state officials -- as well as the National Guard

which is, of course, uniformed, armed and partially sustained by the government -- will, I am sure, give full cooperation to the United States District Court.[5]

Faubus promptly telegraphed:

Mr. President:

Thank you for your telegram in reply to my appeal for your understanding and cooperation in connection with my efforts to preserve the public peace and good order in this community. I have notified the United States District Attorney and the FBI that my personal counsel, William J. Smith, and the director of Arkansas State Police, Herman Lindsey, are available to discuss certain evidence upon which I acted to preserve the public peace. I shall cooperate in upholding the Constitution of Arkansas and the nation.[5]

Saturday, September 7

The Little Rock School Board went back to the federal court with a request for a temporary suspension of the order to admit the Negro pupils. Judge Davies rejected the petition with feeling. He quoted the above statement of Mayor Mann, and said in part:

What did the testimony this morning disclose?...

The testimony and arguments this morning were, in my judgment, as anemic as the petition itself; and the position taken by the school directors does violence to my concept of the duty of the petitioners to adhere with resolution to its own approved plan of gradual integration in the Little Rock public schools.

It must never be thought that this court has not given careful consideration to this problem and all that it entails, but it must never be forgotten that I have a constitutional duty and obligation from which I shall not shrink. This court is not persuaded that upon the tenuous showing made by the petitioners this morning that it should suspend enforcement of the petitioners' plan of integration.[5]

(According to the Associated Press, newspapers around the world were now giving space to reports and pictures of troops barring Negro children from the school in Little Rock. The London Daily Chronicle said "the scenes have been nauseating and pitiful." The Tokyo News wondered "why this problem should

arise in the United States, the champion of democracy." Radio Moscow deplored "the shameful spectacle.")

Monday, September 9

Mayor Mann was serving the last four months of his term before the inauguration of city manager form of government -- which he had opposed -- and was a controversial figure. Eight of the ten aldermen turned against him in his feud with the governor and signed a statement commending Faubus for "calling out the National Guard... to protect the lives and property of our people."5

The governor issued a statement sharply critical of Judge Davies (who had arrived from North Dakota within the fortnight to fill a vacancy.) Noting that the judge had quoted the mayor's statement, he said: "Mayor Mann is a discredited, repudiated public official;" and "as proof of the grave error made by the judge," he quoted the statement of commendation from the eight aldermen. Then he further set forth his own position:

> The Constitution does not say that the nine Negro children denied admittance to the Little Rock Central High School last Wednesday morning must be permitted to attend this school at this time. The Supreme Court said that integration of the public schools should proceed with "all deliberate speed." This meant that the Supreme Court recognized that integration could be accomplished in some communities in days, in other communities in weeks, in other communities in months, and still other communities may require years for a period of transition.
>
> The Constitutions of the state of Arkansas and of the United States imposed upon me the duty to maintain the public peace and to use the militia if, in my judgment, it is necessary. I cannot abdicate my office and let a federal judge substitute his judgment for mine on this issue. If he has a right to substitute his judgment for mine on this issue, then he has the right to substitute his judgment on all issues involving duties imposed upon me as governor of Arkansas...
>
> .....

As further evidence that I am not opposing integration, as such, I think that each of you will realize that the dearest things to any individual are his sons and daughters. My son leaves this day to begin tomorrow's classes in an integrated state college in Arkansas.[5]

On the same day Judge Davies received a report from the FBI on why the federal court order had not been carried out, and he asked the United States Department of Justice, acting as friend of the court, to begin injunction proceedings against Faubus, Major General Sherman T. Clinger, commander of the Arkansas National Guard, and Lieutenant Colonel Marion E. Johnson, commander of the Guard detachment at Central High School.

(The New York Times reported from Rome that the Vatican newspaper, Osservatore Romano, in one of its rare comments on the situation in the United States said that people who believe in racist theories should be banned from political life and that race discrimination "runs counter to nature, to character, to aspirations and to the laws of the United States....")

Tuesday, September 10

The Department of Justice asked the court to enjoin the governor and the two Guard officers, "their officers, agents, servants, employees, attorneys, and all persons in active concert or participation with them" from interfering with the execution of the court's orders by "units of the Arkansas National Guard or otherwise."[5]

The date for this courtroom collision of the state's chief executive with federal authority was set for September 20.

(The Toronto Globe and Mail said: "The theory, assiduously spread by the Communists for decades, that the United States is the inveterate enemy of all colored people everywhere is likely to win much wider support than ever before." A cartoon in the London Evening Standard showed Governor Faubus hurling a guitar at a clock labeled "progress." In Budapest, Hungary's Communist premier, Janos Kadar, said: "Those who tolerate that a people should be persecuted because of the color of their skin have no right to preach human liberty and human rights.")

Wednesday, September 11

The hearing on the Department of Justice petition for a restraining injunction against Faubus along with General Clinger and Colonel Johnson had been set for September 20 and summons had been served on the governor and the two officers.

Congressman Hays was now busy trying to arrange a meeting between the governor and the President. He conferred frequently with Faubus and by telephone with Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams in Washington. The proposal was accepted at both ends, and it was decided that the request for the conference should come from the governor. Hays helped the governor in drafting the following telegram, which was sent to the President on September 11:

> I have accepted summons from the United States District Court, Eastern District of Arkansas, to appear before that court on September 20, to answer certain allegations in litigation affecting the high school in Little Rock. Recognizing

that we jointly share great responsibility under the federal Constitution, I feel that it is advisable for us to counsel together in determining my course of action as chief executive of the state of Arkansas with reference to the responsibility placed upon me by the state and federal constitutions.

The United States District Court has already entered an order relative to the integration of the high school in Little Rock, and this order has been affirmed by the Circuit Court of Appeals.

All good citizens must, of course, obey all proper orders of our courts and it is certainly my desire to comply with the order that has been issued by the District Court in this case, consistent with my responsibilities under the Constitution of the United States and that of Arkansas.

May I confer with you on this matter at your earliest convenience? 5

President Eisenhower, though in constant touch with the White House, was vacationing at the time at Newport, Rhode Island -- a circumstance which aroused some criticism. (Columnist Walter Lippman wrote: "It is necessary to say... that during this grave business he ought not to be away from Washington, but at the center of things, where he can really keep himself informed and advised.") The President answered Faubus immediately with this brief message:

I have your telegram in which you request a meeting with me. Would it suit your convenience to come to my office on the naval base at Newport either Friday afternoon, September 13, at 3 o'clock, or Saturday morning, the 14th at 9 o'clock? If you would let my office know your method of transportation to the Newport area, my staff will arrange to have you met and brought to the base. 5

(The Associated Press reported: "The Soviets built a somewhat fictional radio drama around a real-life Negro schoolgirl of Little Rock and broadcast it to schoolrooms in the Soviet Union. The program was a dramatized account of racial violence terrorizing a Negro schoolgirl named Elizabeth Eckford... trying to get into a desegregated school in Little Rock." The Egyptian government

made use of the news from Little Rock in its broadcasts to the Budan. The Budapest Esti Hirlap taunted: "We would like to invite the members of the five-nation UN committee (which recommended condemnation of the Soviet Union) to make a study trip up the Arkansas River...."

Friday, September 13

The Saturday hour was agreed upon for the conference. Friday the governor and his private secretary, accompanied by Congressman Hays, flew to Providence, Rhode Island. Hays recalls in his book: "No one representing the governor of Rhode Island or the mayor of Providence was on hand to welcome us. There were curious crowds but no cheering. It was rather pathetic to see Governor Faubus looking vainly for some sign of enthusiasm...."

Saturday, September 14

At Newport Saturday morning President Eisenhower talked privately in his office with Governor Faubus for about fifteen minutes. Afterwards the two joined Hays and Adams in the reception room for a talk which lasted nearly two hours. At the President's suggestion, Attorney General Herbert Brownell and Presidential Press Secretary James Hagerty came in for the last part of the discussion.

Among details of the conversation, revealed with the President's approval, Hays recalls that Eisenhower said to Faubus: "I do not criticize you for calling out the Guard -- our only difference is that I would have given them different instructions."

Saturday afternoon the President issued this statement:

At the request of Gov. Faubus of Arkansas, I met with him this morning in a constructive discussion regarding the carrying out of the orders of the federal court in the matter of the high schools of Little Rock.

The governor stated his intention to respect the decision of the United States District Court and to give his full cooperation in carrying out his responsibilities in respect to these decisions.

In doing so, I recognize the inescapable responsibility resting upon the governor to preserve law and order in his state. I am gratified by his constructive and cooperative attitude at our meeting. I have assured the governor of the cooperation of federal officials...

I am sure it is the desire of the governor, not only to observe the supreme law of the land but to use the influence of his office in orderly progress of the plans which are already the subject of the order of the court. 5

and the governor of Arkansas issued this:

The President and I have had a friendly and constructive discussion of the problem of compliance with court orders respecting the high schools of Little Rock. This trip to Newport has been worthwhile from my point of view. I recognize that the situation called for clarification and I assured the President of my desire to cooperate with him in carrying out the duties resting upon both of us under the constitution of Arkansas with the requirements of the federal Constitution.

I have never expressed any personal opinion regarding the Supreme Court decision of 1954 which voted integration. That is not relevant. That decision is the law of the land and must be obeyed.

At the time, it is evident even from the language of the decision itself that changes necessitated by court orders cannot be accomplished overnight.

The people of Little Rock are law-abiding and I know that they shall have my support. In so doing, it is my responsibility to protect the people from violence in any form.

As I interpret the President's public statement, the national administration has no thought of challenging this fact. In meeting this obligation, it is essential in proceeding to implement the orders of the court that the complexities of integration be patiently understood by all those in federal authority as well as others.

Expect to obey valid court orders. In this they

When I assure the President, as I have already done, that I expect to accept the decisions of the court, I entertain the hope that the Department of Justice and the federal judiciary will act with understanding and patience in discharging their duties. 5

(The Edinburgh Scotsman said: "The duty of the President is clear. He must maintain the law...." The Sidney Morning Herald said: "The time for compromise is clearly at an end." The Manila Herald: "It is a test right in America's home grounds to determine how really sincere the American people are in their avowals of equal justice and fair play -- a doctrine repeatedly dinned into the ears of their allies by American leaders." The Mexico City Novedades: "Arkansas's Faubus is a coarse exponent of a trend that would put to shame the most backward countries on earth." The Times of Indonesia: "Americans should ask themselves... whether Governor Faubus should not be hauled before the Un-American Activities Committee for alienating half the world from the United States." And Al-Shara, of Beirut: "America Verges on Civil Rebellion.")

Thursday, September 19

Soldiers continued on guard against the entry of Negro pupils into Central High School, although, after the first week, the patrol had been reduced to less than fifty men and demonstrators were even fewer. The governor asked Judge Davies to remove himself from the bench Thursday for the hearing on the petition for injunction against Faubus et al., because of "a personal prejudice against this respondent." The motion was denied. 5

Friday, September 20

At the beginning of the hearing in the federal court, the governor and the Guard officers, through their attorneys, filed a motion to dismiss, declaring:

> (a) The petition is in truth and in fact an attempted action against the sovereign State of Arkansas...
>
> (b) This court is wholly without jurisdiction to question the judgment or discretion of the respondent, Orval E. Faubus, the governor of Arkansas, and other respondents subordinate to him, in performing their duties made mandatory upon them by the Constitution and the laws of Arkansas... [5]

When this motion was denied, the governor's attorneys stalked out of the courtroom.

As the hearing proceeded, the federal government called eight of the 105 witnesses it had subpoenaed, including the school superintendent, the mayor and the chief of police of Little Rock, the principal of Central High School, the president of the school board and three of the nine Negro children. No evidence that violence was imminent came from any of the witnesses.

Judge Davies concluded that the desegregation of Central High School had "been thwarted by the governor of Arkansas by the use of National Guard troops." He said: "It is equally demonstrable from the testimony presented here today that there would have been no violence in carrying out the plan of integration, and that there has been no violence." He ordered the respondents to cease "obstructing or preventing... the attendance of Negro students" at the high school. [6]

Three hours later Faubus ordered the guardsmen to leave the school. In a broadcast that evening the governor said in part:

> ...I have tried to follow a course that would preserve and maintain the peace and order in Little Rock and in the state.

The calling out of the Guard and every order to its commander was designed to achieve that purpose. Now that a federal court, however, has chosen to substitute its judgment for mine as to how the peace and order should be preserved, I must temporarily at least abide and therefore I have issued orders that all units of the Arkansas National Guard stationed at the high schools in Little Rock be removed therefrom as soon as this can be accomplished...

.....

Now that my authority to preserve and maintain the peace and good order of this community has been so curtailed by this unwarranted action of Judge Davies, I can only offer a fervent prayer that the same thing will not happen here that has happened in other states in recent years...

...If by their own volition the Negroes would refrain from seizing upon that (court declared) right to (attend the school) until such time as there is assurance that it can be accomplished in a peaceful manner as it has been in other sections of the state it would be an act of prudence and good judgment that would be applauded by a vast majority of the people...

I appeal now for reason and clear thinking and good order... The public peace will be preserved... [6]

Saturday, September 21

Commenting in Washington, President Eisenhower called the National Guard withdrawal "a necessary step in the right direction," and expressed confidence that the federal court orders would be executed promptly and without disorder. The New York Times had said on September 8 in "The News of the Week in Review:" "If he withdraws the National Guard so that the Negro students can enter the high school, the battle will be over." But with the tension and unrest which had been generated by this time the withdrawal of the Guard left a dangerous law enforcement vacuum in Little Rock. Noting earlier rumors of a possible troop withdrawal, Mayor Mann had asked the governor to notify him "24 hours before such withdrawal is effected" in order that "proper preparations" might be made. Now, without warning, the responsibility

for keeping the peace fell upon the mayor. Mann issued a confident statement saying that a "strong" force of police would be on hand at the high school to prevent any interference with orderly integration. Privately he expressed concern that the approximately one hundred city police available might not be able to cope with the situation.

Governor Faubus left by plane to attend a Southern Governors' Conference at Sea Island, Georgia. Stopping over in Atlanta, he attended a football game, along with several other governors, as a guest of Governor Griffin. When Faubus was introduced over the public address system at Grant Field, the crowd rose and cheered -- the hero image was taking shape. Asked by a reporter if he believed there would be violence in Little Rock Monday, the governor answered: "I think so."

Sunday, September 22

The mayor spent most of Sunday conferring with Congressman Hays -- and with a larger group which included Superintendent of Schools Vigil Blossom, Chief of Police Marvin H. Potts, Assistant Chief Gene Smith, editor Ashmore, former Governor Sid McMath and Ed Dunaway (Winthrop Rockefeller's attorney) -- over the problem of maintaining public order when schools opened on Monday. Among various possibilities explored, efforts were made to secure the aid of United States deputy marshals at Central High School. Many have observed that if federal marshals in plain clothes had been used instead of soldiers to insure the orderly execution of the court order the spectacle would have been vastly less provocative. In later years federal marshals would in fact be used on a large scale to enforce desegregation rulings.

But Attorney General Brownell decided against it.

Monday, September 23

The soldiers assigned by the governor to prevent the admission of Negroes to Central High School having been withdrawn, a white mob accomplished the same purpose by vicious and prolonged rioting. Many received an exaggerated impression of the magnitude of that convulsion. No one was seriously wounded. Maximum estimates placed the number in the crowd around the school at one thousand, and less than half of these were active participants; a few scattered fanatics drove through the city during the day seeking Negroes to harass. But the city was not in turmoil: more than 99 per cent of the people of Little Rock went quietly about their normal occupations. It was a shocking exhibition nonetheless, and it was conveyed swiftly and voluminously to the world. Cameras played on scenes of violence for half a day, while reporters gathered material for a hundred pen pictures of personalities and incidents.

The law enforcement contingent numbered only about 150, of whom 100 were city police and 50, state police. (With 100 additional men -- federal marshals, for instance -- the mob could have been held in check.) The brunt of the struggle was borne by the city police, many of whom had friends among the rioters and shared their feelings; one patrolman walked away from his job and turned in his badge, but most of them, led by Assistant Chief Gene Smith, labored with stubborn courage. At one point a handful of rioters cleared the wooden barricade in front of the school, but a dozen policemen slowly forced them back. Outside the barricade the mob was completely out of hand.

The crowd was beginning to gather around the school by 7 a.m.; it increased steadily as the morning wore on and excitement mounted. Rioting started when the final buzzer sounded for school classes at 8:45. The Negro children were slipped into the school by the delivery entrance. When this was discovered, the cry went up: "The niggers are in our school!" --and the mob was seized with a screaming, howling frenzy. Any Negro was attacked on sight but "Yankee" and Negro reporters were special targets of segregationist fury -- of which several correspondents of Life magazine and four representatives of Negro publications were conspicuous victims. The most widely circulated photos were those of Alex Wilson, Negro editor of the Memphis Tri-State Defender, whose stoic dignity while being beaten, knocked down and kicked in the stomach was impressive. At 11:30 school authorities decided to remove the Negro children for safety, and this was accomplished in police cars. When the announcement was made over a loudspeaker that the Negroes had been removed, the tumult began to subside.

Phone calls to the White House for help had received replies which were unilluminating but tersely suggestive of impending action. That afternoon the President issued the following proclamation:

> I want to make several things very clear in connection with the disgraceful occurrences of today at Central High School in the city of Little Rock: They are:
>
> 1. The federal law and orders of a United States District Court, implementing that law, cannot be flouted with impunity by any individual, or any mob of extremists.
>
> 2. I will use the full power of the United States, including whatever force may be necessary to prevent any obstruction of the law and to carry out the orders of the federal court.

3. Of course, every right-thinking citizen will hope that the American sense of justice and fair play will prevail in this case. It will be a sad day for this country -- both at home and abroad -- if school children can safely attend their classes only under the protection of armed guards.

4. I repeat my expressed confidence that the citizens of Little Rock and of Arkansas will respect the law and will not countenance violations of law and order by extremists.

Whereas certain persons in the state of Arkansas, individually and in unlawful assemblies, combinations, and conspiracies, have wilfully obstructed the enforcement of orders of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas with respect to matters relating to enrollment and attendance at public schools, particularly at Central High School, located in Little Rock school district, Little Rock, Arkansas, and

Whereas, such willful obstruction of justice hinders the execution of the laws of that state and of the United States, and makes it impracticable to enforce such laws by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, and

Whereas, such obstruction of justice constitutes a denial of the equal protection of the laws secured by the Constitution of the United States and impedes the course of justice under those laws;

Now, therefore, I, Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States, under and by the virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, including Chapter 13 of Title 10, of the United States Code, particularly Sections 332, 333 and 334 thereof, do command all persons engaged in such obstruction of justice to cease and desist therefrom, and to disperse forthwith... [6]

From Sea Island Governor Faubus grieved at "the thing I sought to prevent happening," and called upon the people of Little Rock "to do everything possible to restore calm." But Governor McKeldin of Maryland said: "Governor Faubus wrote the book, set the stage and directed the play for today's unhappy occurrences in Arkansas." [7]

Tuesday, September 24

The Negro students stayed at home Tuesday, and in the wake of the President's proclamation, only about two hundred demonstrators gathered at the school. Some of the only eleven

arrests made were of persons recognized as participants in the violence of the previous day.

Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson called the 9,936 officers and men of the Arkansas National Guard into federal service and rushed one thousand men of the 101st Airborne Division of the Regular Army to Little Rock. The first group of five hundred men flew from Fort Campbell, Kentucky, and arrived at the Little Rock Air Force Base near the city in mid-afternoon. At nightfall twenty-six vehicles, including trucks, half-tracks and jeeps -- filled with troops dressed in battle fatigue -- drove up to Central High School.

Returning to Little Rock Tuesday afternoon Faubus said on arrival: "I feel like MacArthur. I have been relieved." (A few days later he would compare himself with General Robert E. Lee. An earlier reference to his "crucifixion" had suggested a more extravagant comparison.)

President Eisenhower had said in a press conference as late as July 17: "I can't imagine any set of circumstances that would ever induce me to send federal troops into a federal court and into any area to enforce the orders of a federal court, because I believe that the common sense of America will never require it." Now in a radio-television address to the nation the President said in part:

> For a few minutes I want to speak to you about the serious situation that has arisen in Little Rock....
>
> .....
>
> In that city, under the leadership of demagogic extremists, disorderly mobs have deliberately prevented the carrying out of proper orders from a federal court.

Local authorities have not eliminated that violent opposition and, under the law, I yesterday issued a proclamation calling upon the mob to disperse.

This morning the mob again gathered in front of the Central High School of Little Rock, obviously for the purpose of again preventing the carrying out of the court's order relating to the admission of Negro children to the school.

Whenever normal agencies prove inadequate to the task and it becomes necessary for the executive branch of the federal government to use its powers and authority to uphold federal courts, the President's responsibility is inescapable.

In accordance with that responsibility, I have today issued an executive order directing the use of troops under federal authority to aid in the execution of federal law at Little Rock, Arkansas. This became necessary when my proclamation of yesterday was not observed, and the obstruction of justice still continues.

It is important that the reasons for my action be understood by all citizens.

As you know, the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that separate public educational facilities for the races are inherently unequal and therefore compulsory school segregation laws are unconstitutional.

Our personal opinions about the decision have no bearing on the matter of enforcement; the responsibility and authority of the Supreme Court to interpret the Constitution are clear. Local federal courts were instructed by the Supreme Court to issue such orders and decrees as might be necessary to achieve admission to public schools without regard to race -- and with all deliberate speed.

.....

Proper and sensible observance of the law then demanded the respectful obedience which the nation has a right to expect from all the people. This, unfortunately, has not been the case at Little Rock. Certain misguided persons, many of them imported into Little Rock by agitators, have insisted upon defying the law and have sought to bring it into disrepute. The orders of the court have thus been frustrated.

.....

At a time when we face a grave situation abroad because of the hatred that communism bears toward a system of government based on human rights, it would be difficult to exaggerate the harm that is being done to the prestige and influence, and indeed to the safety, of our nation and the world.

.....

...If resistance to the federal court orders ceases at once, the further presence of federal troops will be unnecessary and the city of Little Rock will return to its normal habits of peace and order and a blot upon the fair name and high honor of our nation in the world will be removed.

Wednesday, September 25

The nine Negro children entered Central High School under troop escort. Major General Edwin A. Walker, commander of the Arkansas Military District, who directed the federal military operation, explained his mission to the press and lectured the white students before the arrival of the Negroes with fatherly sternness. (This distinguished soldier, who carried out his unpleasant assignment in Little Rock with notable efficiency, would figure in a sadly contrasting role in another desegregation crisis five years later.)

A sullen calm descended upon Little Rock.

Almost nobody was entirely happy over the use of the United States Army ~~in the crisis~~ to enforce a school desegregation order. The South seethed with indignation. The rest of the nation reacted in the main with a somber feeling of relief that the President had finally acted. There were divergent views of Eisenhower's performance during the earlier stages of the crisis, but a remarkable degree of unity in approving the use of military force in the situation which had developed on September 24.

Approval was expressed by the two living former presidents, Hoover and Truman, President Eisenhower's recent Democratic opponent, Adlai Stevenson, by many other public figures of both political parties, and by most of the press.

In foreign countries, where Little Rock had been prominent in the news since the end of August the climactic events were followed with avid interest. Some of the earlier damage was offset by the exhibition of American military might being used to protect the rights of colored citizens. A Voice of America official told the United Press that foreign reaction to the crisis had been growing "sharper in tone and more disturbed." The Voice now broadcast news of the troop intervention and President Eisenhower's radio-television speech in 43 languages. The United States Information Agency sent the text of the address to its seventy posts abroad for distribution.

Governor Faubus nourished the growing bitterness in Arkansas with scurrility and canard. He accused federal troops of "bludgeoning innocent bystanders, with bayonets in the backs of little girls and the warm, red blood of patriotic American citizens staining the cold, naked unsheathed knives;" and charged that teen-aged school girls had been taken by the FBI "and held incommunicado for hours of questioning." He addressed -- and gave to the press -- a letter to General Walker saying that he had "received a number of complaints from parents, mostly mothers, about your troops accompanying the girl students into their dressing rooms." The charges were hotly denied.

There was a universal desire, in which the Administration expressly joined, to see the federal troops withdrawn from Little Rock at the earliest safe date. The Southern Governors' Conference appointed five of its members to negotiate with Faubus and the President to this end. One of the five, Griffin, of Georgia -- who praised Faubus's procedure -- did not serve. The four others reached an understanding with Faubus and the President under which the former would give certain public assurances, after which the latter would order the troop withdrawal. On October 1 the White House issued the following statement:

> The President today met with four members of the committee representing the Southern Governors' Conference. These members were Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida, Governor Luther Hodges of North Carolina, Governor Theodore McKeldin of Maryland and Governor Frank Clement of Tennessee.
>
> At the meeting the governors informed the President that the governor of Arkansas had authorized them to state that he is prepared to assume full responsibility for maintaining law and order in Little Rock, and, in connection therewith, will not obstruct the orders of the federal courts.
>
> The President stated that upon a declaration on the part of the governor of Arkansas that he will not obstruct the orders of the federal courts and will, in connection therewith, maintain law and order in Little Rock, the President will direct the secretary of defense to return the command of the Arkansas National Guard to the governor. Thereupon, as soon as practicable, all federal troops will be withdrawn. [8]

Within two hours Governor Faubus issued this statement:

> At a meeting of a committee representing the Southern Governors' Conference this afternoon at the White House, the President was informed at my request that it has never been my intention to obstruct the orders of the federal courts, that the orders of the federal courts will not be obstructed by me, and that I am prepared, as I have always been, to assume full responsibility for maintaining law and order in Little Rock.

This has been consistently my stand and viewpoint throughout the controversy.

On the basis of this assurance, the President has declared that the Arkansas National Guard will be returned to my command and thereafter as soon as practicable all federal troops will be withdrawn.

I now declare, that upon withdrawal of federal troops, I will again assume full responsibility, in cooperation with local authorities, for the maintenance of law and order, and that the orders of the federal courts will not be obstructed by me.[6]

President Eisenhower found this statement unsatisfactory. The four governors said that the wording was changed from the text previously agreed upon. Governor McKeldin termed it "ignominious doublecrossing." The precise changes were never fully revealed, -- to avoid embarrassment in further efforts which might be made -- but the President said in a press conference on October 3: "The message that came back must be read as a whole, and you will find that all the way through it says, 'As I have intended from the beginning,' meaning that anything stated in the telegram merely took the situation back to where it was before the federal troops arrived."

The President then issued this statement:

The statement issued this evening by the governor of Arkansas does not constitute in my opinion the assurance that he intends to use his full powers as governor to prevent the obstruction of the orders of the United States district court.

Under the circumstances the President of the United States has no recourse at the present time except to maintain federal surveillance of the situation.

I want to commend the governors representing the Southern Conference for their cooperative attitude at their meeting today. I hope they will continue their efforts, as will the federal government, to bring about a basis for the withdrawal of the federal forces in Little Rock and for the orderly carrying out of the orders of the district court.[8]

A wave of sympathy with Faubus spread over the South, rising to boundless acclaim in extreme segregationist circles; the governor's soaring popularity in Arkansas would be attested by unprecedented majorities in coming elections. Southern bitterness toward President Eisenhower went beyond verbal fulminations; in Arkansas a United States Savings Bond committee chairman and several Selective Service Board members resigned; Governor Timmerman of South Carolina resigned his commission as a member of the United States Naval Reserve. Thoughtful segregationist leaders in most of the South drew from Little Rock the salutary lesson -- which would have a quiet effect upon future decisions -- that all the power of the federal government stood behind the rulings of federal courts; and the counsel, "Remember Little Rock" -- though it only aroused anger now -- would within a few years be found a cogent argument for proceeding with court-ordered school desegregation. But the immediate effect was to embarrass or silence "moderates," increase race tension and strengthen the position of the advocates of resistance in every political situation.

By the end of October the Negro pupils were attending Central High School without escort, and on November 27 the last Regular Army troops were withdrawn from Little Rock. A progressively shrinking detachment of the federalized National Guard continued its surveillance until the school year ended on May 27, 1958. Eight Negro children remained in school throughout the year, and one of them graduated with the remainder of his class.

STEAMPOWER BOND
CRASWELL
UNION SIGN

Chapter 11

The School-Closing Experiment

Nineteen fifty-eight was a year of virtual standstill in the movement toward the termination of public school segregation in the South. Even the scattered desegregation initiatives in western Texas came to a halt before an obstruction erected by that state in 1957: its legislature prescribed that state school funds would be withheld from any district in which desegregation should be undertaken without a prior expression of approval by a majority of the voters in a referendum election. In Little Rock, Arkansas, and in three Virginia cities, schools serving approximately 16,000 pupils were closed to prevent the admission of Negroes to them. The action in Virginia was a part of a bold program of so-called "massive resistance," the manifestations of which for long periods -- between violent outbreaks elsewhere -- had dominated the news from the South.

There was no violence in Virginia -- a fact which citizens of that state of all shades of opinion on the segregation issue recall with justifiable pride. Virginia went through the cycle of hesitant acceptance of the Brown decision at first blush, then fierce defiance of the ruling and, finally, relatively substantial compliance with it, entirely without serious disorder. There was never a riot, or a bombing -- not even a fisticuff -- over the issue in the Old Dominion. Yet Virginia during the first four years after the Supreme Court's 1954 decision was probably more influential than any other state in setting the South upon a course of resistance to it; anguish, other than physical, was also suffered

by many Virginians during that experience. With Kilpatrick's interposition and Byrd's Southern Manifesto Virginia threw down the gauntlet; and, as if in response, the initial procedure for enforcement of the desegregation ruling was focussed mainly on that state: the NAACP was more active and had a larger membership in Virginia than in any other Southern state and far more desegregation suits were in litigation there. At the legal and dialectic level, Richmond, the Southern Confederacy's capital, and Virginia, the home of General Robert E. Lee, became once more the battleground in a struggle between North and South. The nostalgic implications of Virginia's position as the northernmost bastion of this twentieth century Southern rebellion gave a sentimental stimulus to its own political leaders and a certain authority to the Virginia example in the eyes of other Southern states. "If Virginia surrenders," Senator Byrd declared -- "if the Virginia line is broken, the rest of the South will go down too." 3

It is interesting to note that one Southern state, Virginia's contiguous neighbor North Carolina, was little impressed. A contrast in the general attitudes of those two traditional rivals has impressed many observers, including Arnold Toynbee. 1 For example, North Carolina makes liberal use of the state's credit in developing highways and other public improvements, while Virginians cling to a "pay-as-you-go" policy and warn that North Carolina is moving down a primrose path to fiscal bonfire. Similarly North Carolina approached the problems posed by the Brown decision in a spirit disdainfully out of harmony with Virginia's "massive resistance." North Carolina adopted no interposition resolution, and local option -- which was anathema to the massive resistance proponents -- was

the cornerstone of the North Carolina plan. In the South as a whole Virginia enjoyed an unique prestige -- due perhaps to Virginia leadership in its diminished present as much as to its illustrious past. The Old Dominion had long been ruled by a genteel, respected line of politicians, and Harry Byrd was a Southern favorite, fondly put forward from time to time as a possible candidate for President of the United States. When the leaders of sedate, conservative Virginia defied the United States Supreme Court, other Southerners felt more comfortable in doing so.

Resistance to the Brown decision was a natural impulse of many in the South, but the precise thing called "massive resistance" was both in name and concept a Virginia product. In its broadest reach it aimed at establishing a united front among the eleven former Confederate states. Senator Byrd regarded the Southern Manifesto as "a part of the plan of massive resistance we've been working on," and envisioned the possibility "that some form of action" could "be accepted as a pattern for all." [2]

Another connotation of massive resistance -- one which had a greater impact upon the course of events -- was the concept of total resistance, or a united front within each state. Paradoxically, the foremost champions of local option at the state level sought to extinguish local option on this issue at the level of smaller governmental subdivisions. Even before local option was suppressed by Virginia legislation, any county or city which showed signs of moving toward adjustment to the desegregation ruling incurred wrathful criticism and cries of "betrayal." When near the end of 1955 the school board of

Arlington County drew up a tentative plan for desegregation of that county's public schools, the state legislature punished it by taking away the county's privilege of electing its school board by popular vote. A dozen counties in western Virginia, where the small Negro population presented only a minor problem, were thinking in terms of compliance with the desegregation ruling until the heavy hand of massive resistance descended upon them. A similar compulsion to conform to the lowest common denominator of race prejudice in a state prevented many other communities in the South from clearing their comparatively easy desegregation hurdles, it remains a major obstacle to beginnings of compliance with the Brown decision in the Deep South.

Virginia's massive resistance was written into law -- into twenty-three laws, to be specific -- in a special session of the legislature, convened for the purpose in September 1956. After a year of defiant fulminations, in which moderate voices were almost silenced, a majority of the legislators came prepared to vote for almost any bill that was thrown into the hopper if it was designed to prevent desegregation or harass the NAACP. It did not prove to be an impressive majority in the initial test. House Bill No. 1, was a proposal of Governor Stanley and had received the bulk of the advance publicity; it cut off state school funds from any district in which any Negro child should be admitted to a white school. This key bill received 61 to 37 votes in the House of Delegates, but it passed the Senate by only 21 to 17, and an eighteenth opposing senator, who was ill,

let it be known that he would have attended the session if his vote should have been decisive. However, the test demonstrated that the massive resistance faction was in firm control and little opposition was offered to the remaining twenty-two bills.

It is interesting in passing to examine the vote at the test which cleared the track for the massive resistance legislation. The twenty-one senators voting for House Bill No. 1 represented districts containing little more than one million of the state's 2,581,555 white inhabitants (by the 1950 census); Virginia Negroes opposed the legislation with practical unaniminy. With a more equitable pattern of legislative apportionment, which the Supreme Court has since required, the massive resistance aberration might conceivably have gone no further. There is, indeed, much evidence to support the speculation that adjustment to the Brown decision would have been easier in Virginia than elsewhere in the South if the ruling political organization had decided to point the state in that direction. Catholic parochial schools and state institutions of higher learning were desegregated early in Virginia without incident; Negroes represented only 22.2 per cent of the state's population and in twenty-one counties and three cities Negro residents ranged from none at all to five per cent of the total population; and across the border in Maryland, West Virginia and the District of Columbia compliance had begun promptly after the Brown decision was handed down. A large element -- and by far the most articulate element -- of Virginians rallied to the banner of massive resistance with enthusiasm, but there is

reason to believe that the reckless adventure was never favored by a majority of the people of that state.

The twenty-three bills in the massive resistance package passed by the Virginia legislature in September 1956 included sixteen enactments dealing directly with the school segregation problem and seven aimed at the NAACP. One of the former was actually more drastic than House Bill No. 1: it would block school integration before the point of withholding funds could be reached. This Senate Bill No. 56 contained many complicated provisions which no one clearly understood, but the heart of it was the blunt command that in the event of the enrollment of any child of another race, "such school is closed and removed from the public school system." Another measure established a three-member board with the responsibility for assigning all pupils to public schools throughout the state. In the event somehow that some white children might still find themselves with only integrated public schools to attend, the compulsory school attendance law was repealed. A plan was adopted to help finance private school education with tuition grants to pupils from public funds, but this was to run into legal difficulties which would prevent the grants from being available to meet the need for which they were intended when public schools were closed.

During the next two years Virginians watched -- nervously in the communities involved but with only casual interest elsewhere -- while NAACP lawyers pushed doggedly on with litigation in federal courts for desegregation of schools in five Virginia districts. In November 1957 State Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond, Jr. was

elected to succeed Stanley as governor. Committed to "oppose with every faculty at our command, and every ounce of our energy, the attempt to mix white and Negro children in our classrooms"[4] -- and aided by the furor over Little Rock -- Almond received 65 per cent of the popular vote; his Republican opponent was Ted Dalton, an enemy of massive resistance. Dissent was voiced by a few thoughtful leaders, including former Governor Colgate W. Darden, but sentiment publicly expressed continued to be overwhelmingly in support of the massive resistance program. No major newspaper except the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot spoke out boldly against the school-closing plan. Yet few really believed that schools would be closed: most people felt that something -- no one could say what -- would happen to avert that calamity. In a glibly vague way, champions of massive resistance contemplated resort to private schools, but no significant steps were taken to expand the state's private school facilities. Although the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties (the Virginia version of Citizens' Councils) were instrumental in the setting up in May 1958 of an organization, called the Virginia Education Fund, for promoting private school projects, it aroused little public interest and its fund solicitations brought only a meager response.

By the summer of 1958 the litigation in the Norfolk, Charlottesville and Arlington County cases seemed clearly headed for final, unappealable court orders to desegregate schools come September. Moderates had been largely silenced or driven underground, but Arlington County, in the metropolitan area of Washington, D. C. -- and it had been conspicuously cold toward massive resistance --

become aroused. An Arlington Committee to Preserve Public Schools was launched and quickly rallied several thousand members. (It was the nucleus of a similar statewide organization which would develop after school-closing began.) There was talk of plans for massive demonstrations, even a taxpayers' strike, if Arlington schools should be closed by the state. But to the vast relief of the massive resistance leaders an Arlington explosion was to be averted by a district court ruling of September 17 allowing that county to postpone desegregation until mid-term. (A suit for the desegregation of schools in Newport News had been complicated and delayed by the merger of that city with the neighboring city of Warwick.)

The showdown came first in an unexpected quarter. In little Warren County in northwest Virginia court action on a suit for school desegregation was consummated with a dispatch which remains a record for the South. Twenty-two Negro pupils applied for admission to Warren County High School in July; when their applications were rejected by the State Pupil Placement Board on August 29, NAACP lawyers filed the suit in the federal district court in their behalf the same day; on September 8 Judge John Paul granted an injunction requiring the plaintiff's admission to the school; and on September 12 -- just two weeks after the suit was filed -- the order was made effective immediately by a refusal of stay by Judge Simon E. Sobeloff of the Circuit Court of Appeals. (The action was affirmed by the full appeals court on September 27) The Negro students were immediately enrolled in Warren High School effective Monday, September 15, and a few hours later the lightning struck. That Friday evening, September 12, at 8:30 p.m. reporters were

handed copies of the following notice which Governor Almond had sent to Superintendent Q. D. Gasque and the Warren County school board.

> Under compulsion of an order issued by the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Virginia, both white and colored children have been enrolled effective September 15, 1958, in the Warren County High School, located in the county of Warren.
>
> Pursuant to the provisions of Chapter 9.1 of the Code of Virginia, the Warren County High School is closed and is removed from the public school system, effective September 15, 1958, and all authority, power and control over such school, its principal, teachers, other employees and all pupils now enrolled or ordered to be enrolled, will thereupon be vested in the Commonwealth of Virginia, to be exercised by the governor.
>
> Accordingly, by virtue of the authority vested in me as chief executive of the Commonwealth of Virginia, I will thereupon assume all power And control over such school and hereby request all local officials and all citizens to cooperate with the Department of State Police and local law enforcement officers in the protection of public property and the security of public peace and order.
>
> You are requested to forthwith notify all teachers and other personnel connected with such school, and all parents and other persons having the custody and care of all pupils enrolled or ordered to be enrolled in such school, of this action.

One thousand Warren County children were left with no school to attend. Meanwhile the legal machinery ground inexorably on to ~~peremptory~~ desegregation orders and the harsh implementation of massive resistance in Charlottesville and Norfolk. On September 19 Governor Almond paraphrased his message to the Warren County school authorities and closed two Charlottesville schools, locking out over 1,700 pupils; on September 27 he closed Norfolk's six white high schools with an aggregate enrollment of approximately 10,000.

These schools were not closed at the instance of the pupils or the parents involved, but in pursuance of an act of the Virginia legislature. The parents now set about frantically to find schools for their children to attend. Some who could afford the expense

placed them in regular Virginia private schools, but the few dozen vacancies in these were quickly filled. Displaced Virginia students were sent to private or public schools as far away as Connecticut and California; exiles from Norfolk schools were scattered over twenty-nine states. (Ironically some of the displaced white students from Virginia were accommodated in racially integrated schools!) The emergency was met most efficiently in Charlottesville, where two alert civic organizations organized classes in a new private school and in churches, homes and miscellaneous vacant buildings for more than 1,300 pupils. But by mid-October less than half of Norfolk's 10,000 displaced pupils had found schooling, and in Warren County only 162 of the schoolless children had been accommodated in improvised classes.

The liquidation of the public school system, which massive resistance enthusiasts had held out as an acceptable alternative to racial integration, had begun; presumably it might go on district by district as Negro plaintiffs and federal courts moved. But the showdown, when it came, revealed how largely the massive resistance furor had been an emotional outlet rather than a matter of realistic planning. The state was not prepared for any substantial changeover to private schools. Where, for instance, were the private schools? It would take many years and hundreds of millions of dollars to provide private schools for Virginia's 800,000 school children. Millions would be needed to provide adequately even for the students now locked out of public schools.

At 4:30 p.m. of that Friday evening, September 12, several hours before Governor Almond framed his notice to the Warren

County school board, Governor Faubus signed a proclamation closing the four high schools of Little Rock. School doors were shut there to 3,698 pupils by the 1958-1959 registration -- 2,071 at Central High School, 731 at Hall, 717 at Horace Mann and 179 at the Technical High School. Unlike the Virginia action, Faubus's order affected Negroes as well as whites: Horace Mann High School was a segregated school for Negroes.

The Little Rock move differed from the long-premeditated operation in Virginia in other ways. Faubus found his authorization in a bill which the Arkansas legislature had passed in a special session the previous month; it had lain on his desk until he signed it into law on that same fateful Friday, September 12. His provocation was a refusal of the Supreme Court to allow a two-and-a-half-year suspension of racial integration at Central High School, which a federal district court had granted earlier.

The year's experience had far from reconciled the Little Rock populace to the mixing of white and Negro school children. In seeking the court's permission to withdraw the Negro students and postpone integration, the school authorities had reported "chaos, bedlam and turmoil," at Central during the past year; they testified that there had been thirty "nuisance fires" in the school building; that search parties had been organized on twenty-three occasions to look for hidden bombs; that firecracker explosions had been a constant distraction; and that two hundred pupils had been suspended and three expelled. They attributed the public hostility largely to the attitude of the governor and the legislature. (School board chairman Wayne Upton testified in court that a consideration of the board in proposing January 1961 as the date for resumption of integration was the belief that by that time

Governor Faubus would no longer be in office!) The Arkansas statute required that school-closing should be followed within thirty days by a referendum on the question of school integration. In the election, which was held on September 27, only the five polling places in Negro neighborhoods showed majorities for integration; the vote was 19,470 "against" and 7,561 "for."

The governor said that "feelings" were "more intense" than when federal troops surrounded Central High School, and that, if the troops should return, "they would be met this year by the cold fury of the people...." Faubus, running in the August primary for an unprecedented third term, had received more votes than any other candidate for governor in the history of Arkansas -- 264,346 out of a total of 383,904 votes cast.

Little Rock delayed longer than the Virginia cities in settling down to private school improvisations through faith in an illusory scheme for simply transferring the high schools from public to private operation. In two broadcasts urging a vote against integration in the September 27 referendum, Governor Faubus had assured his hearers that this simple changeover plan was "sound and workable" and one to which "the advocates of the so-called 'law of the land' can have no objection." Accordingly, two days after the September 27 referendum, the school signed a contract leasing the school properties to a newly-found "Little Rock Private School Corporation." But the United States Circuit Court of Appeals quickly issued an order blocking the transfer to the private school group. Uncertainty existed for another six weeks -- although hopes faded under repeated extensions

of the restraining order -- until the appeals court on November 10 issued a formal decree enjoining the school board from "taking any further steps or action, without the approval of the District Court, to transfer possession, control or operation, whether directly or indirectly, of any of the senior high schools or any other property or facilities of the Little Rock School District, to any organization or person, for carrying on any segregated school operations of any nature;..."

However, due to greater public excitement and the fame which Faubus and the city had achieved the year before, Little Rock was somewhat more fortunate than the Virginia cities in raising funds to get private schools started. A fund-raising campaign was conducted by mail from the governor's office and contributions were received from sympathizers far and near: checks for $11,100 and $18,071 respectively were sent by two groups in Louisiana; a number of Mississippi communities sent smaller sums; $18.15 came from a group in Johannesburg, South Africa. By the end of October about $150,000 had been collected. Arkansas was also able, after some delay to make tuition grants available to displaced students at the rate of $172.66 per year per pupil, according to a specified formula; the state began sending out payments late in November.

On October 21 the Little Rock Private School Corporation started classes for seniors in a building purchased from the University of Arkansas by a wealthy friend of Faubus for $50,900, and some juniors and sophomores were accommodated later in two hurriedly purchased warehouses, bringing the corporation's total enrollment to about 850. Protestant churches -- Baptist,

Episcopal, Methodist and Presbyterian -- carried the biggest pupil load; the "Baptist High School," meeting in two churches, enrolled about four hundred. Approximately 650 white students were attending schools outside the city, including 449 in nearby county schools. By the end of October two thirds of the white students were in classes of some kind. As for the Negro high school students, about two hundred were able to enroll in segregated county schools, but nearly all of the remaining five hundred were left without schooling of any kind. Of the original nine Negro pupils who had attended Central High School, the five remaining in the city took the correspondence courses offered to high school pupils by the University of Little Rock.

The thought of resort to segregated private schools as an ultimate recourse when federal court desegregation orders could no longer be warded off had been harbored by many in all sections of the South. Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina, as well as Virginia and Arkansas, had legislation which could be used to close public schools at which racial integration might be imminent or might have taken place. (After the occurrences of September 1957, Florida, Texas and Virginia adopted further so-called "Little Rock laws," requiring the closing of any schools patrolled by federal troops.)

Much of the school-closing legislation elsewhere had been patterned after Virginia's and Virginia was the first to carry into effect a statewide plan. The Virginia experiment, therefore, was watched with particular interest. During the initial

hysteria in that state some enthusiasm had been expressed, even by the students and parents affected, over the move, but dissatisfaction mounted as the novelty of improvised classes wore off. The few private schools and all the makeshift arrangements fell far short of meeting the emergency. Little Warren County, though late getting started, in the end came nearest to finding classes for all of its displaced pupils; a single organization, launched in the spirit of a civic enterprise -- and with much outside help -- succeeded in setting up a segregated "Mosby Academy" and was providing schooling for 780 pupils by the end of the year. But in Norfolk, Virginia's largest city, 3,000 children were deprived of any schooling at all, and over 4,000 were attending loosely organized tutoring classes -- meeting in twenty-seven churches and synagogues and in basements, attics, living rooms and the like. Many classes had been organized simply by groups of mothers, who would bring together a dozen or two dozen children, then find a teacher and a classroom for them. There was no evidence that the state, or even, for the most part, the communities affected, were grappling realistically with the stupendous problem of establishing private schools for masses of children.

A few enthusiasts, like the Richmond News Leader, argued that a proliferation of private schools, with their release from uniformity of curriculum and philosophy, was a desirable end even apart from the aim of preserving racial segregation, and suggested that the South eventually might have this crisis to thank for an educational advance. Out of the confusion following the closing of public schools several more or less permanent private schools did emerge in the Virginia districts affected. But they served only a fraction of the local school population, and no broad trend developed. The Little

Rock Private School Corporation would dissolve after the 1958-1959 school term. Elsewhere in the South there had been no rush to private schools. The Southern School News, in its edition of November 1959, published the results of a survey which showed that a steady, but not a sensational, growth of private school enrollment in the South over the previous five years. The recent opening of a few new private schools in the Atlanta metropolitan area and in Montgomery, Alabama, was attributed in part to a fear of racial integration -- or a fear of closed public schools. Reports from most Southern states, however, indicated that such increase in private school enrollment as had taken place had not been significantly affected by the segregation controversy.

The school litigation in Little Rock -- which had raised hopes of a suspension of integration, then dashed them with the order which triggered school-closing -- ripened in a stern and sweeping opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States. Designated Cooper v. Aaron (after William G. Cooper, a school board member, and after John Aaron, a Negro student) it was the most important pronouncement of the high tribunal on public school desegregation next to the Brown rulings of 1954 and 1955.[6]

Incidentally, the Department of Justice -- where Brownell had been succeeded by Attorney General William P. Rogers -- was prepared to use federal marshals in the Little Rock school crisis in the fall of 1958. Over one hundred were on hand in early September to help insure an orderly operation if Faubus had allowed Central High School to reopen with the Negroes in attendance.

The Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals had reversed the district court's decision[7] allowing a "temporary delay" of integration at Central High School and the case had gone to the Supreme Court on further appeal. After a lengthy review of the whole Central High School integration story the appeals court had said: "We say the time has not yet come in these United States when an order of a federal court must be whittled away, watered down, or shamefully withdrawn in the face of violent and unlawful acts of individual citizens in opposition thereto." [8]

The Supreme Court order of September 12 was a simple affirmation of the appeals court decision, with the promise: "The expression of the views supporting our judgment will be prepared and announced in due course."

The opinion which the Supreme Court handed down September 29, three times the length of the original Brown decision, reviewed the whole story of the school desegregation attempt in Little Rock and then strengthened and amplified the court's earlier rulings, with the broad picture of Southern resistance plainly in view. As for the predicament of the Little Rock school board the court said:

> One may well sympathize with the position of the Board in the face of the frustrating conditions which have confronted it, but regardless of the Board's good faith, the actions of the other state agencies responsible for those conditions compel us to reject the board's legal position.
>
> .....
>
> The Constitutional rights of respondents are not to be sacrificed or yielded to the violence and disorder which have followed upon the actions of the Governor and Legislature.

The gentle tone of the 1954 and 1955 rulings was gone now, along with some vagueness. To an armful of Southern plans for circumvention of the desegregation ruling the court struck a crushing blow.

> In short, the Constitutional rights of children not to be discriminated against in school admission on grounds of race or color declared by this Court in the Brown case can neither be nullified openly and directly by state legislators or state executive or judicial officers, nor nullified indirectly by them through evasive schemes for segregation whether attempted "ingenuously." Smith v. Texas, 311 U.S. 128, 132.

Since the 1954 decision John Marshall Harlan, William J. Brennan, Jr., and Charles Evans Whittaker had been appointed to fill Supreme Court vacancies. The opinion was signed by each member of the court, an unprecedented move to emphasize the justices' unanimity and determination, and the court observed:

> The basic decision in Brown was unanimously reached by this Court only after the case had been briefed and twice argued and the issues had been given the most serious consideration. Since the first Brown opinion, three new Justices have come to the Court. They are at one with the Justices still on the Court who participated in that basic decision as to its correctness, and that decision is now unanimously reaffirmed....

Justice Felix Frankfurter -- "while unreservedly participating with my brethren in our joint opinion" -- ~~[illegible]~~ appended an individual concurring opinion, from which several of the dicta of this sage and erudite jurist are excerpted below:

> Violent resistance to law cannot be made a legal reason for its suspension without loosening the fabric of our society.

> Local customs, however hardened by time, are not decreed in heaven.

> Compliance with decisions of this court, as the constitutional organ of the supreme law of the land, has often, throughout our history, depended on active support by state and local authorities. It presupposes such support. To withhold it, and indeed to use political power to try to paralyze the supreme law, precludes the maintenance of our federal system as we have known and cherished it for one hundred and seventy years.

Space

Representative Brooks Hays, who had labored to avert the Little Rock explosion in September 1957, was rewarded for his moderation by defeat at the polls in 1958. A veteran congressman of extraordinary popularity in the nation -- and hitherto in his district, which included Little Rock --Hays survived the Democratic primary, but lost by a few votes in the November election to a write-in candidate and an uncompromising segregationist, Dr. Dale Alford.

Chapter 12

The Agony of the South

The gesture of abandoning public education testified no less than the rioting to the depth of the emotions which the Brown decision had aroused in the South. But neither the one nor the other gave more than an inkling of the sinister malaise which had seized a gallant and gracious people.

The outbreaks of domestic violence that attended school desegregation were not the bloodiest which the nation had seen even in the twentieth century. (No one as yet had been fatally injured in a riot.) Freedom to the Free, the report of the Civil Rights Commission on the one hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation recalls: "...During the last six months of 1919, there were some 25 race riots. During July there were three days of violence in the Nation's Capital. Later in the month, Chicago fell victim to 13 days of lawlessness. The state militia was called out on the fourth day of the rioting. The Chicago death toll was 38 -- 15 whites and 23 Negroes...."

But the Southern challenge to federal authority in the 1950's was graver than any that had arisen before since the Civil War; and with this kind of rebellion a fever had spread over the disaffected regions -- a fever of conformity to a single line of thought and purpose and intolerance of dissent -- which was reminiscent of its pre-Civil War reaction to the Abolitionist movement. A deterioration, not of public schools but of public enlightenment in a broader sense, and a popular distortion of human values, were accompanying afflictions.

That liberties were taken daily with history, sociology, anthropology, theology and current news to prove the segregationist thesis was not alarming in itself. There are controversial areas, in which views on one side, even extreme views, of course, are properly to be heard. But, unless the other side is allowed equal opportunity for expression, an intellectual imbalance results and inaccuracies of fact remain uncorrected. In the South in the late 1950's speakers opposed to racial segregation, however learned or distinguished, were scorned and seldom permitted to be heard; books which challenged racist theories were removed from school libraries, and teachers who questioned the wisdom of defying the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling were silenced or dismissed. In human relations, kindness and brotherly behavior -- if they crossed the racial line -- came to be regarded, not as virtues, but as transgressions; segregationists found even clergymen to support the assertion that "the so-called Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man was repudiated by Christ...."[1] The words "liberal" and even "moderate" had become terms of reproach.

Meanwhile persons, white or colored, who protested against these things were persecuted in a variety of ways. The sickness was most pervasive in 1958 and early 1959; a cleansing breeze began to blow across the northern marches and headed southward in 1959, but the malady lingered and worsened for several more years in the Deep South, and in large areas it is present in a malignant form today.

Hodding Carter, said in an address in Nashville, Tennessee, in May 1957: "...The first amendment to our Constitution is probably in more danger in the South today than are either our white or Negro children." Those who spoke out against resistance to the Supreme

Court decision, or even called for constructive discussion of the problem, found themselves in uncomfortable and embarrassing situations, or even in physical danger. A dissenter from the segregationist line often found former friends unwilling to associate with him; even if privately sympathetic, they feared the consequences of this identification. An outspoken dissenter was likely to be harassed by insulting phone calls and might find rocks thrown in his window or garbage piled on his doorstep; in some instances hostility was expressed in dynamite explosions.

In a decision invalidating three of Virginia's "anti-NAACP laws" a federal court described the situation existing in that state in 1958 in the following language:

> ...The agitation involved in the widespread discussion of the subject, and the passage of the statutes by the Legislature, have had a marked effect upon the public mind, which has been reflected in hostility to the activities of the plaintiffs in these cases. This has been shown not only by the falling off of (NAACP) revenues, indicated above, but also by manifestations of ill will toward white and colored citizens who are known to be sympathetic with the aspirations of the colored people for equal treatment, particularly in the field of public education. A number of white people who attempted to give aid to the movement by speaking out on behalf of the colored people, or by taking membership in the Association, or joining the complainants in school suits, have been subjected to various kinds of annoyance. When their names appeared in the public press in connection with these activities, they were besieged day and night by telephone calls which were obscene, threatening, abusive, or merely silent interruptions to the peace and comfort of their homes. Letters and telegrams of like nature were also received. Some of these persons found themselves cut off by their friends and made unwelcome where they had formerly been received with kindness and respect. Two crosses were burned near the homes of two of them; an effigy was hung in the yard of a white plaintiff in a school case, and a hearse was sent to the home of the colored president of the Norfolk branch of the Association during his absence "to pick up his body."[2]

Space

Many agencies were working against race discrimination in the South now. Among the mainly Negro organizations, in addition to the NAACP, the Congress on Racial Equality, or CORE, established in 1943, was increasingly militant and would soon be in the forefront of campaigns to end segregation in transportation facilities and places of public accommodation. The National Urban League, which had fought against discrimination in the United States since 1910, placed its major emphasis upon securing equal employment opportunities for Negroes. A dynamic fourth Negro organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, had grown out of the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama; it was devoted to the philosophy of non-violent protest preached by its founder, the Rev. Martin Luther King.

Apart from the predominantly Negro groups, a score of organizations generally bi-racial, but in which white people -- many of them Southerners -- took a leading part, had offices in the region and were engaged in combatting race discrimination. These received their funds from membership dues and individual contributions, from churches and trade unions and above all from the philanthropy of national foundations. Only a small fraction of their financial support came directly from the South.

Otherwise the Southern Regional Council was, by name and charter, strictly Southern: its officers and the eighty members of its bi-racial board, as well as most of its full-time staff of about fifteen, were all from the eleven Southern and two border states. Affiliated with it also were seven bi-racial Councils on Human Relations in various Southern states.

A number of denominational religious organizations had departments, committees or societies devoted to work in this field. The National Conference of Christians and Jews strove for tolerance with respect to both religion and race. The Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches of Christ contributed to the cause in many ways and particularly in the rare ability and modest dedication of its chief Southern representative, the Rev. Will D. Campbell.

Two of the national organizations which concerned themselves most with the Southern problem were the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith and the American Friends Service Committee. The Quakers had been known for their efforts on behalf of the Negro for a century and a half; in this crisis they labored systematically to ease tensions and prepare communities for the abandonment of segregation. The Anti-Defamation League, with offices in Richmond, Atlanta, Miami, New Orleans and Houston, engaged in much valuable research and campaigned unceasingly against racial injustice. The American Jewish Committee was also active.

Jewish organizations had a two-fold concern over the segregationist furor in the South. Anti-Semitism was officially disavowed by the Citizens' Councils, but it was preached by many racist individuals and publications. Mysterious dynamite explosions damaged Jewish community centers in Miami and Nashville in March 1958 and wrecked a Jewish temple in Atlanta the following October.

The number of these reformers was still tiny in comparison with the multitude of aggressive segregationists, but they crusaded openly, and they were subjected to criticism and harassment in varying degrees. Many were vilified or derided in segregationist publications; they had difficulty sometimes in obtaining office space; some were arrested on trumped-up charges and briefly imprisoned.

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Apart from the active personnel of organizations committed to the fight, many men of moderate or liberal views in the South wrestled with the dilemma of whether to speak out and take the consequences or to compromise or remain silent in the hope of being able to exert a salutary influence in private or at some later stage of the crisis. Newspaper editors feared loss of circulation, politicians feared loss of votes, clergymen feared loss of communicants -- if they deviated from segregationist orthodoxy. And these were not entirely selfish considerations: readers, voters and hearers were needed if they were to retain any influence.

No group suffered more anguish than the white Christian ministers. Many felt when public school segregation was outlawed by the Supreme Court that a problem partaking so much of morals and conscience, and so rooted in the hearts of men, was logically one for the clergy, and that the pastors of churches should lead in preparing Southerners for the change. It seemed at the outset that the clergy might assume that responsibility. Two days after the appearance of the Brown decision on May 19, 1954, the General Board of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America hailed the Supreme Court's pronouncement as offering the "promise of further steps for translating into reality Christian and Democratic ideals." In June the Southern Baptist Convention recognized that the decision was "in harmony with the constitutional guarantee of equal freedom to all citizens, and with the Christian principles of equal justice and love for all men." The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern) affirmed that "enforced segregation of the races is discrimination, which is out of

harmony with Christian theology and ethics and that the church ... should lead rather than follow." [3] Episcopalians, Lutherans, Congregationalists -- virtually all major Protestant denominations -- at the administrative level, took similar positions.

The Roman Catholic hierarchy strongly supported the Brown decision, and steps were taken to accelerate the removal of racial barriers in the remaining all-white Catholic hospitals and parochial schools. Catholics are rare in most sections of the South, but the metropolitan area of New Orleans has one of the largest concentrations of Catholic communicants in the United States. The desegregation of the huge parochial system in that city would be delayed until 1962, but Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel began early to prepare his archdiocese, declaring in 1956 that "racial segregation is morally wrong and sinful." In November 1958 the Catholic Bishops of the United States expressed the earnest and prayerful hope "that responsible and sober-minded Americans of all religious faiths, in all areas of our land, will seize the mantle of leadership from the agitator and the racist...." [4]

Jewish leadership and all major Jewish organizations supported the Brown decision, some of them campaigning militantly for compliance with it.

Space

But Southerners were not easily to be led in this matter, even by their spiritual leaders. The Charleston, South Carolina Presbytery, representing thirty Presbyterian churches in the area, withheld its financial support from the National Council of Churches and urged the Presbyterian General Assembly to withdraw from it. More or less similar action was taken by a number of Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches in the South. Some repudiated the stand taken by the national church bodies of their own denomination; many Baptist churches disassociated themselves from the pronouncement of the Southern Baptist Convention. The Mississippi legislature passed a law -- of questionable constitutionality -- to permit local congregations to withdraw from their parent bodies and retain church property. Striking out in other directions, a South Carolina Methodist Men's Club applauded the actions of Governor Faubus and Governor Almond "against the un-Christian and evil forces of the Supreme Court and the federal government...;"[5] and the Carolina Baptist Fellowship, an organization of ministers, took Evangelist Billy Graham to task for his pro-integration leanings.[6]

A number of ministers, though a tiny minority of the Southern clergy, joined the segregationist chorus. The Right Reverend Albert S. Thomas, retired Episcopal bishop of South Carolina, was among those defending segregation,[7] and Rev. James P. Dees, pastor of the Statesville Episcopal Church, headed North Carolina's principal segregationist organization.[8] Important meetings of Citizens' Councils and like groups were rarely without a clergyman to invoke God's blessing on their deliberations.

Some ministers championed segregation fervently and with apparent conviction. The obsolescent myth that God, through Noah, through Ham, through Canaan, had put a curse upon the Negro race -- so widely used to defend slavery in the South before the Civil War -- was brought out now and then; but the Tower of Babel story and a collection of New Testament passages were more popular -- did not St. Paul himself say that "God hath made of one blood all nations of all men... and determined... the bounds of their habitations." Other ministers used more mundane arguments, or merely decried the desegregation movement itself as being a source of contention and strife.

A very large group of clergymen in the late 1950's admitted privately that segregation was morally wrong, took that position freely in meetings of known moderates and joined fellow clergymen in public pronouncements condemning it -- yet avoided mention of the subject from their own pulpits. They contributed to the impressive lists of signers of ministerial pleas for sanity which came forth in Richmond, Atlanta, Dallas and other Southern cities. Apart from personal considerations, these ministers endured what the Rev. Robert Paul Sessions described as the "dreaded agony... of having to chose between protecting the organized church we love and proclaiming the universal gospel we believe." For, as this Arkansas pastor observed: "There are places in the South where a clergyman's forthright advocacy of even gradual integration might mean not only his own dismissal but the wholesale withdrawal of members from his church."[9]

At the same time the South abounded in examples of ministers who preached the gospel of interracial brotherhood with saintly, and often heroic, dedication; and of clergymen who labored openly in organized efforts to combat race prejudice. In the infinite variety of local situtions many such ministers were able to hold their congregations; but many others were forced to seek pastorates elsewhere -- generally outside of the South. A Methodist minister in Alabama, Presbyterian, Baptist and Episcopal ministers in Georgia, a Presbyterian minister in Mississippi, Baptist ministers in Arkansas and Virginia -- indicated disapproval of segregation and were forced out of their pastorates in well-publicized incidents. The approach to the subject in these instances generally had been mild: one pastor had opposed the circulation of segregationist literature at a laymen's meeting; another had written an article advocating a "creative contact between leaders of both races," and one had proposed a panel discussion of the segregation problem at a joint meeting of white and Negro ministerial associations. Other liberal clergymen aroused antagonism among their congregations that necessitated their "voluntary" resignation; many were separated from their pastorates as being "ineffective" or "doctrinally unsound," when the dissatisfactions arose from their failure to uphold racial segregation.

The persecution or the ouster of the pastor was often due to an aggressive element, not a majority, of the congregation. Writing in the New York Times Magazine of September 27, 1959, Ralph McGill Had sharp words for these rebellious laymen and their prompters:

...These all-out segregationists unhesitatingly put the separation of the races ahead of Christian teaching law or moral principle.

With an example before them of public officials' defiance of the courts on school integration, they find it easier to bomb churches and schools, to defy Christian teaching and church policies and to make life miserable, if not impossible, for any minister who seeks to follow his conscience, secular law and church policy. Publications by extremist states' rights groups and White Citizens Councils repeatedly urge that "weak-kneed preachers" be "whipped into line" by the withholding of contributions. They sneer at the clergy of all faiths, saying, "Money talks and they all listen."

In an address to a Southern Presbyterian Men's Convention, held in Miami in mid-October of 1957, Governor Collins of Florida unburdened himself in a manner rare for a Southern political leader of this period:

Last spring in our State Legislature a resolution was introduced in the heat of all this racial controversy. It was a resolution that struck at the very vital concept of law and government. It was anarchistic in its very nature. It defined all those things that we as patriots have tried to preach and practice over the years. I took the position that passage of that sort of legislation would stultify our state. I so hoped that some bar association, lawyers who knew better, in our state or somewhere, would say, "Don't do that!" But the mob was howling, so they washed their hands of it and they said, "See to it yourself."

Months back in one of our towns here in Florida we had a woman doctor, one of our public health doctors who served three towns. She needed to have a conference with the Negro nurse who worked under her supervision. All of her day was filled with appointments and she couldn't find the time for that conference, so, she asked the Negro nurse to meet her in the back of an eating place downtown where they could have a sandwich and discuss their work. And they did meet and they ate a sandwich together as they discussed professional matters.

The people heard about it and the mob gathered. Citizens went down to the county commissioners of the town and of the other two counties and cried, "Fire her! She has violated the traditions and customs of the Southland. Fire her!"

Where in that situation were our Presbyterians? Where were our Methodists? Our Episcopalians? Where were all of our churchmen? Where were all of our people who are dedicated to this proposition of <u>All for Christ</u>? Did they go before these county commissioners and say, "Don't! This is wrong!"?

> No, they called for the bowl, and they washed their hands, and they said, just as Pontius Pilate said, "The blood of this innocent, righteous person won't be on my hands. See to it yourself." And she was fired, to the everlasting shame of our citizens. 10

In politics we have already seen how largely hostility to the Brown decision dominated the business of government in the eleven Southern states. Here the obsession of respected leaders with evasion and chicanery was symptomatic of the general malaise. With a disingenuousness which became routine, innumerable plans were advanced for excluding Negroes from white schools "for reasons other than race." The sophistry that race segregatin was not in fact practiced -- to which even university presidents lent themselves -- was sometimes used to defend the status quo in federal court litigation.

In electoral contests the issue of race segregation was paramount; and the question generally was not whether a candidate was for or against segregation, but which candidate was most blatantly and uncompromisingly prepared to cling to segregation at all costs. The expression "niggering" was used in some sections of the Deep South to denote the kind of appeal to race prejudice which a lower order of politicians found effective in getting votes. At more respectable levels the execrations were focussed on the NAACP, the Supreme Court, "liberals and do-gooders" and, in 1957-1958, the federal troops at Little Rock. It might be said that the fiery, anti-integration fulminations which politicians felt were necessary must have been a reflection of voter sentiment. But that is not an entirely accurate assumption. Unquestionably a majority

of white Southerners preferred segregation, how many were prepared to flout federal court orders, however, and go to reckless lengths to prevent the admission of any Negro to any white school nobody knew. What concerned the politician was the fact that it was the aggressive extremists who made the most noise -- and brought the most voters to the polls. The harassed moderate was likely to cast only his single, silent vote.

The diligence of segregationists in fostering race prejudice and stifling dissent oppressed Southern education from the grammar school to the university level.

The professor faced a dilemma similar to that of the clergyman. Many members of university and college faculties who abhorred the prevailing hysteria felt they could serve best by exercising caution and continuing in their jobs; but many others resigned, and some were dismissed. To teach history, sociology, political economy or law with fidelity both to truth and to the Citizens' Council syndrome was patently impossible. The Southern School News reported fifteen instances of white professors leaving Southern universities apparently because of their liberal views. These were only the most publicized cases; a large number with liberal views on the race question left the South without announcing their reason for doing so. It was not hard for professors to find employment in a freer atmosphere. Jim Hall, writing in the Montgomery Advertiser (of August 26, 1957) attributed "the loss of some thirty or more top-notch educators" from the faculty of

the University of Alabama following the Autherine Lucy incident in part to "the letters and telegrams students and faculty get signed by the Ku Klux Klan and persons claiming membership in the White Citizens' Councils; the midnight threats and voices who identify themselves as members of the KKK; the numerous letters 'threatening' the school if it ever integrated" -- and "the many meetings the Klan held menacingly close to the University campus, at which University professors and students were denounced as 'pinko', 'red,' 'brainwashed,' and 'Communist.'"

Following the resignations in 1956 of Dr. Douglas S. Ward, acting dean, and Dr. B. J. Chandler, associate professor, of the school of education at the University of Virginia -- two who had openly advocated gradual desegregation of Virginia's public schools -- Colgate W. Darden, Jr., the university's president and a former governor of the state, said: "....If I were a non-Virginian, I don't think I'd want to come in here for the next ten or fifteen years. I don't blame these men." [11]

A number of professors were forced to leave when their liberal leanings on the segregation issue were revealed in an article written for publication in a magazine or in a lecture delivered at some distant place. Yet it is not to be inferred that many college presidents, or even trustees, willingly sacrificed liberal professors or yielded without a struggle to extremist pressure. In the Deep South, where most of the ousting occurred, some university officials fought stubbornly and with much diplomacy in unpublicized battles with politicians and leaders of segregationist groups to defend the intellectual integrity of their

institutions. As a result, some valued professors were able to stay with their classes even though they persisted in voicing liberal convictions.

Liberal initiatives on the part of students met with cautious reprimand from university authorities and harsh reprisals off the campus. A minority, but in some colleges a very substantial number, did not share the segregationist craze, and some of them threw aside restraint. Raymond L. Morton, a 23-year-old English major, wrote in the Gamecock, the student newspaper at the University of South Carolina: "Speak we must, else the throat choke and burst with silent truths.... Unconsciously, we have been smothered and strangled with tradition, the so-called 'Southern' tradition, a backward-looking and odious attitude.... For several years I have been a page in the State Legislature.... Arrested by the decision of 'nine old men' on the United States Supreme Court, they are intent on circumventing...." (He was quickly fired from his job as a page in the state legislature.) 12

A frequent source of faculty and student resentment was the canceling by university authorities -- under extremist pressure -- the speaking engagements of lecturers when their disapproval of race segregation was discovered. The Rev. Albert Kershaw, a noted Episcopal divine from Ohio was invited to speak during "Religious Emphasis Week" of 1955 at the University of Mississippi. When it was learned that the clergyman, who won $32,000 in a television quiz program, had donated the sum to the NAACP, the invitation was withdrawn. The student newspaper, The Mississippian, reflecting a spirit of independence still present among the students of

"Ole Miss," protested: "...Students attend a university to increase their knowledge, gather information through freedom of speech and inquiry, and formulate their own opinions. How is this possible when they are coddled like children?..."[13] But in the state capital, the Jackson Daily News called the young editors to order, saying: "The Citizens' Council of Mississippi has asked that the invitation be withdrawn because it sincerely believes that any man who gives aid or comfort to the NAACP is an open enemy of the Southern way of life and is arrayed in opposition to the things we hold near and dear.... There is no escape from the logic of that reasoning."

The intimidation of administrators and teachers in white public schools was almost complete. A few teachers were dismissed or "not re-hired" at the end of the term; state law in some cases required the dismissal of any teacher advocating integration. A white-haired 64-year-old schoolteacher in Georgia was dismissed (although reinstated after an outcry over such treatment of a beloved figure) for allowing a white lad to ride home on a bus with Negro children after the bus carrying white children had left. After the dominant attitude hardened, it was rare indeed that any murmur against the prevailing trend was heard among white public school personnel. Most of these public servants, who could not well do without their generally modest teacher salaries, were careful to avoid any mention of the subject; though those who upheld race segregation, of course, were unmolested.

Intimidation of Negro educators focussed on preventing school personnel and college faculty members from joining the NAACP or

participating in other pro-integration activities. A number of teachers were dismissed because of their refusal to sign statements inquiring as to NAACP membership. Some lost their jobs due to the fact that members of their families had signed petitions seeking admission to white schools.

Many school libraries were investigated and "purged" by governmental agencies and private organizations to see that children did not have access to "subversive" literature. Books expressing views liberal on the subject of race relations or critical of "the Southern way of life" -- even views generally accepted outside of the South -- were considered "subversive." The Georgia board of education rejected a textbook on sociology which had been recommended by its professional textbook committee because, according to the newspaper report, it taught "that the white people are unfair to the Negroes in elections, in school facilities and in recreation facilities." The banned book was Our Changing Social Order, by Ruth Wood Gavian, H. A. Gray and Ernest Groves.[13] The two houses of the South Carolina legislature adopted a concurrent resolution asking the State Library Board to take out of circulation "certain books, such as The Swimming Hole... that are inimical to the traditions and customs of our state." The Swimming Hole is an illustrated children's book which depicts white and colored boys swimming together. In supporting the resolution State Senator Gressette said such books "only confuse and warp the thinking of our young people." Asked if the resolution "wouldn't cover magazines and newspapers," Gressette replied: "As for myself I stopped subscribing to the Saturday Evening Post, Time, Life and other publications," favoring

compliance with the Brown decision.[14] Time, Life and Look were banned from high school libraries in several Louisiana parishes. A New Orleans Citizens' Council warned parents that a history textbook was being prepared for use in the eighth grades, in which "Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver are hailed as heroes and saviors of the South, but evidently the author could find no whites worthy of mentioning." The school board announced that the book (The United States -- Story of a Free People, by Samuel Steinburg) would not be considered.[15] Even in Virginia, the South's northernmost state, pressure was exerted on school authorities to keep library offerings "pure." On March 14, 1958, the Staunton River District, comprising the PTA's of five Virginia counties, adopted what the segregationist magazine The Virginian termed "a set of constructive resolutions which should serve as a model to similar groups throughout the nation." The resolutions exhorted parents to:

> (2) Read carefully all textbooks being taught in high school and grades for any instances of author depreciation of Southern heritage or its past and present leaders;...
>
> .....
>
> (6) Search into the background, aims and goals of all youth or young people's movements and organizations, directly or indirectly associated with education, which attempt to destroy Southern social customs.

Under Citizens' Council pressure, the state board of education of Mississippi in October 1959 withdrew from circulation a film on tolerance, which had been used by the audio-visual division for six years. The film entitled "The High Wall," was one made by the Anti-Defamation League and had been donated by the state B'nai B'rith. The latter's president, Robert Besser, commented... "No one found anything objectionable in the film when we presented

it to the state six years ago, but, of course, that was before the Citizens' Councils were organized." 16

Among the commercial television stations many national programs dealing with segregation and the race problem were withheld from Southern viewers.

The Citizens' Councils, the official organ of the Citizens' Councils of America prepared "A Manual for Southerners," which was published serially during 1957 in that publication. This instruction was addressed to school children; installments were introduced with an editorial note such as: "The portion appearing in this issue is for use in grades 3 and 4. However, there are many adults who might benefit from a review of these fundamental truths." -- or: "The purpose of this series is to impart to our children (and some adults too) a true understanding of their origins and the reasons for our bi-racial society."

After several installments of the series, The Citizens' Council said in its May 1957 issue:

> Public reaction to "A Manual for Southerners" has been both keen and widespread, indicating great concern with this long-neglected field of education.
>
> If you want your local Citizens' Council to undertake a project that will get some real results, why not suggest that copies of your official paper containing sections of "A Manual for Southerners" be requested from this office for distribution, with permission of the teachers of course, to elementary school pupils in your community?
>
> Some Councils have since last fall made it a project to mail copies of The Citizens' Council to the high school seniors in their counties during their senior year.
>
> Several teachers are requesting bundles of The Citizens' Council for classroom discussion as monthly current events assignments.

The authors of the "Manual" had difficulty in stretching a limited number of "truths" over so lengthy a series and the little nuggets of racist doctrine, which appeared about twenty-five to an issue, were endlessly redundant. A few selected paragraphs, which give the gist of this indoctrination, are quoted below. They are of interest as indicating in simple language the thinking of many thousands of white Southerners and the kind of instruction imparted -- more at home than at school -- to their children.

> God put the white people off by themselves. He put the yellow, red, and black people by themselves. God wanted the white people to live alone. And He wanted the colored people to live alone. That is why He put them off by themselves.
>
> .....
>
> God made so many different things. He must like for things to be different. And we must keep things as God made them. Races of men are different colors. Some people do not think God made men different. But we know God did make men different.
>
> .....
>
> You do not go to the same schools. You do not swim in the same swimming pools. Negroes use their own bathrooms. They do not use the white people's bathroom. The two races do not sit together on the city bus. If you are white, you go to a white man's show. A Negro goes to his own show. We do not live side by side. The Negro has his own part of town to live in. This is the Southern Way of Life. This is the way Negroes and whites can live in the same land. We do not live together.
>
> .....
>
> "Why do some people want us to live together?" you will ask? They want to make our country weak. If we are not happy, our strong and free country will grow weak. Did you know our country will grow weak if we mix our races? It will.
>
> .....
>
> One thing that made the Americans so mad at England was her terrible idea of slaves. English merchants wanted to make money. They bought Negro slaves from Negro masters in Africa

and brought them to America to sell them. The Americans said, "We do not want black men in our country. They will not be happy among white people, and we will not be happy among them." But King George wanted his merchants to make money. So the Americans were made to buy the Negro slaves.

.....

Many white parents saw that Ike's government is going to force the races to mix in Washington. So these parents took their unhappy children and moved out of Washington, D.C. And Negroes are moving to our nation's capital by the thousands. Before the races were mixed, Washington schools had many more white students. Now that the races are mixed, our capital's schools are mostly black. Do you blame the white people for moving away from a city where they were forced to go to school with Negroes?

.....

But the Race-Mixers are forcing us to mix our races in America. Most of the people don't want to mix the races. So you see, the Race-Mixers are like the Communists. They are a few men who want to make the rest of our people be slave to them and do as they say. These people are trying to change our way of life. They know we will be unhappy if we change. Then our country will not be strong.

.....

Some of you have been told that you are not a Christian if you don't want to mix with another race. This is not true, either. The Bible teaches you to keep the races pure. In Acts 17:26 you can read God's plan about the races. It says that God segregated (separated) the races by putting them in different parts of the world.

.....

The first civilized nation in the world that we knew about was Egypt. The Egyptian people of that time were pure white people. So you see that the white people built the first civilization on earth. These Egyptian white people were careful to build a strong nation they could be proud of. Even today we are surprised at some of the wonderful things they did.

But about the time the Egyptians had built a wonderful country, they brought Negro slaves among them. It was not long before the Race-Mixers of those days began saying the slaves should be set free among the white Egyptians. And finally the Egyptians set the Negro free, cleaned him up, and taught him in their schools.

Now you can already guess what happened to the Egyptian nation. Since the races were mixed, the people began marrying one another. Then the Egyptian race was no longer pure, and their nation was no longer strong. A mixed race is weak and all confused, and this makes the country weak, as we have already learned.

Let's look at another very great civilization in the early world. This civilization grew in India. But the people were white people just as you and I are. They were not the Indians you see in India today. They were called Hindus.

The Hindus built a very beautiful, high civilization and a strong nation. They kept themselves segregated from the negroid natives who lived around them. But just as always, the Race-Mixers got busy and said the negroid natives ought to be free among the white Hindus. So finally the white Hindus let the natives go free among them, cleaned them up, and educated them in their white schools.

You can surely guess by now what happened to the High civilization of the white Hindu. He began to marry the cleaned and educated native, and so his race was mixed. What happens to a race when it mixes with another race? Well, the Hindu race became weak, and the nation was no longer strong and beautiful.

If this is not enough to show that Race-Mixing is not good for us, let's look at still another great white nation that fell because it mixed its people. This civilization was Greece. Again the white man built a civilization that could not be beaten. Again the Race-Mixers got busy. And again the white people set the slaves free among them, cleaned them up, and educated them in their schools.

.....

You understand now why the races should not mix and why we Southerners want to keep our own Way of Life. And you must learn your lessons well so that you can help keep your race and nation pure. As long as we are pure, we can keep a strong nation which we can be proud of. We can enjoy the nation George Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and many other Southerners helped to build for us to live in. We do not want the Race-Mixers and Communists to take our country from us.

Not only was the South separated in many ways from the mainstream of national life and thought, but there was in varying degrees in Southern states an atmosphere of actual alienation from the rest of the country, particularly as it was represented in

"the government in Washington." A non-Southerner sojourning in Mississippi or Alabama often felt as if he were in a foreign land. The federal government, under both Republican and Democratic administrations, was referred to by many Southern politicians as if it were a foreign power. Perhaps it would be closer to the precise concept to say that segregationist agitators pictured the South as still a component of the American Union, but standing firm alone against a nefarious and largely foreign conspiracy which had seized control of the nation. Many actually believed the frequent assertions "that the enemy has taken over completely in Washington, D.C. -- and that we are right now living under the Communist Revolutionary Government."17

In 1959 The Citizens' Council undertook to identify the composite "enemy" of the South. Under the heading "HERE IS THE ENEMY," in its August issue, it listed seventy-four national organizations and agencies, public and private; in its November issue, under the heading: "HERE IS THE ENEMY -- PART II," it listed thirty-three. The first was described as "the official list of organizations appearing in House and Senate committee records as favoring 'civil rights' and anti-South force legislation during 1957 and 1959." The organizatinns in the second list were said to have been "the source of the 'civil rights' planks in both the Democratic and Republican platforms." Allowing for some repetition, the aggregate comprised nearly one hundred national groups. Organizations primarily concerned with civil rights were cited of course, but the list as a whole was a startling revelation of how largely the Citizens' Councils had assumed an attitude of belligerancy toward the government and people of the United States.

Blacklisted were twenty-seven national Protestant, Catholic and Jewish church and religious organizations. The National Council of Churches was included, "The Methodist Church" was listed as such.

Thirteen labor unions were listed; also the National Newspaper Publishers Association, and the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks!

The Government of the United States was represented in the camp of the "enemy" by the following:

Commission on Civil Rights

Department of the Air Force

Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Department of Justice

Department of Labor

Department of the Treasury

General Services Administration

Housing and Home Finance Agency

Interstate Commerce Commission

President's Committee on Government Contracts

(The enemy status of the Supreme Court and the federal judiciary was apparently taken for granted.)

Chapter 13

Rifts in the Clouds

Nineteen fifty-nine, the fifth year after the Brown decision, marked a faintly discernible turning point in Southern resistance. In Virginia, which had been a conspicuous bellwether, the attitude of both government and public underwent a dramatic change: from this year onward the state which had led the parade of defiance was to set an example to the rest of the South of quiet but progressive -- though still only token -- compliance with the Supreme Court ruling. Little Rock, with relatively minor disorder, resigned itself to the admission of Negroes to two white high schools, and the walls of public school segregation were breached in another Southern state, Florida. More convulsions and one virtual insurrection were still to come in the Deep South; but the nerving image of a solid seven-state front with Virginia in the vanguard was shattered, and the ultimate futility of resistance was brought home to an ever-increasing number of thoughtful Southerners.

The intolerable situation which the closing of public schools precipitated led to vigorous and steadily growing movements of protest both in Little Rock and in Virginia. The movement in the former was spearheaded by a Women's Emergency Committee to Open ~~Public~~ Our Schools, and that in Virginia by the Committees for Public Schools which grew out of the Arlington County initiative. These organizations, composed of white citizens, favored compliance with federal court orders in preference to closed schools,

but their membership range was greatly broadened by their insistence upon standing "neither for integration nor for segregation, but for education." As time went by they were joined in the fight by many individuals and groups.

Public pressure and court action converged to bring the climax first in Virginia and saw the collapse of that state's famous program of massive resistance. Committees for Public Schools were formed in Charlottesville, Norfolk and Warren; the Charlottesville Committee quickly reached a membership of one thousand and that in Norfolk enrolled 6,500. Then alarmed citizens elsewhere in the state rallied to the movement and early in December a Virginia Committee for Public Schools was set up with an office and staff in Richmond. Dr. J. L. Blair Buck -- a former official of the state department of education, who had retired in 1956 with a sharp denunciation of massive resistance -- was appointed coordinator of the statewide organization. Groups of clergymen in the affected districts protested early, as did two liberal statewide organizations, the Virginia branches of the American Association of University Women and the League of Women Voters. The white Parent-Teacher Associations, with their mass membership, approached the issue, which so directly concerned them, with temerity and mixed sentiments. Some of their most articulate leaders approved of the school-closing escape from racial integration; moreover, Virginia P-TA's are traditionally loyal to state policy and rarely express themselves on controversial matters other than those of their own school districts. Nevertheless, when the P-TA's met in their annual convention October 20, they listened to a fiery

clarion call to massive resistance from the governor, then rejected a resolution in support of that policy and adopted one urging local option -- albeit with close votes in each case. When white schoolteachers met ten days later in the convention of the Virginia Education Association they adopted by overwhelming votes vote a resolution expressing "grave concern" and calling for continued operation of the public schools.

The moderates were coming out from under ground, and no group was in a better position to sense the fact than the Virginia press. Somewhat abruptly and in seeming concert during October and early November most of the state's leading newspapers turned against the massive resistance program. The Lynchburg News and the Lynchburg Advance became aggressively critical; the Roanoke Times and the Roanoke World News declared the time had come for a change; the Norfolk afternoon Ledger-Dispatch, which, unlike its morning contemporary, had supported massive resistance, and the Charlottesville Daily Progress joined the procession. On November 11 the editor of the Richmond News Leader, which had beaten the drums of massive resistance more loudly than any other major newspaper, sounded a call to retreat. In an address to the Richmond Rotary Club, Jack Kilpatrick said: "I believe that new laws must be devised -- speedily devised -- if educational opportunities are to be preserved and social calamity is to be averted." The Richmond Times-Dispatch and the News Leader followed through editorially the next day in the same tenor. To excited reporters who hastened to the Governor's office for comment, Almond said: "I am going to stay with the statutes

of Virginia as long as they are vital." But the usual denial of any mitigation of massive resistance was not forthcoming.

Not all of the agitation was on one side; a large element that feverish autumn still supported the school-closing program. In Norfolk the issue was disputed with particular acrimony. Countering the propaganda of the Committee for Public schools, the racist Defenders of State Sovereignty, in the words of the Ledger Dispatch, were "saturating Norfolk residents with a barrage of home-delivered literature." The mayor and city council of Norfolk were staunch massive resisters. In November these city fathers decided to submit the school question to popular vote. The proposition presented to the voters was not an attractive one: it warned that if the closed schools were reopened with Negroes enrolled, state financial support would be forfeited and all school patrons in the city would have to pay "substantial tuition." Only some 22,000 of the city's 300,000 inhabitants went to the polls. Nevertheless the results were arresting; approximately sixty per cent of the votes were cast against reopening the schools.

One powerful element of the body politic in Southern states, the financiers and corporation executives, strove anxiously to avoid the nettle of desegregation controversy; but they followed it privately with no little interest, and events in Virginia aroused grave concern in this quarter. Whatever the personal preferences of Virginia business men in the matter of interracial

association, massive resistance from an economic point of view was proving the rankest folly. The state was paying $172,000 a month in pay for idle teachers and other costs of closed schools in Norfolk for instance, and talk of a more extensive abandonment of public education raised acutely disturbing questions relative to school properties and several hundred million dollars of school bonds. Meanwhile the confusion and uncertainty were frightening new industry away from Virginia, while North Carolina, with all schools in normal operation, was enjoying an unprecedented industrial boom. Early in December twenty-nine of the state's most influential business leaders gathered at a quietly pre-arranged dinner conference in Richmond with the governor, the lieutenant governor and the state attorney general; Almond was still noncommital, but their firm protest moved the governor on toward the inevitable policy change.

Actually, a step taken earlier by his administration suggested that Almond may have foreseen the failure of massive resistance from the beginning of school-closing. In the excitement of early September, this move attracted little attention. State Attorney General A. S. Harrison, the governor's closest adviser, filed a suit requesting the State Supreme Court of Appeals to require State Comptroller Sidney C. Day, Jr., to issue warrants for payment of tuition grants. The attorney general explained that "the proceeding will test the validity of what is commonly known as the 'school-closing law' and the 'fund cut-off law,' for under both of these enactments tuition payments... are envisioned." The dubious legislation was thus placed at the mercy of the state court. When the time came, it would be easier

to abandon massive resistance on a signal from Virginia's own highest tribunal than in obedience to federal court orders! Samuel H. Williams, president of the Virginia Bar Council, was appointed to represent the comptroller and to marshal arguments against the legislation in question.

Six weeks later federal legal action was also set in motion. After a petition had been filed and withdrawn by the attorneys for the seventeen Negro pupils in Norfolk, a group of white citizens, prompted and financed by the Norfolk Committee for Public Schools, filed suit in federal court declaring that closing certain Norfolk schools while permitting other schools in the state to remain open constituted a denial of "equal protection of the laws." It is interesting to note that in the two litigations which would be fatal for Virginia's stand against the mingling of Negroes with whites in public schools neither the NAACP nor any Negro had a direct part.

The two crucial suits moved along through the briefs and hearings of litigation more or less simultaneously. Meanwhile a desegregation move in another city and a further school-closing initiative in Norfolk engaged the attention of federal courts. NAACP attorneys had filed suit on September 5, seeking the admission of fourteen Negro pupils to five white schools in the city of Alexandria. In a hearing in January Judge Albert V. Bryan directed the Alexandria school board to go ahead and act on the Negro applications without discrimination. In Norfolk on January 13 the jaundiced city council voted to withhold funds for the operation of any public school grades above the sixth.

This move would have added nearly two thousand to the ten thousand displaced white pupils, but the unconcealed object was to bar five thousand Negro children also from public schools. "Seventeen Negro children," Mayor W. Fred Duckworth said, "are keeping ten thousand white children out of school!" On a petition filed by the Norfolk Committee for public schools on behalf of both the whites and the Negroes affected Federal District Judge Walter E. Hoffman quickly put an end to this proceeding.

The state and federal courts weighing the school-closing legislation delivered their opinions both on the same day, January 19. (It is of casual historic interest that this crucial day in a maneuver of state resistance to national authority was the birthday of the great Confederate hero General Robert E. Lee.) Rumors had circulated for several weeks that January 19 would be the day, and public suspense was at its peak.

The Supreme Court of Appeals delivered its judgment at 10:30 A.M.: the petition was denied -- the massive resistance legislation was invalidated! School-closing, cutting off funds from integrated schools and tuition grants as a part of the plan were all declared unconstitutional by the state's own supreme court. Virginia was depicted by a Washington Evening Star cartoonist as exclaiming: "Et tu, Brute!"

The state court, having concluded that "certain provisions of the acts... violate the Constitution of Virginia," found it unnecessary to "consider the questions whether these acts likewise violate the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment to the federal Constitution as interpreted by the recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States...." It took occasion to "deplore

the lack of judicial restraint evinced by that court in trespassing on the sovereign rights of this commonwealth" and observed: "It was an understandable effort to diminish the evils explicit from the decision in the Brown case that prompted the enactment of the statutes now under review." But it held that the requirement of the Virginia Constitution for the state to "maintain an efficient system of free public schools throughout the state" meant "that the state must support such free public schools in the state as are necessary to an efficient system, including those in which the pupils of both races are compelled to be enrolled and taught together, however unfortunate that situation may be."

Later the same day the three-judge federal district court in Norfolk listed the school-closing statutes and the governor's Norfolk school-closing order and declared them all "in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and therefore void."

It remained for Governor Almond to face the state legislature and tell it that the massive resistance posture could no longer be maintained. But first he made one unfortunate further gesture of belligerency -- a mistake from every point of view. In a fiery radio-television speech on the evening of January 20 he thundered: ".... To those who would... embrace a new moral code declared by nine men in Washington...; to those who would substitute strife, bitterness, turmoil and chaos for the tranquility and happiness of an ordered society;... -- to all of these and their confederates, comrades and allies, let me make it abundantly clear for the record now and hereafter, as governor of this state, I will not yield to that which I know to be wrong...."

What caused the unhappy governor to make such a speech at this juncture is a question for psychologists. Almond himself said apologetically a year later it was the fact that "I was tired -- harassed and under strain...." To the many who were hoping to hear that the war was over the broadcast was a heart-breaking disappointment; those who wanted to keep up the fight were crudely unprepared for the coming disillusionment. In the opinion of the Richmond News Leader the speech "removed any doubt that his administration might shift from the massive resistance stand." Relations between Almond and Senator Byrd had cooled during the winter as Almond appeared to be faltering in his determination to resist; the two were soon to become completely estranged. But the day after the broadcast Byrd paid his one last compliment: "The notable speech of Governor Almond last night will further stiffen the resistance."

Nevertheless -- having added immensely to the difficulty and embarrassment of his task -- Almond's performance when the General Assembly met in special session January 28 was a masterpiece of extrication from an impossible situation. The drama was enhanced by the suspense with which the legislators -- many of them eager to fight on -- waited upon his words. It was not yet known which way the governor would turn. But all doubt was removed when he read slowly and clearly from his written text.

> It is not enough for gentlemen to cry unto you and me: "Don't give up the ship!" "Stop them!" "It must not happen." or "It can be prevented." If any of them knows the way through the dark maze of judicial aberration and constitutional exploitation, I call upon them to shed the light for which Virginia stands in dire need in this her dark and agonizing hour. No fair-minded person would be so unreasonable as to seek to hold me responsible for failure to exercise powers which the state is powerless to bestow.

A majority of the two chambers welcomed the governor's decision to retreat. His recommendations for immediate action, which were adopted with near unanimity, appealed to both sides: repeal of the compulsory school attendance law, a law making bombing threats a felony and a tuition grant plan independent of school appropriations, which would start payments flowing at last; but a spate of proposals from die-hards to halt school desegregation were easily beaten down. Almond expressed his intention to appoint a commission to study a new approach to the school problem and asked the General Assembly to recess until that commission should be ready to report.

Though this business was attended to before the weekend, nervous legislators insisted upon staying in session through Monday, February 1 -- just in case. The first public school integration was scheduled to take place on that day and many expected "violence and bloodshed." Four Negro children were to be admitted to Stratford Junior High School in Arlington, where no schools had been closed, and the six closed high schools in Norfolk were to be reopened with seventeen Negroes in attendance. The event proved anti-climactic. Although elaborate police precautions were taken, no crowds gathered, and the Negro children entered school with their white classmates in both cities without interference or disorder. Massive resistance had come to an end. When eleven Negro children were admitted to schools with whites in Alexandria nine days later it attracted little attention.

In the Charlottesville and Warren County situations the denouement was delayed until the beginning of the next school term. In the former the school board had voted on January 26 to reopen the

closed schools and desegregate them whenever required by the federal courts and a cooperative city council had endorsed the school board's action. Impressed by this spontaneous demonstration of good faith, Circuit Judge Simon E. Sobeloff permitted that city, while reopening the schools, to wait until September before inaugurating its desegregation plan. In Warren County the federal court was less considerate and a sensational "boycott" resulted. There nearly all of the displaced high school pupils were pursuing their courses in a respectable private school system, and the opposition of the white community to a change-over in mid-term was almost unanimous. When the Warren County High School was ordered reopened nevertheless, only the twenty-two Negro applicants enrolled. The white parents who refused to transfer their children to the school were hailed as heroes by segregationists far and wide; the legislature of Alabama applauded their "courageous action;" the Richmond Times-Dispatch found "Warren's stonewall refusal to surrender... a bright spot... in the gloomy annals of the five-year constitutional crisis." But four hundred white pupils were to return to Warren High School and the Negroes were to enter white schools in Charlottesville -- without incident -- in September.

A change in the atmosphere in Virginia was already apparent as spring came in. A widespread feeling of relief was suggested by the results of a newspaper poll conducted after Almond's address to the legislature: two out of three expressed approval of his new stand. The Virginia Committee for Public Schools now boasted a membership of over 22,000 and its advice and aid were sought by many politicians. People who had felt massive resistance a mistake were no longer

afraid to say so; many also felt that a great load had been lifted and were glad to turn their thoughts to other things.

But there was to be one more struggle over the issue in the General Assembly. When that body recessed on February 1, the members of the Old Guard of massive resistance, the hard core of the Byrd machine, left the chambers with lamentations -- "There's a sickness in my heart," one said. But they came back when the legislature reconvened March 31 determined to act the drama out to the end; if massive resistance could not be resuscitated, they would at least die with their boots on. The result was a tumultuous and inconclusive session. One bastion of massive resistance was still intact -- the State Pupil Placement Board -- responsible for the assignment of all pupils in the state to their public schools. In practice this duty had been discharged by merely stamping thousands of assignment forms submitted by local school authorities with a sharp eye to see that no Negro by any possible chance was placed in a white school. The board had never assigned a Negro to a white school, and, of its own volition, it never would. To frustrate this reliable device with local option was viewed by the die-hards as a horrendous proposal, and here the battered massive resistance bloc rallied for its last stand. In the minds of some it was another last stand for an embattled South. At one point in the debate two massive resisters -- one of them, State Senator Harry Byrd, Jr. -- displayed a large painting of Robert E. Lee! The fight ended in a draw.

Local option had been one of the recommendations of the forty-member study commission set up by Governor Almond, called the "Perrow commission," after its chairman, State Senator Mosby

G. Perrow, Jr. The other recommendations, a more elaborate tuition grant plan and further aids to private schools, were readily adopted. All these together were proclaimed as the "Freedom of Choice Plan." (Any pupil who objected to attending his public school would be free to choose a private school and receive a sum of money toward his expenses.) The local option proposal was mild in the first place: a cumbersome procedure to enable localities to withdraw from the jurisdiction of the Pupil Placement Board. Yet this passed the senate only by a vote of twenty to nineteen, and the opposition was successful in securing a postponement of the date for its coming into effect to March 1, 1960 -- in the hope that the provision might be repealed in the meantime.

But none of this mattered very much. As months went by, the action of federal courts and the march of events would leave any resistance mechanism by the wayside. Members of the Pupil Placement Board told a federal court in Norfolk in September that they could not conceive of a situation in which they would assign a Negro to a white school; Judge Hoffman angrily ordered them to do so forthwith. Three months later he issued an order relieving the Norfolk school board of any responsibility for dealing with the Pupil Placement Board. When the latter's segregation watchdogs finally gave up and resigned, Governor Almond reconstituted the board with three members who proceeded voluntarily to assign a few Negroes to white schools. From then on the Pupil Placement Board performed only a limited regulatory function in a slow process of public school desegregation.

Freedom of choice was epitomized -- and, hopefully, constitutional objections were circumvented -- by the tuition grant plan

as it emerged from the April session. "Scholarships," or tuition grants, roughly equal to per pupil public school costs, were made available to all pupils who chose to attend qualified nonsectarian schools, anywhere, in preference to the public schools of their districts. Many private school pupils collected the grants even when the public schools which they could have attended were completely segregated. Some actually used the money to attend bi-racial schools. In 1962, 8,518 Virginia children were receiving "scholarships" at a total annual cost -- divided between the state and the localities -- of $2,074,690. In some situations the program tended to syphon off from integrated public schools, ~~modify~~ and mollify hostile elements; but it became more and more expensive and less and less related to the segregation problem -- and increasingly unpopular -- as the years went by.

Senator Byrd said in September 1959 -- when his famous policy was in process of relentless liquidation: "I stand now as I stood when I first urged massive resistance...." He continued to stand there year after year. But in the mystic governance of the Byrd machine the chief's attitude in this particular was no longer one which his followers were required, or expected, to emulate. Massive resistance disappeared from newspaper headlines and from political debate. The very words, "massive resistance" dropped out of common parlance except as critics of that weird program recalled it with ridicule. The admission of Negroes to an additional white school somewhere in the state scarcely made front-page news any more. Local enactments brought compulsory school attendance back in fifty-seven districts. Minuscule though

the figures were in comparison with Virginia's total school enrollment, the number of Negroes in previously all-white public schools more than doubled each year. Beginning with 51 admitted during the 1958-1959 school term, the number grew throughout the state as follows: 1959-1960, 103; 1960-1961, 208; 1961-1962, 533; 1962-1963, 1,230; and 1963-1964, .

Nevertheless, in one small Virginia county a long-inflamed boil of hostility burst in 1959 and festered on for four tragic and scandalous years.

In the summer of 1959 Prince Edward County abandoned public education completely. In many ways the Prince Edward saga is separate from, and out of time, with the larger Virginia story. During the first two years after the 1954 Supreme Court decision the believed imminence of school integration in that county contributed to the widespread hysteria, and the action of the Prince Edward governing board in holding up public school funds in 1955 was loudly applauded by Virginia extremists. But that county's schools continued in full operation throughout the massive resistance period and the public school system in the state as a whole was returning to normal when Prince Edward took this melancholy plunge.

In 1959 the school controversy in some form in Prince Edward County was ten years old, and that county had been involved in federal court litigation since 1951. By the time the Supreme Court decision was handed down, a new Negro high school -- the earlier Negro desideratum -- had been erected, at a cost of over $800,000; by 1959, all of the plaintiffs in the desegregation suit had graduated long since or left school. Prince Edward,

it will be remembered, was one of the five original Brown cases; the other Southern case was that of Clarendon County, South Carolina. Both of these counties lay in the heart of the rural Black Belt. In any schedule of selective gradualism they would have been among the last places in the South in which to expect adjustment to the anti-segregation ruling.

The private school organization which was formed when the Prince Edward board of supervisors balked at appropriating public school funds in 1955 had remained intact, holding its collections of some $12,000 in cash and $200,000 in pledges -- and the county's resolution to operate no racially mixed schools had, if anything, hardened further -- while the case went back and forth between the district court and the court of appeals. District Court Judge Sterling Hutcheson implemented the Supreme Court ruling with orders to end public school segregation; but -- a native of a neighboring Black Belt county which has a more heavily Negro population than Prince Edward, and deeply conscious of the difficulties of the situation -- was inclined to allow much time before the change needed to be effected. Finally, in May 1959, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals directed that the district judge order the Prince Edward school board "to take immediate steps ...to permit the entrance of qualified persons into the white schools in the term beginning September 1959."

Without waiting for the district court orders (for which the Negroes did not press and which were not issued until nearly a year later) the county leaders took out their private school system blueprint and launched upon this long-contemplated program of evasion. The board of supervisors cut off funds for public school operation and reduced the county tax rate by 53

per cent. Public education in Prince Edward came to an end.

For nearly all of the county's Negro children it was the end of schooling of any kind. For the white children, the Prince Edward Educational Foundation in September opened two private high schools and six private grade schools in a score of miscellaneous buildings scattered over the county -- stores, churches, Sunday school rooms, private homes, et cetera -- with a motion picture theater for assemblies. Employing sixty-six teachers, most of them from the closed public schools, they accommodated 1,475 of a former white public school enrollment of 1,562. "No trespassing" signs were tacked up on the walls and grounds of the twenty public schools. Upwards of 200 Negro children were sent to schools outside of the county, and crude "training centers" were operated spasmodically by the Negro community for some of those who remained. Public education, or the default of public education would follow substantially that pattern for the next four years.

Anxious to avoid a court challenge, the county shied away from the tuition grants during the 1959-1960 school term; but before the next term began, it went to the aid of the financially hard-pressed private schools not only with tuition grants, but with provision for tax credits up to 25 per cent of tax obligations for amounts contributed to the private school fund (bringing $56,000 into the organization's coffers). However, in view of the fact that public schools were closed and the purpose was the perpetuation of segregated schooling, both of these devices were knocked down by the federal court before the 1961-1962 school

term. In the meantime the Prince Edward Educational Foundation erected an attractive little private high school building -- at a cost of some $200,000, plus donations in kind -- which increased the vested interest and tended to give a permanent character to the private school venture.

The population of Prince Edward County, where the economy is largely rural, with a high percentage of homeowners even among the Negroes, was not very mobile. It had increased 3.2 per cent from 1940 to 1950. But the 1960 census showed a decline in the population since 1950 from 15,398 to 14,120. Nearly all of the loss was in the non-white population, which fell from 6,860 to 5,631; the non-white proportion of the total fell from 44.6 to 39.9 per cent. In November 1961 the Prince Edward school board reported to the federal district court the results of a school census which showed that the number of school-age children residing in the county had declined by 449 since 1955, leaving 1,455 whites and 1,573 Negroes. Of these 1,224 whites were still in the private schools and 289 Negro children had been placed in schools scattered widely across the nation.

The Prince Edward County affair was the subject of a stream of news dispatches, of many articles and a few books. Many, including some foreign observers, wondered how an American county could be left entirely without public education. The Virginia Constitution required the state to maintain public schools, but as stipulated in detail, only on a meager scale; state courts found nothing there to compel either the state or the county to

appropriate the necessary funds. The performance of the federal district courts, where Judge Hutcheson had been succeeded by Judge Oren R. Lewis, was cautious, dilatory and indecisive where prompt and forceful action was indicated. When in 1962 Judge Lewis finally came to the point of ordering the public schools reopened, he failed to fix a time limit for compliance. In the state house, Albertis Harrison, who had succeeded Almond as governor, was an apostle of "harmony," loath to throw the Prince Edward problem into the lap of the legislature and see the segregation issue raised in state politics again. And the problem was infinitely complicated, Responsibility for public school administration was vested in the local school board. Without new legislation, the state could not move in and operate Prince Edward County's schools. The only group which seemed to have a clearcut plan was the governing board of that county and the sponsors of its private school system; these were determined to stand fast to the end.

(Possible 1963 developments)

In Little Rock, the long crisis which began in 1957 came to an end in August 1959. The public high schools resumed operation with a token degree of racial integration, with relatively minor disorder. The extremist groups, though reduced in number continued to be voluble and virulent for many months; fanatics and hoodlums expressed their resentment in bombings and harassment of "integrationists." The initial admission of Negroes to schools with whites was on a meager scale (only six Negro pupils) and the further progress of desegregation would be painfully slow. But public order and stability were restored; the gradual elimination of school segregation was accepted by most as inevitable; and Little Rock returned to the normal activities and concerns of an American city. In a few years' time much of the bitterness also faded and moderation rose in public esteem. Orval Faubus himself veered toward a course which alienated some of the extreme segregationist groups. When the governor ran for the Democratic nomination for a fifth term in 1962, the segregation issue was subordinated and he attributed his victory to the people's desire "not to wander in the thickets of extremism."

Unlike the Virginia cities, Little Rock bore with the private substitutes for public schools -- and the considerable education vacuum -- to the end of the 1958-1959 school year. The Arkansas Supreme Court ruled in April 1959 that the legislature's duty to "protect the safety and welfare of the people" overrode the constitutional requirement for maintaining public schools and upheld the state's school-closing law; and the federal court

order invalidating that law and ordering the Little Rock school board to proceed with its integration plan came only in June. By that time a popular demand for return to the public high schools was unmistakable, and it had the resolute backing of the economic power structure of the city. This development was the more remarkable in view of the incessant opposition, not only of the segregationist organizations, but of Governor Faubus, who denounced every constructive initiative and vilified its proponents.

The Women's Emergency Committee to Reopen Our Schools, with its membership growing to some 1,200, marched in the front line of the crusade from beginning to end. It was joined by most of the Parent-Teacher Associations and later by a proliferation of newly-formed organizations, but most importantly by the Little Rock chamber of commerce. In the return of moderate elements to control of the city, the business community -- which so often has remained aloof from the school controversy in the South -- played an active and, in a sense, a decisive part. As Frank Cantrell, manager of the state chamber of commerce reminded a Rotary Club audience in October 1958, Little Rock's industrial program -- which had bright prospects before September 1957 -- had been brought "practically to a standstill." Home-building had declined 20 per cent; number of new residents coming to the city had dropped 30 per cent. Business men gave early support to the Women's Emergency Committee and some went to work individually in the cause. In January the newly elected president of the Little Rock chamber of commerce, E. Grainger Williams urged consideration of the "cost of public education and the cost of the lack of

education," and the chamber began to move as a body. A mild resolution urging that a way be found to reopen the high schools and pointing to the need for better interracial communication brought a barrage of criticism and abuse, and a few members resigned. But the chamber proceeded to take a stronger stand. In March, it recommended reopening the high schools under a pupil placement plan, and declared: "The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, however much we dislike it, is the declared law and is binding upon us...."

The private school undertaking in Little Rock proved entirely transitory. During the summer of 1959, even before the reopening of the public high schools was an accomplished fact, all of these improvisations passed out of existence. When it graduated 28 seniors on July 10, the Baptist High School announced that it would be converted into a permanent Christian academy if as many as 75 students enrolled on this basis; ten days later, when only 22 had registered and paid the $250 tuition fee, the plan was given up and the money returned. The vestry of Trinity Episcopal Cathedral announced July 20 that its Trinity Interim Academy would continue inactive and recommended that its pupils enroll in public schools. The announcement of the Little Rock Private School Corporation in August came as a general surprise; its T. J. Rainey High School, zealously aided by Governor Faubus and much publicized, was the largest and proudest exhibit of the private school proponents. Although in the midst of adding 28 classrooms to its building, and having enrolled 1,226 pupils, the corporation suddenly declared that it was insolvent and that the school would not operate during the ensuing year. Its president Dr. T. J. Rainey, ~~the corporation's president~~, for whom the school was named, broke the news. His statement

noted that in one year of operation the school had received $297,540.10 in donations from people all over the world.

A survey made in the spring by Little Rock School Superintendent Terrell E. Powell showed what had happened to the 3,665 pupils who were locked out of the public high schools. Of the 2,915 white students, 643 were not in any school (though 405 of these were taking correspondence courses provided by the University of Arkansas); the remaining 2,272 were attending miscellaneous schools as follows: T. J. Rainey High School, 714; Baptist High School, 296; special high school classes at Conway Baptist College, 42; special high school classes in a Little Rock kindergarten, 38; Trinity Interim Academy, 30; schools outside Arkansas, 275; and public schools in 124 Arkansas districts, 877. Of the 750 Negro pupils, 376 were not in any school (though an estimated 35 of them were taking correspondence courses), 283 were attending other schools in Arkansas and 91 had been placed in schools outside the state. The total, white and Negro, who remained without any school was 1,019.

The focal point of the drama and the controversy, which raged without respite from school-closing in 1958 to school-opening in 1959, was the Little Rock school board. Fluctuations of public sentiment were registered in the reaction to the moves and pyrotechnics of this body and in the successive changes in its composition through elections, recall elections and appointments. Two months after the opening of the public high schools, the Mothers League of Central High School, angry at the school board's submission to federal court orders, launched a movement for the recall of five of its six members. The favored exception was the ultra-segregationist member Dale Alford, who was campaigning to unseat Representative Brooks Hays. Upon Alford's electinn

to Congress, the other five members promptly resigned to give the voters an opportunity to elect an entirely new school board on December 6. Emerging victorious in that election were three moderates from a five-man "business men's slate" -- which Governor Faubus had denounced -- and three of the extremists put forward by the Citizens' Council and favored by the governor. One of the "business men's" candidates elected was Everett Tucker, Jr., chairman of the industrial committee of the chamber of commerce; Tucker, who was elected vice-president, and later president, of the board, was to be largely responsible for engineering the return of the high schools to normal operation.

Virgil T. Blossom was separated from the position of superintendent of schools, which he had held for the previous six years. Blossom had attracted national attention as early as 1955 by his promising plan for the integration of Little Rock schools; he had been in the center of the maelstrom of the past two years; and he was now the target of bitter segregationist criticism and abuse. Fred Graham, the assistant superintendent, and Bill Homstead, business manager of the school system, resigned -- Graham said, "to preserve my health, which has been impaired by the strain and tension of the past two years." Terrell E. Powell, principal of Hall High School, was promoted to succeed Blossom.

The new school board, evenly divided in two opposing factions, moved inevitably into confusion and stalemate. Amid rumors of a contemplated "purge" of moderate school personnel, an effort

was made to break the tie by enlarging the board; a bill was introduced in the state legislature to authorize the governor to appoint three new members. Little Rock P-TA's now came vigorously into the fight and joined the Women's Emergency Committee in opposing this bill -- which was defeated.

Only highlights of the months of school board wrangling can be touched upon here, but a fateful crisis was reached May 5. After a deadlocked morning session on that day, the "business men" trio withdrew, assuming that they were leaving no quorum for further business. However, the pro-Faubus trio came back in the afternoon and, declaring that a quorum had been established in the morning, proceeded to indulge in an orgy of extravagant moves. They voted to replace Superintendent Powell with T. H. Alford, father of the Alford who had been elected to Congress, and to separate from their jobs forty-four high school administrators and teachers, who had been alleged to have "integrationist tendencies." (Though the schools were closed, the teachers and principals were still carried on the payroll.)

A law passed by the 1958 special session of the legislature provided for the recall of school board members by popular vote. Opposing groups petitioned for the recall of both factions, and an election was called for May 25. The ensuing campaign brought the issue squarely before the voters. It also put the influence of Faubus, who backed the extremist trio, to a crucial test. Joining the now militant P-TA's and the Women's Emergency Committee, 179 downtown business and civic leaders formed a "Committee to Stop This Outrageous Purge," which

acquired the handier nickname, "STOP." On the other side the Citizens' Council, Mothers' League and States' Rights Council rallied in a "Committee to Retain Our Segregated Schools," or "CROSS." The victory of the moderates was decisive: the three Faubus-backed members were removed by a margin of approximately 2,000 votes in each case, and by a somewhat closer vote the three moderate members were retained. The total vote of 25,457 was nearly twice the number cast in the regular school election in December. Observers agreed that the Little Rock problem was not yet resolved, but the results of this election were widely hailed as a major setback for the advocates of reckless resistance; the Miami Herald said it "might well mark a turning point in the struggle over school segregation in the South."

Of the three Little Rock replacements appointed by the Pulaski County board of education in June, two were prepared to cooperate with the moderate incumbents. (It was disclosed that the third had a 1938 conviction for felony which disqualified him and this vacancy was not immediately filled.) Then a harmonious school board of five members promptly expunged from the record all of the actions of the May 5 three-member meeting and proceeded to plan for the reopening of the high schools in a manner acceptable to the federal court.

Alarming evidence of the damage being done to Little Rock's economic health increased the determination of business men to bring the school confusion to an end. In August the Women's Emergency Committee published a comprehensive survey which gave a dismal picture: real estate sales, sale and rental of homes, construction and other business indices had showed a marked decline

in two years of turmoil. Though eight new plants with a total value of over three million dollars had opened during the first eight months of 1957, not a single new industry had come to Little Rock since.

On August 1, after a July registration, the school board announced the assignment of three Negroes each to Hall and Central High Schools. Three days later it suddenly announced that Little Rock high schools would open August 12, nearly a month earlier than usual, (The surprise move foiled any plans of Governor Faubus for calling a special session of the legislature.) When the day came, no difficulty was experienced at Hall High School, which opened quietly at 9:30 A.M., with the Negroes in attendance. Obstructionist attention was focussed on Central High School, which opened at 1 P.M. After a rally on the capitol steps and a speech by Governor Faubus, approximately two-hundred pro-segregation extremists marched toward the school, but they were stopped a block away from it and repulsed in a sharp 20-minute scuffle with city police. Two Negro children walked into the school, and no further violence occurred. Twenty-one members of the crowd were arrested, twelve of them teenagers.

In July Governor Faubus had declared that if Little Rock high schools were desegregated for the coming term, it would be done with federal force, "using live ammunition." In a broadcast the night before school-opening and in haranguing the crowd in the morning, he had continued his fulminations; though he said to the crowd on the capitol steps: "I see no reason for you to be beaten over the head today by the forces in the

field, or to be jailed. That should be faced only as a last resort, and where there is much to be gained. Honestly, I do not think that should be faced today."

That night, after the schools had been reopened, speaking at a fish fry in the country near Little Rock, Faubus once more denounced the "integrationists, puppets and hypocrites" and made scathing reference to the school board president and the chief of police, Eugene G. Smith, as assistant chief of police, had led the forlorn attempt of the city police force to quell the riot of September 23, 1957; his firm and efficient performance as chief at Central High School on this reopening day won national applause. Faubus compared him to Janos Kadar, the Hungarian puppet of the Russians!

During the night of Labor Day 1959, the second anniversary of the appearance of National Guardsmen at Central High, three dynamite explosions were set off -- one in the driveway of the chief of the city fire department (whose firemen had aided the police on May 12 by spraying demonstrators), another in front of the building which housed the mayor's private office and a third at an office of the public school administration. The swift public indignation which followed completed the discrediting of Little Rock's pro-segregation extremists. The chamber of commerce promptly offered a $25,000 reward for arrest of the dynamiters. Within eleven days five suspects had been arrested; one had been tried, had pleaded guilty, and was starting a five-year prison term. The other four were eventually given three- or five-year prison sentences, though the sentence of one was suspended because

of his "material assistance to the state." Testimony revealed that the dynamitings had been planned in a Ku Klux Klan meeting.

In terms of school districts desegregated the dent made in 1959 in the regime of public school segregation in the South was minute. In addition to the five instances in which race barriers were breached in Virginia, and the recovery in Little Rock, token integration was effected in four more North Carolina districts, High Point and Durham and Craven and Wayne Counties; sixteen children of Negro Air Force personnel were admitted with whites to a Rutherford County public school in Tennessee; and two public schools were integrated in Miami, Florida. But the breakdown of resistance in Virginia and Little Rock had a farreaching impact, and the admission of Negro children -- though only a handful -- to public schools with whites in Florida for the first time removed one more from the list of totally resisting states.

In Florida school authorities had not to contend with an obstructionist governor, nor with an official posture of massive resistance; local option was emphasized in that state. Nevertheless, the small beginning made in one district marked a signal turning point, and further ventures in that direction were encouraged by the tranquility and ease with which this hurdle was cleared. It is notable also that the step was taken voluntarily. NAACP attention had focussed on a protracted, and finally successful, suit to secure the admission of Negroes to the University of Florida; the first public school desegregation was filed only in June 1956, and in 1959 no suit had reached the point of definite federal district court orders.

The popular image of Florida as a fast-growing resort state, with a highly cosmopolitan population, led many to expect earlier compliance there with the broad Supreme Court command to end public school segregation. But native Floridians were steeped in Southern tradition and politically powerful, nor was race prejudice uncommon among the multitude which had more recently made Florida its home. The northern section, bordering on Georgia and Alabama -- and including the capital city of Tallahassee -- was in many respects a typical part of the Deep South. Clouding the picture further, an obsolete and fantastically inequitable system of apportionment, which still prevailed, enabled a handful of representatives from old and strongly prejudiced communities to dominate the state legislature.

That body, in a spirit of hostility and defiance, enacted a series of laws -- including a local option pupil assignment law -- designed to prevent desegregation, and set up an investigating committee which harassed the NAACP and other groups favoring compliance with the Supreme Court ruling (though the committee investigated also the Ku Klux Klan, and severe penalties were fixed for bombings). In the excitement following the Little Rock crisis of September 1957, the legislature authorized the closing of public schools in any district in which federal troops might be used to enforce racial integration. But the law-makers stopped short of any general school-closing legislation; Governor LeRoy Collins urged them "never, never, never to set up any plan or device by which our public schools can be closed."

Citizens' Councils flourished for several years in northern Florida and the Tampa area (aided, incidentally by John Kasper), but they failed to enlist a large membership or to take permanent

hold. At least seven separate, and often feuding, Ku Klux Klan groups operated at times. The Association of Florida Ku Klux Klans disbanded, revived and disbanded again, W. T. Griffin, its "grand dragon" finally expressing disgust at "intimidations, parades, cross-burnings, mask-wearing and all other public exhibitions to confuse and frighten innocent people." Much "hate literature" was circulated and some of the newspapers were inflammatory in their hostility to the desegregation movement. A number of revolting instances of undercover violence were reported, and Negro efforts in areas other than public education resulted in some rioting in Tallahassee and Jacksonville. But Florida saw no spectacular disorder related to the admission of Negroes to schools with white children. In spite of wide dissemination of germs of racist fanaticism, the singular restraint which attended school desegregation when it came indicated that the bulk of the populace had escaped infection.

A nine-year fight by Virgil Hawkins, a 50-year-old Negro, to enter the University of Florida succeeded in 1958 in breaking the racial barrier for the first time in a state institution of higher learning -- though the long-persevering Hawkins himself failed at last to pass the entrance examinations. Another Negro, George H. Starke, Jr., who applied in 1958, was accepted as a law student. Starke was dropped in February 1960 because of academic deficiency, but yet another Negro was then in attendance, Miss Ester M. Langston -- a Phi Beta Kappa from Fisk University -- and more Negro students would follow. The admission of Starke

to classes in 1958 was without disorder of any kind. When his low marks finally necessitated his withdrawal, he said: "The law school and its professors were eminently fair" -- and a professor said there had "never been as much as two minutes trouble because of him."

Governor Collins, who promised in 1954 to "use all the lawful power of the governor's office" to preserve public school segregation and who supported much of the "anti-integration" legislation, managed nonetheless to preach race tolerance and respect for the decision of the Supreme Court. After 1956 he discouraged any further legislation on the subject, and in 1958 he began to hint that "we must be prepared to accept some desegregation." In December of that year he invited public school officials from five counties to a private conference at the governor's mansion in Tallahassee to discuss the possibility of "limited integration." It was suggested that some token compliance with the desegregation ruling would strengthen the state's pupil assignment law against court attack. Collins complained afterward that "no school board was willing to proceed voluntarily with token integration," but Dade County (Miami) school officials who had attended the conference, said they were continuing to study the proposal.

The Dade school board did in fact proceed. It voted unanimously two months later to admit four Negroes come September to Orchard Villa, an elementary school previously for whites only. The four Negro children had completed all of the procedures required under the pupil assignment law, and they resided within

two blocks of the school. It was one of the situations where rejection of the Negro applications would have been least defensible. At the same time it was embarrassing as a pilot operation in school desegregation: the neighborhood for several years had been steadily changing from white to Negro, and the trend would now be accelerated. By the summer it was estimated that fewer than seventy children would register for the 450-pupil school and how long any whites would remain was a matter of doubt. In the meantime, almost unnoticed by the public, another situation had developed where school integration was indicated. A new school had been built by the county near the Homestead Air Force Base, to serve the children of military personnel and other children within its district. The school board -- welcoming an opportunity to establish an integration exhibit where it would stick -- announced that the new school would open with both white and Negro children in attendance.

As in other cities approaching the first public school desegregation -- but involving perhaps a smaller faction of the public -- controversy and apprehension mounted in Miami. At Orchard Villa, where trouble was most feared, the teaching staff had been carefully selected and an ex-Marine, Erwin Marshall, had been chosen to provide a "strong man" as principal. Extra precautions were taken by the police when school opened in September. But the event was another anti-climax: there were no disturbances at either school. A Kasper henchman and a Ku Klux Klansman stood outside Orchard Villa and attempted to turn both white and Negro parents away, but without disorder -- and without

success. However, only eight white children enrolled at Orchard Villa with the four Negroes! A few days later these were joined by three more white children, bringing the total enrollment at Orchard Villa to fifteen. At the Air Force Base school 741 white and 21 Negro children quietly enrolled.

In October 1959 the school board assigned 379 more Negro children to Orchard Villa; and in December the school, now with an all-Negro faculty was serving 468 Negro and nine white children. The school building was enlarged by the addition of ten new classrooms. In September 1960 when the Negro enrollment exceeded 1,000, the last remaining white pupil withdrew, her parents moving to another neighborhood. However, the school board gingerly extended desegregation to two more white schools, admitting one Negro child to each.

In the fall of 1961 four more Florida counties began token public school desegregation and in Dade County (Miami) 513 Negro children were attending classes with whites in ten schools. In the fall of 1962, 1,168 Negro children were attending school with whites in ten Florida counties and 55 public schools. (1963: ?)

Chapter 14

The Banishment of Uncle Tom

The year 1960 is memorable as marking a massive awakening and upsurge on the part of Negroes in the South with a new-found resolve to fight to the end against all forms of discrimination against them. Initial inroads were made with sensational speed upon the pattern of race segregation in areas other than public education; but the path led through stubborn and sometimes violent opposition -- in some sections, through public upheaval, of which the end is not yet in sight. The new spirit was to spread also through the Negro minority in the rest of the United States, and -- though affected only slightly by developments overseas, and devoted to non-violent expression -- would become a part of the rising tide of belligerence among colored races throughout the world.

The militant element before 1960 had embraced only a small fraction of the nearly ten million Negroes in the eleven Southern states. The incessant assertions of Southern whites that the Negroes preferred segregation, that "90 per cent," or "99 per cent" of them were not interested in racial integration, was an exaggerated, if in many cases a superficially honest, appraisal. Few white people ever heard Negroes express a desire to see their children mingle with white children in public schools, and many heard Negro domestics say that integration would only cause trouble. Centuries of meek dependency had taught most ordinary Negroes to say to white people what they thought white people wanted to hear.

And there were, indeed, thousands of Negroes among whom the Supreme Court decision caused no rejoicing. Those of little education or contact with the larger world were slow to grasp its significance, and many who did feared that efforts to secure its enforcement would lead only to grief. Some well-educated Negroes held this latter view. The statements of Negro "segregationists" were so widely quoted by white propagandists as to give an impression that these Negroes were prominent and substantial in number, but they were in fact rare and generally little-known individuals. One Negro intellectual, the novelist Zora Neale Hurston, achieved momentary fame among a Southern public not generally aware of the existence of Negro literati when she said in a letter to the Orlando (Florida) Sentinel in 1955 that she was "not delighted" over the Brown decision. "It is well known," Miss Hurston wrote, "that I have no sympathy nor respect for the 'tragedy of color' school of thought among us, whose fountain-head is the pressure group concerned in this court ruling...." [1] Short of approval of segregation in principle, the philosophy of accommodation and reliance upon the good will of whites for a gradual Negro advance had many thoughtful adherents among the older generation.

J. C. Furnas in his Goodbye to Uncle Tom, published in 1956, noted that American Negroes had made the name of the titular hero of Uncle Tom's Cabin "a hissing and a byword." In its odious connotation the label was unfair both to Mrs. Stowe's loyal paragon of Christian virtues and to many to whom it was lightly applied after the Brown decision. Brash young Negro crusaders

used it to express their impatience with many of their elders -- including indiscriminately Negro educators, who were almost invariably sympathetic and often unostentatiously helpful in the civil rights cause. Negroes in public education at all levels were state employees and were dependent upon white politicians, not only for their jobs, but for appropriations and a variety of help needed to carry on the education of Negro youth -- which included the training of future leaders in the fight for Negro rights. Presidents of private Negro universities and colleges needed the support of white trustees and benefactors and on their high pedestal were also under the watchful eye of politicians and segregationist organizations. Some Negro college presidents of prestige and statesmanlike diplomacy were able, nevertheless, quietly to render inestimable service directly in the fight against race discrimination; their advice was often sought by liberals of both races and in the highest official and political circles of the nation. Rufus E. Clement, of Atlanta University, Albert W. Dent, of Dillard University, Luther H. Foster, of Tuskegee Institute, Benjamin E. Mays, of Morehouse College, and Stephen J. Wright, of Fisk University, were distinguished members of this group.

What came to be generally regarded as "Uncle Tomism" was most conspicuous in Mississippi. "White men are still in charge in Mississippi," Percy Greene, the leading "Uncle Tom", often reminded his brethren, counseling that "a friendly relation with white people is still the greatest asset of the Mississippi Negro." In the atmosphere of heavy-handed repression which prevailed in that state, the argument was not without a certain myopic merit. Dr. J. H. White, president of the Negro Mississippi Vocational

College told a Negro gathering at Mound Bayou: "I don't believe you are going to throw away your churches, schools, hospitals, businesses, insurances, newspapers... just to sit, eat and ride with a white person."[1] Greene became the most voluble, the most famous and the most reviled of all the "Uncle Toms." Editor of the weekly Jackson Advocate and chairman of the Mississippi Association of Negro Democratic Clubs, he was a rugged, hard-bitten veteran of many battles for Negro causes. He suggested in 1955 that the NAACP "show a willingness to support a formula that will enable the moderate to start a working solution of the problems posed by its hard-won decision," declaring that no solution could be found "in an atmosphere of vituperation, vindictiveness, finger-pointing, name-calling and threats of retaliation."[3] "Uncle Tom Percy Greene," as he did not hesitate to call himself, increasingly attacked the NAACP and in return became a pariah in militant Negro circles. Insisting that "the Southern Negroes do not want public school integration," he became a favorite exhibit of the Citizens' Councils and the segregationist press in support of that contention. Greene's position, and that of some lesser "Uncle Toms," was not unlike that of "collaborationists" in France under the German occupation.

In the South as a whole the "Uncle Toms" were soon submerged in the rising tide of Negro awareness. A Gallup poll in 1957 found 69 per cent of Southern Negroes in favor of enforcement of the school desegregation ruling and only 13 per cent opposed. Although only a bold few were willing to affront the whites with desegregation ~~petitions~~ moves, within the Negro community opposition to segregation had become the only respectable attitude. Indeed,

the odium that descended upon the Negro dissenter was not unlike that suffered by the white moderate in an ultra-segregationist milieu. Leaders in the desegregation movement became popular heroes, and the pupils who braved the storm of insult and harassment in the pioneer marches across the segregation line in Clinton, Little Rock and elsewhere were a source of deep pride to the Negro public (a feeling which the dignity and fortitude of those children inspired in all unbiased observers).

By 1960 the masses of Negro Southerners were conscious of the injustice and degradation of segregation in all of its manifestations as never before. And they were no longer resigned to relying for relief entirely upon the NAACP and the federal courts and far less upon white benevolence and the slow processes of time. The Uncle Tom of servility and submission at last was bidding farewell. Yet Negroes generally were still quiescent, as if waiting for a signal. Then the signal came from four Negro college boys in North Carolina.

The inception of the student protest movement was sudden, eminently spontaneous and not without an element of romance. It had been talked, and dreamed, about for three months in dormitory huddles among four freshmen at the Negro Agricultural and Technical College in Greensboro. The young conspirators -- Ezell Blair, David Richmond, Joseph McNeil and Franklin McLain -- were all students in good standing. The plan had been divulged to

no one off the campus. The NAACP would aid, and CORE would embrace the movement in due course, but they were taken by surprise at its spectacular beginning.

At 4:30 P.M. on February 1, 1960, the four boys took seats at a lunch counter of a Woolworth department store, ordered coffee and waited until the store closed at 6:30. They were not served. Negroes were not served at "white" lunch counters in the South — not yet. But the idea spread with sensational rapidity. The next day 75 students from A. and T. "sat-in" at Woolworth's, and the performance was repeated daily by growing numbers. Within a week Negroes were staging lunch counter "sit-ins" in Durham, Winston-Salem, Elizabeth City, Fayetteville, Charlotte and High Point — by the end of the month, in Virginia, South Carolina, Maryland, Tennessee, Alabama, Kentucky and Florida.

Avoidance of provocation to violence and even decorum were emphasized by the Negro students who dominated the movement. The writer talked at an early stage with the four boys who started it: they were voluble on the subject of Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry and only vaguely familiar with Mahatma Ghandi; but they insisted that demonstrators should be sober, well-groomed (wearing coats and ties) and non-violent. Fellow students were told: "If you can't take insult and injury, stay away." A Tennessee group published a code to govern "sit-ins," which read in part:

> Don't strike back or curse if abused.
>
> .....
>
> Don't block entrances to stores and aisles.
>
> Show yourself courteous and friendly at all times.
>
> Sit straight and always face the counter.[4]

Southern whites reacted with shock, and anger in many quarters, at these extraordinary performances; and yet an astonishing number were favorably impressed. An elderly lady of segregationist background, seeing Negro students rebuffed at a lunch counter in Raleigh, exclaimed: "How can they refuse to serve such nice, polite young people?" The segregationist editor of the Richmond News Leader said, on February 22, of a "sit-in" in that city: "Here were the colored students, in coats, white shirts, ties, and one of them reading Goethe and one was taking notes from a biology text. And here, on the sidewalk outside, was a gang of white boys come to heckle, a ragtail rabble, slack-jawed, black-jacketed, grinning fit to kill, and some of them, God save the mark, were waving the proud flag of the Southern states in the last war fought by gentlemen...."

As the "sit-ins" multiplied, they were supported increasingly by parades and picket lines. Apart from the demonstration of Negro intelligence and good manners, the movement had a profound effect upon the thinking of white Southerners. Many of them had really believed that "our" Negroes were contented with their lot, that all the agitation was the work of outsiders. Here was unmistakable evidence to the contrary. White student groups and religious bodies, a few in the South and many in the nation, expressed sympathy with the drive to break down lunch counter segregation. At the same time the spectacle of "sit-ins" and picket lines tended to frighten regular customers away from trading centers and caused substantial loss to white merchants, while the task of maintaining public order taxed the resources of municipal

authorities. Biracial "mayors' committees" or similar bodies were set up in many cities to seek a solution of the problems -- or, expressed more realistically, to induce merchants to open their lunch counters to Negroes. White clergymen were in the forefront of this work of adjustment.

Governor Collins of Florida in a broadcast on March 20 expressed his opinion that "if a man has a department store and he invites the public generally to come into his department store and trade, then it is morally wrong to single out one department and say he does not want or will not allow Negroes to patronize that one department." In the atmosphere of tension which "sit-ins" had precipitated in Florida Collins moved forthwith to set up a state commission on race relations -- the only such body in the South -- which worked diligently through the remaining eight months of his administration. Significant also was the formation in April of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, a mainly Negro organization, which would become a permanent and dynamic addition to the militant organizations in the field. The desegregation of lunch counters in response to the persistent "sit-ins" was painfully slow at the start, but in the late summer the walls of Jericho came tumbling down in many places and within a year some lunch counters had dropped race barriers in over a hundred cities.

When the advance in this area ran into the more difficult strongholds of segregation and the pace slackened, the movement

itself only gathered momentum: It broadened its objectives. Segregation and discrimination were challenged in restaurants, theaters, churches, public parks and swimming pools, courtrooms, libraries, museums, art galleries, laundromats, on the beaches and in voter registration, employment and transportation. Economic boycotts were added to the pressure upon merchants practicing race discrimination in service or employment. There was much scattered disorder and some rioting; several thousand arrests were made. But in relation to the provocative nature and the vast sweep of the movement the amount of serious violence was small -- except in an attack upon segregation in interstate bus transportation.

In this last-mentioned undertaking, audacious forays into Alabama and Mississippi -- two fierce citadels of white supremacy which the student movement had barely touched -- had tragic and horrifying results. In May 1961 the Congress of Racial Equality sponsored a bus tour of the South, or a "freedom ride," to test local segregation laws and practices in interstate transportation and terminal facilities. Although Negroes generally occupied the back seats apart from the white passengers in such buses, in most of the South this was no longer required. In fact, segregation of passengers on buses was in violation of the principle laid down in the Brown decision. Relying specifically on that ruling the Interstate Commerce Commission had ordered an end to segregation on interstate railroads and in their terminals. In 1956 the Supreme Court cited the Brown decision in ruling against segregation on local buses in Montgomery, Alabama. In 1962 the high court was to declare: "We have settled beyond question that no state may require segregation of interstate or intrastate transportation facilities."[5]

The "freedom riders," seated in front or at random in the buses, encountered no serious difficulty until they arrived in Alabama. There a week of the bloodiest racial violence in the recent history of that state ensued. A mob met one contingent of "riders" at Anniston and burned the bus with an incendiary bomb; white toughs met another contingent at Birmingham and assailed the "riders" and newsmen and bystanders as well. In the capital city of Montgomery a replacement contingent of "riders" was met at the bus station and beaten with fists and clubs. The score of persons who were injured in several hours of sporadic rioting in Montgomery included John Seigenthaler, a Department of Justice official, who had been designated as a representative of President Kennedy; he was bludgeoned into semi-consciousness while attempting to save a white "rider" from the mob. When local police failed to restore order, federal marshals were sent in; the number of federal marshals in Alabama reached a total of 666. A disturbing feature of the convulsions was the apparent sympathy of many of the police and other authorities with the rioters. At length on May 21 Governor Patterson called out the Alabama National Guard and order was restored.

In Mississippi similar molestation of "freedom riders," by the populace was prevented by heavy police precautions, including the use of the National Guard from the outset. But the "riders" were themselves subjected to harsh treatment by the law enforcement authorities and their "ride" for the most part ended in Jackson jails or in the state prison farm. As contingent after contingent arrived in Jackson, more than three hundred were arrested and convicted -- generally on the charge of "breach of

the peace" when they refused to obey police orders to "move on" after entering segregated terminal facilities.

The "freedom rides" aroused both criticism and sympathy in national liberal circles. They drew some distinguished white participation. A party which arrived in Montgomery, Alabama, on May 24, and whose members were arrested the following day, included the Rev. William S. Coffin, Jr., Yale University chaplain and a member of the Peace Corps Advisory Council; the Rev. Gaylord B. Noyce, assistant professor of religion at the Yale Divinity School; and Dr. David E. Swift and Dr. John D. Maguire, professor and assistant professor of religion at Wesleyan University. A biracial group of Episcopal ministers, headed by the Rev. John B. Morris, executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, joined the "freedom riders" in Jackson, Mississippi, and spent some time in jail there.

The sound and fury of the Alabama violence and the Mississippi jailings echoed through the world's press and radio in protest and sarcasm and grave warnings of Communist gains in the damage to American prestige. Secretary of State Dean Rusk supported a petition of Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to the Interstate Commerce Commission to adopt more stringent regulations against segregation. The immediate gains of the "freedom riders" in practice were meager and tenuous, but on September 22, 1961, the Interstate Commerce Commission prescribed new rules prohibiting discrimination in seating on interstate buses and requiring each bus to display a sign to that effect; similar action was taken with respect to bus terminals.

A detailed account of the fast-spreading protest movement of the 1960's and its development into a massive revolt of Negro

Americans against the incubus of race discrimination would be beyond the compass of this book. The Brown decision was a mighty precursor, but it may have been more a cushion than a causal factor. A stage had been reached in history and in the enlightenment of our Negro minority when it is hard to see how a rebellion could have been postponed. The Supreme Court opinion in the Brown cases told Negroes that their resentment of segregation was supported by the Constitution of the United States and made their aspirations a part of what we like to call the "American dream." The great decision pointed to the possibilities of relief through processes of law when, to many zealots, more dangerous methods might have suggested themselves. It encouraged continued recourse to federal courts, and the greatest of Negro organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, moved rigidly within this channel.

A further fortunate circumstance was the fact that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress on Racial Equality and the student organizations, though going beyond court action, were devoted to non-violent methods. Martin Luther King was the most conspicuous personality in the Negro protest movement. This gentle clergyman with an iron will exasperated many Southern whites; demonstrations that he inspired, however non-violent in themselves, were regarded as an incitement to strife and violence and became a nightmare for Southern municipal and police authorities. Liberals also often criticized his strategy and timing. But King's primacy in the eyes of the Negro public was never challenged and the wave of insurgence was

dominated by his philosophy. To this he gave ideal expression in a frequently repeated message to the whites: "We will match your capacity to inflict suffering with our capacity to endure suffering. We will meet your physical force with soul force. We will not hate you, but we cannot in good conscience obey your unjust laws.... We will soon wear you down by our capacity to suffer. And in winning our freedom we will so appeal to your heart and conscience that we will win you in the process."[6]

It was not to be expected that a clash on so vast a scale with concepts, mores and local laws would be free from turmoil. But thanks to King's philosophy and a disposition on the part of the federal judiciary -- shared increasingly by the federal executive -- to extend to the Negro minority "the equal protection of the laws," the convulsions have been mild in comparison with those which often have attended the rise of oppressed peoples.

We have endeavored to introduce the reader to this broader Negro movement and we shall continue to observe its outline as it surrounds us in the remaining pages of this book. But the precise judgment of the Supreme Court in the Brown cases was that "racial discrimination in public education is unconstitutional," and we shall be concerned primarily with the impact of the decision in that field.

Chapter 15

The Beginning of a Movement of Compliance

In statistical analyses and forecasts of the region's approach to "all deliberate speed" in its compliance with the Brown decision the year 1960 should be taken as the point at which the South began to move. The earlier school desegregation initiatives -- outside of Texas -- however significant psychologically, had been meager and more or less isolated. During the years 1960 and 1961 the number of Negroes in school with whites in Texas increased, in approximate figures, from 3,300 to 5,000; in the ten other Southern states, the number increased from less than 350 to more than 2,600 and the number of school districts desegregated rose from twenty-six to sixty.[1]

Some observers, on the eighth anniversary of the Brown decision, divided the total number of Negroes attending classes with whites in Southern public schools by eight -- ignoring progressive acceleration -- and came forward with dismal and grossly misleading calculations. James Graham Cook began his book The Segregationists with a chapter entitled "1. Introduction -- The 7,288-Year Integration Plan"! He calculated that on the basis of the average annual rate of desegregation for eight years it would take that long to bring the 2,482,170 Negro school children in the ten states into public schools with whites. When he included faster-moving Texas in the calculation, Cook said ".... if the pace of integration were to continue as it has since The Decision, the elimination of school segregation would be accomplished in merely 4,712 years rather than 7,288 years."

Actually it was not until 1960 that anything like "a pace of integration" was discernible and it would accelerate significantly from year to year. The admission of several thousand Negro pupils to schools with whites in the sixth and seventh years after Brown was still a tardy and feeble response to the desegregation mandate, but it was far from being as hopeless as this extravagant arithmetic suggested.

The breaking down of resistance postures in 1960 and 1961 was more impressive than the count of integrated pupils. The wall of segregation was breached in two more states, leaving only Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina on the totally recalcitrant list. Over the great urban centers, within the limits of token adjustment, the winds of change blew lustily. Negroes were admitted to schools with whites for the first time in five of the six largest cities in the South -- Houston and New Orleans in 1960 and Dallas, Atlanta and Memphis in 1961; in the sixth, San Antonio, two hundred Negro children had been admitted to previously all-white schools in 1955. Miami, which ranks among the largest cities when its populous metropolitan area is taken into account, had begun desegregation in 1959. (Another sprawling metropolis, Birmingham, Alabama, was to be among the last bitter strongholds of resistance.) In a somewhat lower population bracket, public schools were desegregated in Raleigh, North Carolina, (Durham had moved in 1959), Knoxville, Tennessee, and Richmond and Roanoke, Virginia, in 1960; in Tampa, Florida, and Galveston, Texas, in 1961. Violence in this area of Negro advance also subsided. New Orleans was torn with ugly turmoil,

but elsewhere in the wide spectrum of desegregation progress the change was made in unbroken public order and tranquility.

Most impressive of all was the growing recognition of the inevitability of change in the broad field of interracial relations. In the fall of 1958 a Gallup Poll had asked the question: "Do you think the day will ever come in the South when whites and Negroes will be going to the same schools, eating in the same restaurants, and generally sharing the same public accommodations? -- and only 53 per cent of the Southerners queried had answered "Yes." When the same question was put to Southerners in January 1961, 76 per cent answered in the affirmative.

Nineteen sixty was also a presidential election year in the United States. Both of the major political parties promised vigorous support of public school desegregation and civil rights. The anti-segregation plank in the Democratic platform was adopted over angry Southern protests, ten Southern delegations issuing a dissenting minority report. At the Republican national convention the fight was between a regular subcommittee, which proposed a milder stand, and two powerful leaders, Vice-President Richard M. Nixon and Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York, who demanded and secured the strong plank. Each party expressed a determination to end public school segregation, proposed legislation which would empower the attorney general to initiate desegregation suits and greeted the Negro students' "sit-in" movement with expressions of approval of "peaceful demonstrations" or "peaceful assembly" in support of their aims.

Senator John F. Kennedy and Vice-President Nixon, who emerged as the Democratic and Republican nominees for President, and Henry Cabot Lodge, the Republican candidate for Vice-President, all took fervently liberal positions on the race question in the ensuing contest; Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, Kennedy's running mate — himself a Southerner — was more guarded on the subject. In spite of Negro loathing for the Democratic politicians who ruled the South, faith in the liberalism of the party as a whole and in its candidate — aided by gestures of sympathy during the campaign for Martin Luther King, who was in a Georgia jail at the time — appeared to have won a preponderance of the Negro vote for Kennedy.

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 had been the first in 82 years, or since the Reconstruction era. A second was passed in 1960. Both bills were limited in scope and were further emasculated before passage over stubborn Southern opposition. In 1960 the issue monopolized the attention of Congress from February 15 until the bill's final passage on April 8, and Southern Senators broke previous filibuster records with a continuous 125-hour performance. The act which emerged was a disappointment to liberal leaders in both houses. Two provisions which had been recommended by President Eisenhower were rejected: one of these would have given statutory authority to the President's committee seeking to eliminate discrimination in employment by government contract firms; the other would have provided federal aid for communities struggling with the problem of desegregating their public schools

and would have stated that the Brown decision was the law of the land. Like its 1957 predecessor, the Civil Rights Act of 1960 was mainly concerned with protecting the voting rights of Negroes; it gave the attorney general the power to defend Negro voting rights in court and authorized the appointment by federal judges of referees to register qualified Negro voters in situations where registration was denied them.

The Eisenhower administration further altered its hands-off policy in its closing days in office by permitting Attorney General William P. Rogers to take over major responsibility for enforcing federal court decrees in the vexing New Orleans crisis. As successive waves of defiant legislation flowed from the Louisiana legislature, the Justice Department took the initiative in obtaining injunctive relief from this kind of interference. Within a few weeks the task was inherited by the Kennedy administration and thereafter federal energies were increasingly devoted to guaranteeing the efficacy of federal court desegregation orders, at New Orleans and elsewhere.

The inauguration of President Kennedy in January 1961 ushered in a new era of recognition of the Negro and of sympathy with his aspirations on the part of the federal government. A number of Negroes were appointed to high office. Robert Weaver was named Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, a position with responsibilities comparable to those of a cabinet member. Other Negro appointees included two federal district judges and one judge of a United States Court of Appeals, two ambassadors, an Assistant Secretary of Labor, two federal district attorneys,

Deputy Assistant Secretaries of State and of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, a Deputy Assistant Postmaster General, a Commissioner of the District of Columbia and an Associate White House Press Secretary. The President's attitude was one of positive support of the Brown decision and of equal opportunity for Negroes in a broad field -- an attitude which, though by-passing Southern members of Congress, began to pervade the official atmosphere of Washington.

We have now observed enough Southern cities in the throes of first adjustment to biracial public schools to have established a certain pattern. In the hostile manifestations of elements who were determined to preserve segregation at all costs, in the tireless labors of citizens who were prepared to accept inevitable desegregation and who strove to preserve public education, in the threats of fanatics and the apprehensions of law enforcement authorities -- and in the relaxation of tensions after the fact of desegregation -- the experience of cities little and big was remarkably similar. Interminable federal court litigation was often, but not always, a part of the ordeal. Crises differed also in the degree and timeliness of recognition by the business community of its interest in public stability. The opposition varied in vehemence and in the proportion of the populace involved. Where violence and rioting occurred, we saw the hand of uncannily effective racist agitators, as in Clinton, or an inflammatory performance by state authorities, as in Little Rock; both of these phenomena plagued New Orleans.

The 1960-1961 desegregation saw the development in the two most difficult situations, those of Atlanta and New Orleans, of save-the-public-schools organizations patterned after those of Virginia and Little Rock. These organizations, avoiding the segregation issue as such, were able to arouse broad opposition to closing the schools as an alternative to desegregation, and other groups in Dallas and elsewhere used a similar approach. When the point of desegregation was reached, a gradual schedule of admitting Negroes to white schools in the first grade only at the outset and to the next higher grade each year thereafter was widely favored. Although this plan was frowned upon by federal courts in some school districts where desegregation had already begun or where no serious emotional problem existed, New Orleans, Houston, Dallas, Galveston, Memphis and Knoxville began by integrating only the first grade with the approval or upon the suggestion of federal district judges; the two Tennessee cities were later ordered to move faster than one-grade-a-year. The business community of Dallas exerted itself early and vigorously on the side of law and order and public education, that in Atlanta moved belatedly but with wholesome effect; the businessmen of New Orleans were tragically too late.

Texas, after the early fumbling in Mansfield, was not again a scene of sensational disorder in public school desegregation, and so large a part of the state had adjusted early to the Supreme Court ruling that many observers classed Texas with the border states in this respect. Before the legislature put a

brake on the movement in 1957 by requiring previous approval by popular vote if state school funds were not to be withheld from the desegregating district, 123 out of 722 Texas school districts had removed racial barriers. Although desegregation was extended in school districts which had already taken the first step and referendum approval for initial desegregation was secured in two districts, this enactment largely put a stop to voluntary action. The Galveston school board, for instance, suspended a plan for desegregation which had been scheduled to begin in September 1957. An important result of the Houston crisis in 1960 was a ruling by State Attorney General Will Wills removing this statutory handicap when desegregation was ordered by federal courts.

In spite of the degree of emotional stability on the issue at which Texas had arrived, and which the events of 1960-1961 would attest, the approach of the change in the eastern section with its heavy Negro population aroused considerable apprehension. The event was nervously awaited in the great metropolises of Houston and Dallas; they were the two largest cities in the nation where public school segregation still prevailed. In both of those cities and in Galveston the familiar controversy and protests raged. But Negro first-graders were admitted to classes with whites -- 21 in Houston, 18 in Dallas and 37 in Galveston -- quietly and without incident. In Dallas, the work of business men in a "Dallas Citizens' Council" -- with objectives more or less the opposite of those of organizations elsewhere of similar name -- aided by associations of ministers, lawyers and physicians, were largely responsible for making the initial

desegregation what many observers, including NAACP officials, called "a model operation." Dallas had also responded to the student protest movement with the desegregation of forty restaurants and lunch counters.

That city's earlier experience with the school problem was made particularly noteworthy -- and disturbing in relation to the efficiency of the federal judicial system -- by the bizarre performance of two superannuated district judges, volubly out of sympathy with the Supreme Court's decision in the Brown cases, who presided over six years of litigation there. After balking through three district court hearings and four interventions by the court of appeals, Judge William H. Atwell, 88 years of age, at last issued a desegregation order. But in apparent pique, without waiting for a plan to be submitted, he ordered Dallas to desegregate all its schools by the beginning of the next semester, in January 1958. The court of appeals vacated this drastic command, and the NAACP attorneys did not press the matter again until the summer of 1959, when it asked the court to require the school board to submit a plan.

By now, however, Judge Atwell had retired. The case was assigned to Judge T. Whitfield Davidson, 82 years of age, who a year later, under unequivocal instructions from the court of appeals, ordered the school board to submit a desegregation plan. The school board produced a one-grade-a-year program to begin in 1961, but this the aged jurist rejected. Instead he offered his own plan: it was the scheme, which had been put forward in Alabama and Tennessee, for keeping all the schools segregated

except one or two for such pupils as might voluntarily choose interracial mingling. The court of appeals then reversed the court in Dallas for the sixth time and directed Judge Davidson to approve substantially the school board's plan.[3]

New Orleans and Atlanta each was the first redoubt of public school segregation to fall in a state that in 1960 was still mobilized for total resistance to the change. The problem in these cities presented greater difficulty and the event would have greater significance on that account. It was evident from the course of federal court litigation by 1960 in both cities that peremptory orders to end public school segregation could not be held off much longer. Atlanta was grappling with the question from both ends, but New Orleans and Louisiana were engaged mainly in stifling free debate and in raising higher the ramparts of resistance which would have to be toppled over.

Atlanta -- sophisticated, enterprising, bustling with progress -- was a symbol of the "New South" that its own Henry W. Grady had proclaimed three quarters of a century before; it was one of the nation's great industrial and financial centers. Yet the capital city and metropolis of Georgia, with approximately one eighth of the state's total population, was a feeble force in state affairs: the county unit system of elections and an obsolete pattern of legislative districts, which gave many times as much representation to rural districts, left Atlanta almost powerless by electoral processes to alter the state's political course.

We have had many echoes in these pages of the aggressive hostility of Georgia's legislature and its Governors Talmadge and Griffin to any departure from the South's rule of race segregation. Griffin's successor, Governor Ernest Vandiver took a similarly adamant stand. Atlanta's leadership was far more moderate. The city enjoyed a rare advantage of having in key positions of influence two individuals who rank high among the leaders of the South in this whole difficult period: Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, and William B. Hartsfield, the city's sagacious and indomitable veteran mayor. The Negro element, approximately 30 per cent, of the city's population, included an unusual group of wealthy and distinguished individuals who gave Atlanta an image of the Negro that white people in most Southern cities never saw; a Negro held elective office as a member of the city school board. Though the suit which brought desegregation to Atlanta was filed only in January 1958, by 1960, 311 clergymen, 419 physicians, two-thirds of the faculty of Emory University and a number of Parent-Teacher Associations had declared themselves publicly in favor of continued operation of the public schools with acceptance of desegregation, and the dynamic organization Save Our Public Schools, Inc., or "HOPE", had been in operation for over a year. At the same time race prejudice was deeply rooted in a large element of the Atlanta populace and the opposition to desegregation had busy promoters and virulent spokesmen.

Federal District Judge Frank A. Hooper, himself a former Georgia legislator, persevered in the express hope that the state's school-closing legislation would be repealed. In January 1960

he gave the legislature a clearcut choice: accept gradual integration or be prepared to close, not only Atlanta schools, but all the public schools in the state. In February the legislature acted to the extent of setting up a 19-member commission to study the problem. Headed by John A. Sibley, a 71-year-old Atlanta banker, the commission conducted a whirlwind month of hearings -- hearing 1,800 witnesses -- in Georgia's ten congressional districts. The commission's report, rendered April 28 and signed by eleven of its nineteen members, recommended local option on the issue -- the indicated retreat from "massive resistance." Judge Hooper, in a May hearing, gave the legislature what he described as a "last chance," and fixed May 1, 1961 as the deadline for Atlanta school desegregation (to be effective upon the opening of schools for the next term).

New Orleans had been under a school desegregation order since 1956. The suit, Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board,[4] was filed in 1952 and was suspended pending disposition of the Brown cases, which were then on their way to the Supreme Court, to be reactivated after the Supreme Court's 1955 ruling. In a decision of February 15, 1956, Federal District Judge J. Skelly Wright ordered the desegregation of public schools "with all deliberate speed," but he pointed out that this did not mean that desegregation must be completed "overnight, or even in a year or more." His opinion concluded with a paragraph which has been widely quoted as one of the philosophic gems of this crisis in the South:

> The problem of changing a people's mores, particularly those with an emotional overlay, is not to be taken lightly. It is a problem which will require the utmost patience,

> understanding, generosity and forbearance from all of us, of whatever race. But the magnitude of the problem may not nullify the principle. And that principle is that we are, all of us, freeborn Americans, with a right to make our way, unfettered by sanctions imposed by man because of the work of God.

But four years later, the only response had been continued litigation and a proliferation of laws designed to perpetuate public school segregation.

Paradoxically, in the desegregation of institutions of higher learning Louisiana had gone farther than any other Southern state. For the 1960-1961 term, 634 Negroes had been admitted to predominantly white universities supported by the state with a total aggregate enrollment of 22,565.

Louisiana has ethnic characteristics which set it apart from other states of the South, and of the Union, as a result of its background as successively a French colony, a Spanish colony and a French colony again before its acquisition by the United States. The French influence is most apparent in the southeastern section in which New Orleans lies. About half the population there is of Roman Catholic faith. In 1960, approximately 50,000 New Orleans children were enrolled in Catholic parochial schools, and many Catholic children were among the approximately 95,000 pupils in public schools. The mayor, the superintendent of public schools and two of the five members of the public school board were Catholics. Although the parochial schools remained segregated until 1962, Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel had given notice in 1956 that they were destined to be desegregated, and he had declared repeatedly that "segregation is morally wrong." Nevertheless, white Catholic laymen showed little more tolerance

on the race issue than Protestant laymen. Two Catholics, Emile Wagner, a member of the public school board, and Leander Perez, a wealthy politician, were among the foremost leaders of the extreme segregationist element. A group of Catholics took public issue with the Archbishop and appealed the question of segregation to the Pope; their communication received no acknowledgment.

Although the threat of school-closing to avoid racial integration had long hung over New Orleans, it was not until the spring of 1960 that significant voices were heard in defense of public education. Lloyd Rittiner, president of the public school board, said: "I am a segregationist. If, however, I am faced with a choice of integrating or closing, I am already on record as favoring integration to the extent that is necessary to comply with the law;" three other board members took a similar stand. But even this degree of moderation brought down upon these school officials a flood of abuse which continued for many months. The movement to prevent school-closing got under way only in the early summer. It was organized in two groups, "Save Our Schools," or "SOS," and a Committee on Public Education, or "COPE." These published pamphlets, held meetings, buttonholed hesitant business and professional leaders and succeeded in stimulating a degree of public dialogue on the question. Some groups of clergymen also spoke out.

The business men stayed for the most part in the large "neutral," or silent, compound until actual rioting began; it was not until January 1961 -- after inestimable damage had been done -- that a hundred business leaders signed a page advertisement in

the two newspapers calling for law and order. Mayor de Lesseps S. Morrison was discreetly on the side of continued public education but fearful of antagonizing the extremists who were rampant in his city and the state. The local newspapers, which for several years had added to the chorus of hostility to desegregation, began only in August of 1960 to express a firm conviction that "preservation of public education at this time stands out as paramount."[5] The only medium to accept early and firmly the responsibility for community leadership was the television station WDSU-TV and the radio station WDSU. That a silent reservoir of moderate sentiment existed in New Orleans was attested when a school board-member election was held on November 8, at the height of the ~~fervor~~ furor: Matthew Sutherland, a member who opposed school-closing, was re-elected over three extremist opponents. But in no other city whose desegregation experience we have observed was the default of constructive leadership more apparent.

The Citizens' Council of New Orleans was powerful and feverishly active. The chief source of obstruction, however, and of incitement to turmoil, was the state capitol at Baton Rouge. Jimmy H. Davis, a writer of popular songs and a former governor was re-elected to that office on April 19. Davis had won the Democratic nomination in the run-off primary over Mayor Morrison by gathering the ultra-segregationists into his camp. The legislature was in a mood to pass any bill aimed at preventing desegregation that was presented to it. Judge Skelly Wright's lone struggle with the governor and legislature of Louisiana is one of the epics of judicial annals.

When on May 16 Judge Wright was still unable to secure a desegregation plan from the school board, he produced one of his own. He ordered desegregation at the opening of schools in September in accordance with the following plan:

"A. All children entering the first grade may attend either the formerly all-white public schools nearest their homes or the formerly all-Negro public school nearest their homes at their option.

"B. Children may be transferred from one school to another provided such transfers are not based on considerations of race."

On June 26, the court of appeals refused to grant a stay of Judge Wright's order; on July 11 Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black refused to grant a stay. On August 17, Governor Davis invoked one of the state's portfolio of segregation laws and seized control of the Orleans Parish schools. Ten days later a three-judge federal court issued an order restraining the governor and declaring seven segregation laws unconstitutional. Five times the governor or the legislature attempted to take over the New Orleans schools or to strip members of its school board of their powers. In November the legislature went into a 12-day special session to try to block desegregation and then launched into a 30-day session in an effort to reverse it. Judge Wright met every new move with restraining orders, and was regularly sustained by the higher federal courts. When November 14 was set as the date for desegregation, the legislature declared that day a school "holiday" and sent state police to enforce it, but the principals of the 118 schools stood firm and no school in New Orleans was closed.

The explosion which ensued and the disgraceful performance of officials and uncontrolled fanatics for weeks afterward made another one of those sensational post-Brown decision episodes which engrossed the American press and radio-television and sent photos and stories to the far corners of the earth. We give the picture briefly in the following excerpts from The Report on the New Orleans Crisis of the Louisiana State Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights:

> On Monday, November 14, four Negro girls attended first grade classes at two previously all-white schools (the fifth child eligible for transfer was withdrawn). The schools were William Frantz Elementary and McDonogh No. 19. ..... The Negro children were accompanied to school by Federal marshals. The white parents of the neighborhood, with two exceptions, withdrew their children from the schools. Reverend Lloyd Foreman and Mrs. Daisy Gabrielle continued to send their little girls to the Frantz school. The boycott at McDonogh No. 19 was total (it was briefly broken by the children of John Thompson in late January 1961; the Thompsons braved the boycott for three days and then left town).
>
> On November 15, William Rainach, Leander Perez, and others addressed a crowd of over 5,000 at a White Citizens Council meeting in New Orleans. Rainach advocated civil disobedience and a scorched earth policy. Perez said, in part, "Don't wait for your daughters to be raped by these Congolese. Do something about it now." Some witnesses described the meeting as "a gathering straight out of Nazi Germany." The action suggested by the speakers was a march on the school board building, city hall, and Judge Wright's office by protesting citizens.
>
> On November 16, this action was forthcoming. A crowd of teenagers and adults marched on the prescribed buildings, chanting: "Two, four, six, eight, we don't want to integrate." City police, under Superintendent Joseph Giarusso, attempted to control the mob by the use of mounted police and a few firehoses. No whites were injured, but several Negroes were hurt by flying glass as bus windows were shattered by vandals and two Negroes were severely beaten. The mob dispersed before it reached the heart of the business district.
>
> .....

Now the legislature abandoned its legislative committee approach and took over control of the New Orleans schools itself. The legislature urged white parents at Frantz and McDonogh No. 19 to continue their boycott of the schools.

.....

A member of the Orleans Parish school staff warned that money was becoming a problem to the school board, since the State had forbidden banks to lend money to the school board and the legislature itself had refused to pay the teachers. .....

On November 23, the legislature passed a resolution authorizing the payment of the Orleans Parish school employees, with the exception of the administrative staff and the Frantz and McDonogh teachers. An anonymous citizen loaned these teachers money to cover their earned salaries. Dr. Redmond, Mr. Rosenberg, and the administrative staff went unpaid.

.....

In mid-November, the Whitney National Bank, which had honored payroll checks issued by the elected Orleans Parish School Board, was removed as fiscal agent for the State.

.....

During the last days of November, Reverend Lloyd Foreman and Mrs. James Gabrielle, who had continued to take their children to the Frantz school, were subjected to abuse and physical violence by the mob in front of the school. This, coupled with the fact that several parents in the Frantz school area had appealed to SOS for help in returning their children to school, led to the organization of a volunteer "carlift," run by parents from the uptown section of New Orleans, which transported the children to school in relative safety. The "carlift" began on December 1. The car carrying Yolanda Gabrielle was stoned and manhandled by the mob. Later in the week, it was pursued for two miles by a truck which had tried to ram it. Until Wednesday, December 7, the drivers and the women who escorted the children into the school were subjected to the vilest sort of shouted abuse from the daily-assembled crowds. On December 7, the police guarding the school pushed the crowd behind barricades a full block away from the school.

The crowd then dispersed to roam the streets of the Florida Housing Project, where many of the children live. Their parents were subjected to an organized telephone campaign of threats and abuse. Their houses and other

properties were stoned, as was one of the mothers of a child at Frantz. The jobs of the fathers were threatened; four of them lost their jobs. James Gabrielle, ostracized by his fellow-workers, quit his job and took his family to Rhode Island. The volunteer drivers were threatened with death, arson, disfigurement, and other unpleasantnesses in a concerted telephone campaign. The police were unable to prevent these occurrences; and, with the exception of a couple of juveniles alleged to have stoned Mrs. Marion McKinley, no one connected with the demonstrations was arrested, nor was the mob in front of the school dispersed or told to move on.

A decision of a three-judge federal district court prohibiting implementations of segregation legislation, was carried to the Supreme Court on appeal. It brought a rejection of the plea for a stay of the desegregation order, and elicited a death blow to the doctrine of interposition which many Southern states had espoused. Noting the argument that the state of Louisiana had "interposed itself," the high tribunal said: "The conclusion is clear that interposition is not a constitutional doctrine. If taken seriously, it is an illegal defiance of constitutional authority..."

New Orleans public schools returned to normal operation, and the tenuous beachhead of racial integration survived the painful first year -- to be broadened each year thereafter. In spite of lingering scars of interracial bitterness, the aftermath resembled that in other desegregating cities. When twelve Negro children entered school with whites in September 1961 -- the governor and legislature were silent, even Emile Wagner advised the Citizens' Council against demonstrations and complete order prevailed; sixty federal marshals sent to New Orleans, were not used.

In Georgia, the movement against reckless resistance to desegregation had grown during 1960, but the structure of

defiance and hostility was such that an explosion -- some outlet for emotions, some rioting and some demonstration of the folly of all this -- seemed necessary before quiet adjustment could be achieved. Fortunately for Atlanta, the catharsis was provided at the University of Georgia at Athens.

In most Southern states the desegregation of institutions of higher learning was now no longer a major problem. State universities in six of the eleven had enrolled Negroes with whites before the Brown decision; in a seventh, Florida, the state university began to do so in 1958. In January 1961, Negroes were attending over two hundred universities and colleges in Southern and border states and the District of Columbia which before 1955 had been restricted to whites. But in four Deep South states of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina, university segregation was a key bastion in the "massive resistance" stockade. Excepting the brief and stormy experience of Autherine Lucy at the University of Alabama, no Negro had been admitted to a university with whites in these states. On January 6, 1961, climaxing a litigation begun the previous August, Federal District Judge William A. Boothe ordered that two Negroes be admitted to the University of Georgia. The Negroes, Miss Charlayne A. Hunter and Hamilton E. Holmes, were students of an exceptionally high caliber; Holmes in 1962 was to win the distinction of being elected to the national honor society of Phi Beta Kappa.

The integration of the two Negro students precipitated a week of excitement, confusion and rioting. The disorders -- in which unruly elements from the university city of Athens

and elsewhere in the state had a significant part -- were not to be compared with those at the University of Alabama in 1956, but they were enough to cause widespread alarm. A degree of hysteria seized the state administration, and the legislature -- whose regular session had opened on the day the Negro students registered. Efforts to close the university and cut off its funds were thwarted promptly by federal court action. The two Negroes were removed from the university for four days for their "personal safety." When they returned on January 16, the campus was calm and the crisis was over. Vicariously, the crisis was over in large measure for Atlanta's public schools.

What happened in the Georgia legislature during the remaining days of January was sharply reminiscent of the drama enacted in Virginia just two years earlier. Governor Vandiver in an address before a joint session of the two chambers, broadcast by radio and television, made a ringing declaration.

"We meet together to proclaim to all the world that:

"Public education will be preserved!

"Our Georgia children will be protected!

"Local administration and autonomy will be maintained!

"Grants will be authorized!"

His brave rhetoric was nonetheless a retreat from "massive resistance:"

"Every legal means and resource to circumvent the effects of the (Brown) decision, yes.

"Defiance, no."

Promptly, and with near unanimity, the legislature enacted three laws which had the effect of wiping out the segregation

laws on the Georgia statute books. ~~They~~ The new legislation included a tuition grant plan for pupils attending private schools similar to that in Virginia and a clarification of appeals procedure under the pupil assignment plan. Local option and local elections were provided for on the question of suspension of public schools.

In Atlanta, on August 30, nine Negro students were admitted to previously all-white public high schools in an atmosphere of calm -- and pride of achievement. (Among half a dozen loiterers arrested was a youth from Arlington, Virginia, who called himself a member of the American Nazi Party; he clicked his heels and shouted: "Sieg heil!") The city had been prepared for the event by a rare mobilization of community leadership. The chamber of commerce ran a full-page newspaper advertisement saying "the law is clear;" 850 church laymen asked school children to accept desegregation with dignity; the week-end before the move was designated "Law and Order Weekend" and Atlanta churches were asked to pray for peaceful desegregation. A body called "OASIS" or "Organizations Assisting Schools in September," prepared a handbook giving background and information for reporters. Representatives of newspapers, magazines and broadcasting services were not allowed on school grounds, but a huge news center was set up for them at City Hall, where reports from school principals and others could be heard over loudspeakers. The center was equipped with telephones, teletypes, telegraph facilities, television and radio sets as well as typewriters and tables, and the Coca Cola Company furnished refreshments. In the evening the

mayor gave a press party and took visiting newsmen on a tour of the city in air-conditioned buses.

Atlanta's desegregation operation was reported to the nation, with justification, as the triumphant accomplishment of a great city. President Kennedy in his afternoon press conference congratulated "Governor Vandiver, Mayor Hartsfield, Chief of Police Jenkins, Superintendent of Schools Letson and all the parents, students and citizens of Atlanta, Georgia, for the responsible, law-abiding manner in which four high schools were desegregated today."

The success of the desegregation operations in Dallas and Atlanta in 1961 encouraged a third famous Southern metropolis, Memphis, and was a factor in a somewhat sudden decision of that city's school board. Knoxville in the same state had admitted twenty-eight Negro first-graders to classes with whites in 1960 with so little difficulty as to lead one school principal to exclaim: "This is the easiest registration day we've ever had!" Tennessee had never taken a "massive resistance" stand and there was no interference from a governor or a state legislature to contend with. Nevertheless, Memphis, in the southwestern corner of the state, ten miles from ominously recalcitrant Mississippi, had been looked upon as one of the major problem cities from the standpoint of adjustment to the Brown decision.

The Mississippi River port of song and story, the great cotton market -- the birthplace of W. C. Handy and the "blues" -- was particularly identified with the traditions of the old South.

Forty-six per cent of its approximately 100,000 school children were Negroes. But the Negro vote, since the days of "Boss" Crump,[6] had been a significant factor in local political calculations, and communications between white and Negro leaders had remained intact. A marked change had occurred in the city during the 1960-1961 period. Voter registration drives had increased the Negro's political role -- which was partly responsible for the appointment of a Negro member of the Memphis Transit Authority and of Negroes to a number of lesser official posts. The zoo, an art museum, an amusement park, four of the seven public golf courses and some playgrounds had been desegregated under a 10-year plan. Enforced bus segregation had ceased. Although Memphis merchants were still resisting the "sit-in" movement a plan was to be reached during the fall for the desegregation of some lunch counters after the Christmas shopping rush.

The Memphis operation was an interesting example of initial school desegregation with a minimum of preparation or of previous notice to the public. A desegregation order had been sought by Negroes in the federal district court, which had approved the state pupil placement law and left the matter there; the Negroes had appealed. The court of appeals nearly a year later was to rule that the pupil placement law would "not serve as a plan to convert a biracial system into a nonracial one," and to call for "some realistic plan." But the school board did not wait for the federal court ruling.

During September 1961, the support of the political and civic leadership and the press was secured in behind-the-scenes meetings

and brief statements conveyed the suggestion that some desegregation was in the offing. But no public announcement was made that desegregation would take place at a certain time. At a press briefing the evening before the event the president of the school board made it clear that full coverage was desired afterward, but pledged the press to withhold public announcement until the children entered school the following morning, October 3. Neither reporters nor spectators were allowed in school areas for the first few days, though a press headquarters set up across the street from the school board offices was relayed information as fast as it came in from the schools and police. Thus thirteen Negro children quietly entered previously all-white public schools, the news went out to the city and the nation, and Memphis's "breakthrough" was accomplished.

Chapter 16

Deliberate Speed

The year 1962 saw again an extension of public school desegregation, registering statistically a further acceleration of progress. In Texas some 1,700 more Negro children were admitted to schools with whites, bringing the total in that state to approximately 6,700. In the ten other Southern states (or seven, excluding Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina -- which had yet to take the first step) the total number of Negro school children integrated with white pupils approximately doubled ~~in 1962~~, rising from 2,603 to 5,317. And in May 1962, on the eighth anniversary of the Brown decision, the South's public schools had completed their first year without violence since that event. Though threats and jeering crowds accompanied desegregated school openings in the fall in New Orleans, in Pensacola, Florida and in Chattanooga, Tennessee, no major public disorder occurred in this phase of the civil rights movement through the remainder of 1962.

Public school desegregation was still a relentless objective, but it was not now the chief concern of Negro leaders, or the focus of national attention in the race relations field. An upheaval of history-making proportions occurred at the university level; and other sensational news was furnished by gestures of Negro protest, often unavailing, against discrimination in voter

registration, employment and public accommodations, and the often arrogant and violent white response. The Negro revolt was gathering momentum, but still smoldering -- not yet ready to blaze across the nation as it would a year later -- and the gravity of the situation was sensed by only a small, though an increasing number of observers.

The Supreme Court's Brown decision had presented an acute challenge to the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the South. Except in Louisiana and parts of Texas, Catholics were a tiny minority in this region. A few Negro communicants worshipped along with whites in Catholic churches in all sections. But Catholic parochial schools -- a huge school system in Southern Louisiana and scattered schools in other Southern states -- had been racially segregated like the public schools. Several Southern bishops acted before the Supreme Court decision was handed down; the few Catholic schools in North Carolina (Raleigh diocese) were desegregated and announcement was made that those in Virginia (Richmond diocese) would be desegregated the following September. The substantial parochial school system of San Antonio, Texas, was desegregated with the 1954-1955 school term. At the beginning of 1962 some Catholic school desegregation had taken place in all but the Deep South states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia. During the fall of that year race barriers were eliminated in most of the Georgia and Louisiana parochial schools, or in the diocesan schools of Atlanta and New Orleans.

In both of these dioceses the church was somewhat embarrassed by postponement after earlier announcements of forthcoming desegregation, and by the fact that action was taken in this area of morality and conscience only after the public school authorities had already moved. The variety of apprehensions and difficulties which caused the delay included untimely illness of the responsible prelate in each instance -- Bishop Francis E. Hyland of Atlanta and the aged Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel of New Orleans. In 1962 two vigorous and younger men took hold: the archdiocese of Atlanta was established under Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan and Archbishop John Patrick Cody assumed the responsibility of apostolic administrator in New Orleans. In September 1962, seventeen Negro pupils were admitted to predominantly white parochial schools in Atlanta, Marietta and Athens, Georgia, entirely without incident.

The desegregation of the immense parochial school system of New Orleans aroused spectacular and much publicized opposition, but no violence, and no major interruption in school operation. Racial distinctions were eliminated in all the 164 schools of the archdiocese; the tangible effect in September 1962 was the enrollment of 173 Negro children in thirty-five predominantly white parochial schools. (The archdiocese extending beyond Orleans Parish, nine of the schools, receiving thirty-seven Negro children, were in neighboring parishes or counties.) In addition to many of the difficulties which confronted public school authorities in desegregation, the administrators of church schools were apprehensive of the effect upon Catholic loyalties and the voluntary contributions upon which the costly parochial school system so much depends. However, the desegregated schools of the New Orleans archdiocese enrolled 73,433 pupils as compared with 75,796 the

previous year; and church attendance and contributions were little affected.

The tension in New Orleans was increased by a drastic extension at the same time of the desegregation program in the public schools. The latter, which had integrated only twelve Negro pupils with whites the previous year, in 1962 admitted 107 Negro children to the first three grades of nineteen predominantly white schools. But, although shrill voices of opposition were heard, segregationist rallies were poorly attended and at both public and parochial schools disorders were relatively insignificant. The city had developed a notable aversion to violence and turmoil.

The Catholic desegregation operation in New Orleans, however, was not without some widely publicized unpleasantness, and resistance in one section. Following the announcement on March 27 that segregation in the schools of the archdiocese would end the following September, vehement denunciations were heard from some Catholic segregationist leaders. Three of them, the millionaire politician Leander H. Perez; Jackson G. Rieau, a Citizens' Council director; and Mrs. B. J. Gaillot, Jr., who headed a thing called "Save Our Nation, Inc.," were excommunicated. Mrs. Gaillot picketed Archbishop Rummel's residence, submitted that 85-year-old prelate to an embarrassing encounter and received much attention from press and television in her insistence that segregation was decreed in the Bible as the will of God. In September Perez exerted economic and other pressures to frustrate the desegregation program in the area of his political control. Scattered boycotts reduced parochial school enrollment by 1,100 in Jefferson Parish, and one school in the town of Buras, which formerly served 340 white students, was left with no pupils at all when five Negro children withdrew.

Space

In the matter of public school desegregation a pattern had developed that separated eight Southern states from the other three almost as sharply as the attitude of the border states separated those from the eleven former Confederate states. In Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina -- after school-opening for the ninth term since the practice had been pronounced unconstitutional -- public schools were still completely segregated. Moreover, these were the three states where Negroes were most numerous in proportion to total population; these accounted for 800,000 Negro school children, or one fourth of the total in the Southern and border region combined. In South Carolina a certain mitigation of the determination to resist desegregation at all costs was discernible in 1962. But Mississippi and Alabama were firmly in the grip of hostile elements; resistance in those two states was encouraged by reckless political leaders and supported by all of the machinery of public administration.

The other eight Southern states had not gone far in complying with the Supreme Court ruling, but they had reached a point on the road which was significant in several respects. In these the policy that had been called of "massive resistance" had completely collapsed; resistance on the part of governors and legislatures had practically ceased; and a mass of anti-integration legislation had been repealed or invalidated by federal courts. Although a state board still went through the motions of pupil assignment in Virginia school districts in these states were in effect free from state government restraint and each was left

to deal with its own problem. District school authorities on their part sought to postpone action and hold desegregation to a minimum, but they no longer flatly resisted the change. Public opinion had also changed; and the change was discernible chiefly in these eight states. A Gallup Poll had asked Southerners early in 1961 whether the day would ever come when schools, restaurants, et cetera would be desegregated, and 76 per cent had answered, "Yes;" in 1957 only 45 per cent had answered that question in the affirmative. In the eight states the public had become largely resigned to a degree of adjustment, and the admission of Negroes to a school with whites was no longer an excuse for violence or even a signal for spectacular demonstrations. Two or three Negro children, or maybe half a dozen or a score, in each case were admitted to more previously all-white schools every year; the initial integration starts were steadily expanded; and the process could be expected to go on and on with increasing momentum.

Yet in its larger context the scale of the whole operation was almost microscopic. The presence of less than thirteen thousand Negro pupils in schools with whites at the end of the ninth year was a feeble response to a Supreme Court ruling which required that the stigma of segregation should be lifted from the 2,803,882 Negro children in Southern schools. If the speed of school desegregation had increased, it was from that of the snail to that of the tortoise. In fact, many white Southerners, finding total segregation no longer possible, had seized upon the compromise of token integration as a means of removing federal court pressure while prolonging general segregation for an indefinite

period. "Tokenism" was decried by liberals as more a frustration of the intent of the Brown decision than a stage of gradualism in compliance with it.

There was evidence, too, of growing impatience on the part of federal courts. Pupil assignment (or "pupil placement") laws, which fixed rigid criteria -- not applied to whites -- for Negro pupils seeking admission to predominantly white schools had been relied upon heavily to keep integration at token levels. The Sixth Circuit Court ruled in a Memphis case in March 1962: "The Pupil Assignment Law might serve some purpose in the administration of a school system, but it will not serve to convert a bi-racial system into a non-racial one."[1] In August the Fifth Circuit Court said in a New Orleans case: "This court, like the district court, condemns the Pupil Placement Act, when, with a fanfare of trumpets, it is hailed as the instrument for carrying out a desegregation plan while all the time the entire public knows that in fact it is being used to maintain segregation by allowing a little token desegregation.... It is not a plan for desegregation at all."[2]

In the early national discussion of the problems posed by the Brown decision the suggestion was frequently made that bi-racial schools in the South should be segregated by sex. It was believed that placing boys and girls in separate schools would allay the fears which preyed upon so many white Southerners that school integration would result in interracial romances and marriages. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was among those who advanced this proposal. Bills providing for school segregation by sex

were introduced in a number of state legislatures, and one was passed by the legislature of Florida. The plan was suggested by several federal district judges, including Judge J. Skelly Wright, of New Orleans. But, excepting the anomalous case of half a dozen first graders during the first year of integration in New Orleans, it was nowhere put into effect. The departure from the existing coeducational system would have been onerous and costly. Most white Southerners at first were in no mood to consider so drastic a reorganization to safeguard a move which they were adamantly determined not to make; when desegregation began, their chief concern was to hold it to what they considered an innocuous minimum; and after a few years of experience with Negroes and whites in school together, the fear of resulting interracial marriages tended to subside. In the border states fears on this score were never sufficiently strong to cause serious consideration to be given to pupil segregation by sex.

A comprehensive study of the problem of converting high schools to all-boy and all-girl schools was made by Superintendent O. Perry Walker and submitted without recommendation to the school board of Orleans Parish on February 12, 1963. The report noted that the change in the thirty high schools of that parish would necessitate approximately doubling attendance districts with proportionately increased transportation problems; that it would require reorganization of classes where courses were favored mainly by students of one sex, with the denial of courses to girls, or to boys, when they were too few to form a class of their own sex; that over 600 teachers would have to be transferred; and

that moving vocational shops from girls' to boys' schools and home economics equipment from boys' to girls' schools and various structural changes in schools would cost approximately $250,000. Walker's research revealed that of 25,000 high schools in the United States only 24 are attended by boys only or girls only, and these were outside of the South.

Not only in the South, but in the whole broad region, including the border states, where public schools were segregated at the time of the Brown decision, the fate of the 75,000 Negro schoolteachers posed a delicate and baffling problem. Teacher segregation no less than the segregation of pupils was a denial of equality under the law, but most white Southerners recoiled from the idea of having their children taught by Negroes even more than from the presence of Negro children in a schoolroom with them. In many quarters in the South the dilemma of Negro schoolteachers was hopefully expected to prevent Negroes from pressing for public school desegregation; for it was assumed as a certainty that the change would close to thousands of educated Negroes the only remunerative and respectable career open to them. The same thought was present in a lesser degree in the border states. Even in the long-integrated public schools of the North far fewer Negro teachers were employed in proportion to the Negro pupils enrolled than in the segregated schools of the South. It is noteworthy, however, that Negro schoolteachers in the South, whose jobs were thus in jeopardy, made no significant effort to arrest the desegregation movement and, indeed, often risked reprisal to further it.

Negroes did not press for desegregation of teacher or other personnel in the earlier cases, and federal courts in the South tended to defer the question until pupil desegregation should pass the token stage. In reviewing the negative action of a federal district court on a petition for relief against discriminatory assignment of teachers, principals and other school personnel in Escambia County, Florida, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled July 24, 1962 that "the district court may well decide to postpone the consideration and determination of that question until the desegregation of the pupils has either been accomplished or has made substantial progress."[3] A month later a district court ordered the Duval County school board to submit a plan for both pupil desegregation and the elimination of discrimination in teacher assignment by the following October; but the court noted that this latter problem "may well require additional study to prepare, and longer time to put into effect"[4] — an observation which has proved an understatement.

The limited pupil desegregation in the eleven Southern states — generally placing less than a dozen Negro pupils in a classroom with whites — has as yet displaced only a few Negro teachers. Most of these were in Texas. In 1962, 125 Negro teaching positions had been abolished in that state, and three in Tennessee, while only faint moves had been made toward teacher desegregation in either state. A beginning was made, however, in Arlington County, Virginia, where the integration of the small Negro minority was practically complete, when teaching positions were opened to Negroes for the summer session of 1963.

In the District of Columbia the school authorities ceased making any distinction on account of race in the hiring or assigning of teachers at the beginning of pupil desegregation. Steps had been taken in that direction in each of the six border states, but many Negro teachers had been displaced; an estimated four hundred had lost their jobs in Oklahoma. On the other hand, in Kentucky a score of districts were employing Negroes on biracial faculties and the number was increasing; in Missouri the desegregated school systems of St. Louis and Kansas City were employing more Negro teachers than in 1954 and had absorbed approximately 150 of those dismissed in smaller communities. Maryland had accomplished the desegregation of nearly all of its school districts without displacing any Negro teachers, 1,500 of whom were teaching on predominantly white faculties in that state.[5]

In the early 1960's the nation witnessed a new agitation in the civil rights field -- it came as a surprise to most people -- a campaign against racial segregation in the public schools of cities <u>outside of the South</u>. The 1960 census showed that 48 per cent of the Negroes in the United States now resided <u>outside</u> of the eleven former Confederate states. The largest concentrations of Negroes were not in Atlanta or New Orleans, but in the big cities of the North and West; New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles, Baltimore and Cleveland each had a larger Negro population than any Southern city.

The city of New York contained more Negroes than the state of Virginia. In these non-Southern cities public schools were nominally integrated; in most of them segregation had been prohibited by law or public policy since long before the Brown decision, in some, from time immemorial. But with the great increase in their Negro population, which was generally concentrated in Negro neighborhoods, much actual, or de facto, public school segregation had developed. Beyond the residential factor, the trend had been aided by some gerrymandering of districts and arbitrary pupil assignment by school administrators.

The Commission on Civil Rights reported in 1961: "Public schools enrolling Negroes almost exclusively in some cases, and whites almost exclusively in others, are found in many cities of the North and West. ....A 1960 report of the board of education of New York City reported that about one-fifth of the New York City elementary and junior high schools enrolled 85 per cent or more Negro and Puerto Rican pupils, while 48 per cent of the elementary and 44 per cent of the junior high schools enrolled 85 per cent or more white pupils. Philadelphia reported that 14 per cent of its schools had an enrollment of 99-plus per cent Negro. In Pittsburgh in 1959, half of the Negro children in public schools attended schools which had 80 per cent or more Negro enrollment...." Other non-Southern cities mentioned with high racial concentrations in public schools included Los Angeles, Pasadena, Detroit, Boston, Chicago, Indianapolis and Cleveland.[6]

In addition to the social and psychological disadvantages of segregation, these virtually Negro schools were more often overcrowded and inferior to the predominantly white schools in instructional offering and physical plant. The NAACP's 1961 national convention in Philadelphia called on its branches "to insure the end of all segregated public education in fact or by law." The Southern School News of April 1962 reported that Negroes had filed lawsuits against fourteen school districts in nine non-Southern states, and that formal protests had been made in at least as many more. Public demonstrations and sit-ins had also occurred on this front.

New York City, which now contained over a million Negroes -- and where Negroes were more articulate and more powerful politically than anywhere else in the nation -- moved earliest and most drastically in this field. The New York City board of education declared in December 1954 that it recognized the Supreme Court's Brown decision "as a decision which applies not only to those cases in litigation, but also as a challenge to boards of education throughout the nation, in Northern as well as Southern communities, to re-examine the racial composition of the schools within their respective systems in order to determine whether they conform to the standards stated clearly by that court.... Public education in a racially homogeneous setting is socially unrealistic and blocks the attainment of the goals of democratic education whether this segregation occurs by law or by fact...." Planning remedial steps began at once, and the problem remained a major concern of New York school authorities over the ten-year period.[7] By 1963, 64,000 Negro children had been transferred from

nearly all-Negro schools near home to schools in white neighborhoods. Their daily transportation for the greater distance required 81 additional buses at an estimated annual cost of $684,000. Yet in the context of New York's 1,053,000 pupils the correction of racial imbalance in the public schools of that metropolis was still insignificant.[8]

Generally, the idea of achieving a "racial balance" in the public schools by transferring pupils to schools outside of their residential neighborhoods raised delicate social and legal, as well as financial problems. Redistribution could be accomplished at some expense by sending Negroes away to predominantly white schools and reducing the school plant in Negro neighborhoods. The evil could be mitigated by having schools serve fewer grades and larger attendance areas or by placing schools near the border line between white and Negro neighborhoods. But to bring large numbers of white children away from their friends and neighbors to offset the racial imbalance in schools of Negro neighborhoods was all but impossible; the suggestion of such a move aroused bitter white resentment. Many voices rose in defense of the principle of the neighborhood school. A federal district court, in an opinion of January 29, 1963, in the case of Bell v. School City of Gary (Indiana)[9] noted that "the financial burden of transporting 6,000 students from their home neighborhood to another would be a matter of considerable concern to the administration of an already heavily taxed and indebted school district.... Furthermore, requiring certain students to leave

their neighborhoods and friends and be transferred to another school miles away, while other students, similarly situated, remained in the neighborhood school, simply for the purpose of balancing the races in the various schools, would in my opinion be indeed a violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment."

The lengthy opinion in that case, in which one hundred Negro children complained of de facto segregation, gives an illuminating picture of the problem that had arisen in many Northern cities. Gary offered a striking example of segregation in practice in an area where segregation not only was barred by the Supreme Court decision, but had been expressly prohibited earlier by state law. Incidentally, the school board of Gary, which was in effect the defendant in the suit, was headed by a Negro, Dr. Leroy W. Bingham, and the school administration was thoroughly integrated: one of three assistant superintendents, the coordinator of secondary education and several other principal executives were Negroes.

"In the school year 1961-1962, 10,710 of the students enrolled in the Gary school system attended fourteen schools which were 100 per cent white; 16,242 students attended twelve schools which were populated from 99 to 100 per cent by Negroes; 6,981 students attended five schools which were from 77 to 95 per cent Negro; 4,066 attended four schools which had a range from 13 to 37 per cent Negro; 5,465 attended five schools which had a Negro population from one to five per cent."

Thus a large majority of Gary's 23,000 Negro pupils were almost completely segregated. The total Negro population of

70,000 in Gary was concentrated in one section, comprising about one-third of the area of the city. The school administration was sorely-pressed to provide schools for a city that had grown in population in ten years from 133,911 to 178,320. As the most rapid population growth was among the Negroes, schools in the Negro section were the first to be overcrowded, but more schools were being built for them and a number of Negro pupils had been transferred to predominantly white schools. "From a consideration of all the evidence and the record," the court could not "see that the Board of Education has deliberately or purposely segregated the Gary schools according to race."

"The problem in Gary," Judge George N. Beamer said, "is not one of segregated schools but rather one of segregated housing. Either by choice or design, the Negro population of Gary is concentrated in the so-called central area, and as a result the schools in that area are populated by Negro students...."

The first litigation to draw widespread attention to the problem of de facto school segregation was that of Taylor v. Board of Education of New Rochelle (New York) where a federal district court in 1961 found deliberate gerrymandering and ordered remedial action: the result was a plan of optional transfer of Negro pupils to schools with a larger representation of white pupils. In that case the court declared: "The neighborhood school policy certainly is not sacrosanct. It is valid only insofar as it is operated within the confines established by the Constitution. It cannot be used to confine Negroes within an area artificially delineated in the first instance by official acts."[10] In another case, that of Branche v. Board of Education,

of Hempstead, New York, a federal court had ruled in April 1962 that the educational system must deal with the inadequacy arising from adventitious segregation...." The question of the propriety of a public school's adherence to the segregated racial pattern of its neighborhood has not been passed upon by the Supreme Court.

De facto school segregation was among the major Negro grievances the one that was least understood by the general public. Many who sympathized with Negro aims in general felt that some of the pressure in this area was unreasonable, or misdirected. Residential segregation was the basic evil, and any feasible measures of relief would barely scratch the surface until this larger problem had been met.

De facto school segregation was but one manifestation of the cancerous blight of the ghetto. Here was an evil -- the denial of housing to Negroes outside of already established Negro districts -- that cried imperatively for national attention. The rapid migration of Negroes from South to North and from country to city was crowding the urban neighborhoods that custom and prejudice had allotted to them. For a Negro to rent or purchase a home in a white residential area was often difficult if not impossible. Negro "intruders" in a white neighborhood were sometimes harassed and threatened or even attacked by mobs. An embarrassing example of the effects of this discrimination against Negroes was the plight of diplomatic personnel coming to the nation's capital from African countries. The Department of State reported in 1963 that of 35 nonwhite diplomats from twenty nations

who had requested its help in finding houses during eight months of the previous year, 34 had been turned away from houses or apartment buildings in Washington because of their color and twelve had not found suitable housing by the end of the year.

Historically, Americans of German, Irish, Italian, Polish and other foreign origin had experienced a degree of residential segregation following waves of immigration to this country. But the condition of these Caucasian immigrants was not static; after a generation or two they moved into the mainstream of American life. Negroes were chained to the ghetto by their color; after three centuries the color of their skin was still a cruel and unrelenting barrier to assimilation. Meanwhile the squalid and congested ghetto was a center of cultural stagnation and a breeding place for vice and crime as well as racial discontent.

In employment discrimination against the Negro was to be found virtually everywhere -- except in some categories of government jobs. More than one out of every ten Negro workers in the United States was unemployed; among white workers only one out of twenty was without a job. Some labor unions, notably in the building trades, excluded Negroes from membership, thus barring them completely in "closed shop" situations from work. Large categories of the higher and better paid positions were practically closed to Negroes regardless of the applicant's competence.

Humiliation and oppression of the Negro, of course, were not new, despite some modern variations. The picture had been familiar to Negro Americans all their lives, and to their fathers before them. It was not out of a sudden desperation that the

protest of the 1960's arose. What was discernible among Negroes in the sit-ins and Freedom Rides, the parades and picket lines, the youths huddled in patrol wagons on their way to jail, singing "We Shall Overcome" was the beginning of a powerful awakening of the human spirit, with incalculable possibilities for both the near term and the long future. White Americans still saw the picture only dimly; comparatively few would have admitted in 1962 that any group in this land was oppressed. The word "oppression," now beginning to be used here and there, had an unfamiliar and an alien ring with reference to the United States.

The prevention of Negroes from voting in some sections of the South was one of the most brazen forms of discrimination. This received major attention during 1962. Leading civil rights organizations, with substantial financial backing from national philanthropic foundations, united in a Voter Education Project to train Negroes in the complexities of registration in hostile communities and encourage them to vote. The drive was attended by much white harassment, considerable police brutality and occasional violence, including the burning of three Negro churches. The Department of Justice moved at the same time to protect the voting rights of Negroes; the total number of counties in which the Department had taken action, ranging from inspection of records to lawsuits, increased from 30 at the beginning of the Kennedy Administration to 115.[12] As a result of these activities, Negroes began to register and vote in many districts where the privilege had been denied them by intimidation and trickery.

Promising to remove one obstacle to Negro voting, Congress also on August 27 initiated the procedure for a constitutional amendment abolishing the poll tax; this fee of several dollars was still exacted in five Southern states as a prerequisite to voting, largely with a view to deterring Negroes from exercising the franchise.

Negroes now held a slightly larger percentage of all federal government jobs than the Negro percentage of the total population, though in the better-paid positions the Negro percentage was much smaller. President Kennedy had said on March 6, 1961: "I have dedicated my Administration to the cause of equal opportunity in employment by the Government or its contractors." The firms with government contracts of various kinds represented a vast segment of the nation's industry. The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, which he set up -- headed by Vice President Lyndon Johnson -- moved more vigorously in both these fields than any similar body had done before. The desegregation of the Armed Forces since President Truman's executive order of 1948 was the most successful exhibit of integration in the history of interracial relations; President Kennedy, in June 1962, appointed a Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces to ferret out lingering vestiges of discrimination in that quarter and to investigate the hardships imposed upon Negro service men by the discriminatory practices of civilian communities near military posts.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare had been strangely oblivious hitherto of the requirement that all segregation

in public education should be ended. On March 30, 1962, that department gave an effective fillip to public school desegregation in the South with the announcement that some federal financial assistance would be withheld from school districts which continued to practice segregation after September 1963. The schools affected were those receiving federal aid because they served large numbers of children of military or other federal government personnel; if necessary, the commissioner of education would be "authorized to make provision for the education of children on a nonsegregated basis on federal property or make other suitable arrangements."

An increasing volume of peripheral attacks was chipping at the structure of injustice to the Negro minority.

Unprecedented concern was being displayed by the federal government, also by some state and city governments and by the press and the clergy. Yet "unprecedented" meant little in relation to the magnitude of the problem which was beginning to unfold.

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Chapter 17

Ole Miss

The last three states maintaining complete segregation in public education yielded at the university level -- Mississippi in the fall of 1962, South Carolina in January, and Alabama in June, of 1963. Resistance at the University of Mississippi reached the proportions of an insurrection, which was suppressed by military force. Its grim reverberations had an undoubtedly sobering effect when the crisis came to the other two states. At Clemson University in South Carolina the critical aspect had virtually ended when the moment of desegregation arrived; Clemson accepted its first Negro student in an atmosphere of complete decorum and without interference from any quarter. At the University of Alabama gestures of defiance on the part of the governor of that state caused widespread anxiety, police and military precautions were taken and the outcome was awaited breathlessly by the nation; but the resistance there proved limited to the governor's own brief melodrama and no violence or harassment was directed at the three Negro students who enrolled.

The desegregation crisis at the University of Mississippi, both in its constitutional significance and in the magnitude of the upheaval was the gravest that has occurred since the Brown decision. The convulsion was in no sense a race riot. The presence of a single Negro was the casus belli, and he was later to suffer ostracism and abuse. But the Negro was out of sight while the bloody battle raged. The enemy was the Government of the United States, and the targets of the mob's fury

were its marshals and soldiers. It was the most serious challenge to the Federal Union since the Civil War, resolutely met first with an inadequate force of federal deputy marshals and then with overwhelming military strength. The Chattanooga Times, a Southern newspaper, voiced the sentiment of millions throughout the land when it said: "It must never happen again."

Though Mississippi had furnished none of the major crises of desegregation, we have visited that state frequently in the pages of this book. We have examined race prejudice, oppression of the Negro, resentment of the Brown decision, unwillingness to discuss desegregation or to permit discussion of it, alienation from the mainstream of national life and hostility toward the federal government; all these phenomena were more pronounced in Mississippi than in any other state. If there had been fewer sensational explosions in Missippi it was attributable not to interracial amity, but to the ferocity with which "white supremacy" was maintained in that state and to the submission of its intimidated Negro minority.

The most widely publicized incident in Mississippi since the "wolf-whistle murder" of Emmet Till, had been the lynching of another Negro, Mack Charles Parker at Poplarville in April 1959. Parker, awaiting trial on a rape charge, was beaten and dragged from the county jail by fifteen or more masked men and killed. No one was punished for the deed. Few doubted that other Negroes had been done to death by white men in Mississippi in obscure circumstances. The press reported briefly the fatal

shooting of the Negro Herbert Lee in September 1961 by a member of the state Legislature. Lee had been active in a voter registration movement. A coroner's jury found that the act was committed to prevent a threatened attack and called it "justifiable homicide."

The Citizens' Council movement, which was fading in 1962 in most of the South, was still flourishing in Mississippi. The Council dominated the politics and, to a large extent, the business community of the state, as well as the lives of individual citizens. Judge Brady's Black Monday had ceased to be the Citizens' Council handbook, and was in fact out of print. The increasingly status-seeking Council -- and the state administration -- had adopted a more polished exposition of racism entitled Race and Reason, by a Northern writer, Carleton Putnam. Soon after Putnam's book appeared, the author was honored at a banquet under Citizens' Council auspices in Jackson, attended by the highest Mississippi dignitaries. The governor issued a solemn proclamation which, after a series of whereases, said:

> Now, therefore, I Ross R. Barnett, Governor of the State of Mississippi, do hereby proclaim that Thursday, October 26, 1961, is and shall be known as "Race and Reason Day," and hereby urge the people of Mississippi to observe this occasion by reading and discussing "Race and Reason," calling the book to the attention of friends and relatives in the North, and by participating in appropriate public functions, thereby expressing the appreciation of the people in our state for Mr. Carleton Putnam and for his splendid book "Race and Reason."

Ross Barnett had been elected governor in 1959, to succeed the relatively moderate Coleman. Unlike his predecessor, Barnett wooed the Citizens' Council and made it all but a part of his administration. The Council was in fact subsidized, in that the

official State Sovereignty Commission contributed regularly to its "Radio and Television forum;" in 1962 it had received over $100,000 of state funds through this arrangement.

A favorite Barnett saying might have been taken right out of a Citizens' Council pamphlet: "The good Lord was the original segregationist. He put the Negro in Africa -- separated him from all other races." Another remark which the governor made repeatedly gave an insight into his thinking as to the efficacy of defiance in checkmating the federal government: "If the Governors of Southern states had gone to Little Rock and congratulated Governor Orval Faubus when he called out the National Guard to prevent school integration, federal troops would never have been sent to that city." He promised again and again that "Ross Barnett will rot in jail before he will let one Negro ever darken the sacred threshold of our white schools." A bumbling, heavy-handed politician of 62, Barnett was the butt of many popular jokes -- as when he had a $10,000 gold-plated bathtub installed in the Governor's Mansion -- but all his bloopers were forgotten when he stood in the breach to stop the federal advance.

Mississippi was out of step in 1962 even with most of the South, not only in industrial progress but in adjustment to the changing order in interracial relations. During the first few years after the Brown decision the attitude of Miss~~i~~ssippi was not strikingly different from that of the other ten former Confederate states. In 1962 Mississippians still liked to identify themselves with "the embattled South" and constantly referred to

their fight as "the Southern fight." But in the matter of resistance to the federal court desegregation rulings the state's position now was more like that of a Casabianca on the deck of a burning ship whence all but Mississippi -- and Alabama -- had fled.

Confederate flags were to be seen almost everywhere that people gathered in Mississippi; many were displayed on automobiles and in front of homes, shops and local government offices. Confederate Army caps were worn by thousands of Mississippi youths and full Confederate Army uniforms were often donned on festive occasions. Mississippi had given the Confederate States of America its president, Jefferson Davis. It was then a proud and prosperous state, one of the richest.

A century later it was still a proud state, but it was the poorest in the Union. Its per capita income in 1961 was $1,229, when the national average was $2,263. Negroes, formerly a majority, were now 42 per cent of its population of 2,178,141. The median annual family income of its whites was $4,209 and of its Negroes, $1,444. The population was predominantly rural; Jackson, the capital, had grown in twenty years from a city of 40,000 people to one of 150,000, but no other town in the state was as much as one-third that size. In spite of dramatic expansion of its public school system during the 1950's, Mississippi had the third highest illiteracy rate in the nation, 4.9 per cent; 119,741 of its Negroes and 40,274 of its whites were considered functionally illiterate. Only the boldest Negroes in the most tolerant white communities dared to exercise the franchise. More than 95 per cent of the whites -- but less than 2 per cent of the Negroes -- over twenty years of age were registered voters.

Mississippi had produced literary celebrities. Among the writers who still made the state their home were the Hodding Carters, father and son, Eudora Welty and, until his death in July 1962, William Faulkner, a winner of the Nobel Prize. An extraordinary number of native Mississippians had left the state and achieved distinction -- often with liberal identification -- elsewhere. Conspicuous among these were Turner Catledge, managing editor of the New York Times, Mark F. Ethridge, publisher of the Louisville Courier Journal and Buford Ellington, the incumbent governor of Tennessee. Two other Mississippi exiles of renown were the crooner Elvis Presley and -- a matter of embarrassment to the white supremacists -- the internationally acclaimed Negro opera-singer, Leontyne Price.

Many young men left Mississippi every year for more promising fields. Calculations made over a five-year period showed that 33 per cent of the graduates of the four white state institutions of higher learning were leaving the state after graduation. Among Mississippi Negroes, teaching jobs in Negro schools were holding many college graduates, but tens of thousands of others were emigrating every year. The 990,282 Negro residents counted in the 1960 census were 69,687 less than in 1950; the total population of the state had declined by 773 persons.

Against these statistical generalizations it should be noted that there were gleaming new buildings here and there in Mississippi and evidences of industrial awakening. Indeed, along the Gulf Coast the space age had intruded: nuclear submarines were being built for the United States Navy at Pascagoula and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration had purchased a 13,000-acre site for testing moon-rocket engines.

Nor was Mississippi a monolith in its attitude toward race relations reform. The phenomenon was observable generally in the South that, when the preponderance of hostile elements reaches a certain point, the minority favoring moderation and adjustment disappeared from view. But it did not cease to exist. Traveling in Mississippi in 1962 I was astonished at the number of prominent individuals who, in the privacy of country homes or quiet offices, expressed apprehension over the anti-integration furor and the dangerous course upon which their state was set. These people were benumbed by the thought that any gesture of opposition would be futile and by fear of the consequences for themselves, their families and their businesses. Most of the Mississippi press followed the popular anti-Negro, anti-integration and anti-federal government line. But the State Times in Jackson dissented cautiously until it found itself obliged to cease publication at the end of 1961. Some smaller newspapers counseled moderation with varying emphasis, notably the Hodding Carters' Delta Democrat-Times in Greenville, the Pascagoula Chronicle, the McComb Enterprise-Journal and the Tupelo Times. Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith suffered continual persecution as a result of her bold voice of protest in the weekly Lexington Advertiser.

The University of Mississippi, established in 1844, occupies a group of stately old buildings, and several of recent construction, on a campus, comprising one square mile of tree-shaded land near the town of Oxford, 150 miles north of Jackson. (Oxford was the home, incidentally, of William Faulkner -- an alumnus of the university -- and the town figures in spirit in many

of Faulkner's novels. During the Civil War, the ancient administration building, or the Lyceum -- on whose floors a hundred wounded federal marshals were to lie on the morning of October 1, 1962 -- had served at times as a hospital for both Confederate and Union soldiers. A cemetery along the campus' southern boundary held seven hundred Confederate dead. In 1854 Chancellor Frederick A. P. Barnard, in laying a broad plan before its board of trustees had listed among the university's various purposes "to determine the respectability of the state in the eyes of mankind."

"Ole Miss," as it was called with affection by many, had been known best in recent years for the pulchritude of its women students and the prowess of its football heroes. Its football team, nicknamed the "Rebels," was every year one for the mightiest to reckon with; Ole Miss co-eds had won the title of "Miss America" in both 1959 and 1960. The university's academic contribution, however, was not without merit. Although its record of freshman failures was high, Ole Miss graduates did very well. They had won more Rhodes scholarships than the graduates of any other Southern university except one. In spite of the racist cloud which hung low over Mississippi and the unattractive pay -- an annual average faculty salary of $6,863, the university had drawn a number of professors of high caliber, and most of them chose to stay with Ole Miss through the tribulations which beset it. In the wave of repression of liberal discussion, the university -- a state institution with its appropriations controlled by politicians -- walked a painful tightrope. Chancellor

John D. Williams and Dean Robert Farley of the law school had battled frequently against fierce Citizens' Council and political pressure to save liberal members of the university's faculty.

The students of Ole Miss, who numbered 4,638, had lived in an atmosphere of intensified racist indoctrination and defiance of federal authority for eight years -- most of them since their earliest teens. It would take little to set them on fire. Yet, on the other hand, under a clear policy of restraint on the part of state authorities and with the exercise of normal discipline, these volatile youths could have been held in check. When I visited Ole Miss in late 1961 and early 1962, few doubted that the next few months would bring a federal court order to enroll a Negro student. The prospect was seldom absent from the thoughts of administrators and professors; many plans and possibilities were privately explored. Their chief sources of uneasiness were not the Ole Miss students, but the reckless bravado of the state's political leaders and the fear that throngs of extremists would invade the university.

The Negro around whom the battle of Ole Miss was fought was a quietly determined young man of 29, meticulous in his manners and his dress. Five days before the explosion the Washington Post said: "While the tumult rages all about him, while lawyers argue and judges rule, while governors fulminate and legislatures prate, one man in Mississippi -- James Meredith, a central actor in the drama being played there -- awaits his cue to walk upon the

stage with silence and dignity and fortitude." He would play his part that way.

Meredith was born in Kosciusko, Mississippi, a town where he himself says the Negroes "might be a little more progressive than elsewhere in the state." After finishing high school, he served for nine years, becoming a staff sergeant, in the United States Air Force -- which was by then racially integrated -- and returned to Mississippi in 1960. Writing in the Saturday Evening Post of November 10, 1962, Meredith said: "I entered Jackson State College, a Negro school in Jackson, and quickly met other students who felt as I did -- that Negroes in Mississippi did not have the rights of full citizens, including the right to the best education the state offered. Someone had to seek admission to the University of Mississippi, and I decided to do so...." In January 1961 he applied for admission to Ole Miss. When his application was rejected ~~as expected~~, he sought the legal help of the NAACP, and in May a suit was filed in the federal district court.

In the sixteen months of litigation that followed, the state and the university used every conceivable argument and subterfuge. In bland contradiction of the screaming affirmations of Mississippi's immutable policy, they contended that racial segregation did not in fact exist at Ole Miss. They held that the Negro applicant was unqualified for reasons mainly related to his character and intelligence, which they assiduously assailed. However, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on June 25 found that Meredith's application "was turned down solely because he was a Negro," and directed the lower court to order him enrolled.

After the appeals court order had been repeatedly stayed and the stays had been repeatedly vacated, Federal District Judge S. C. Mize on September 13 finally enjoined the University from denying admission to the applicant or "discriminating against him in any way whatsoever because of his race."

Governor Barnett immediately invoked the battered doctrine of interposition, directing the Mississippi officials concerned "to interpose the state sovereignty and themselves between the people of the state and any body politic seeking to usurp such power." In a radio-television broadcast he called upon "all public officials, both elected and appointed, in the State of Mississippi to join hands with the people and resist by every legal and constitutional means the tyrannical edicts which have been and will be directed against the patriotic citizens of our state."

September 20 was a crowded day in the frantic obstructionist maneuvers. All in one day: a state court issued an injunction forbidding "any act intending to enroll and register the Negro, James Meredith....;" the state legislature enacted a law prohibiting the enrollment at a state university of any student under "a criminal charge of moral turpitude;" the needed charge was furnished in a justice of the peace hearing, where Meredith was convicted of false voter registration; federal courts issued orders, frustrating each of these strategems; and the Board of Trustees of State Institutions of Higher Learning adopted a resolution investing the Governor with "full power, authority, right and discretion of this Board to act upon all matters pertaining to the admission of Meredith to the University of Mississippi."

On September 24, the federal court of appeals ordered the board of trustees to rescind its action placing the Meredith case in the hands of the Governor and to instruct the university officials to admit Meredith. Specifically the order read: "Registrar (Robert Byron) Ellis shall be available at Jackson, Mississippi at the office of the defendant, Board of Trustees, from 1:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M., September 25, 1962, for the purpose of the registration of the said James H. Meredith...." If Meredith should not appear at that time, the registrar was to be available for the purpose at the university during the usual business hours. The board expressed a willingness to comply, and promptly issued the required instructions.

The same day, Governor Barnett issued a proclamation, directing "that the arrest or attempts to arrest, or the fining or the attempts to fine, of any state official in the performance of his official duties, by any representative of the federal government, is illegal and such representative or representatives of the federal government are to be summarily arrested and jailed...." The university was ringed with state police and a few sheriffs from neighboring counties.

At the early hour of 8:30 A.M. on September 25, the court of appeals issued an order restraining the State of Mississippi, its governor and virtually all state and local officials and police from "interfering with or obstructing by any means or in any manner" Meredith's enrollment.

Here Governor Barnett and Lieutenant Governor Paul B. Johnson -- who now got into the act -- carried their defiance

physically to a point that drew convictions for contempt of court, which would be argued for many months to come. As related in the appeals court judgment of September 28:

> 3. At approximately 4:30 P.M. on September 25, 1962, Ross R. Barnett, having full knowledge of the existence and terms of this Court's temporary restraining orders, went to the office of the Board of Trustees of Institutions of Higher Learning in Jackson, Mississippi at a time when James H. Meredith was due to appear at the office and be enrolled as a student in the University of Mississippi, pursuant to the order of this Court. When James H. Meredith arrived at the office and sought to enter for the purpose of enrolling, Ross R. Barnett deliberately prevented him from entering and told him that his application for enrollment was denied by Ross R. Barnett.
>
> 4. On September 26, 1962, James H. Meredith sought to enter the campus of the University of Mississippi in Oxford, Mississippi. He was prevented from entering by Paul B. Johnson, Jr., Lieutenant Governor of the State of Mississippi, acting pursuant to the instructions and under the authorization of Ross R. Barnett.

The Governor was ordered to pay a fine of $10,000 per day, and the Lieutenant Governor a fine of $5,000 per day, unless by the following Tuesday, October 2, they should demonstrate full compliance with federal court orders and notify all law enforcement officers and other officials under them "to cease forthwith all resistance and interference."

In Jackson Saturday night, September 30, 41,000 spectators, including most of the university population, watched the Ole Miss Rebels defeat the football team of the University of Kentucky. Hundreds of Confederate flags waved. Governor Barnett stood on the field at half time and received a great ovation. It was a moment when, if the Governor had been disposed to accept the inevitable with dignity, a few words of sober counsel might have

changed the course of history. He said to the admiring throng: "I love Mississippi!" -- and, after a thunderous response: "I love her people!" -- then, after another roar, and pointedly: "I love our customs!" At this obvious reference to the desegregation crisis the crowd broke into an hysteria that would express itself in bloodshed the following day.

In Washington Attorney General Kennedy, and the President himself, had devoted several tense, gruelling days and much of the night time to the Mississippi problem. They were constantly aided by a Justice Department team of Deputy Attorney General Nicholas B. Katzenbach, Assistant Attorneys General Burke Marshal and Norbert Schlei and Edwin O. Guthman, public information officer. Federal marshals had been assembling daily at Memphis, Tennessee. Military leaders had also been alerted and Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara was kept informed.

On Saturday the President and the Attorney General each conferred repeatedly by telephone with Governor Barnett. At 5:45 P.M. the President dispatched a blunt telegram. He asked the Governor whether he would "continue to actively interfere" or whether his law enforcement officers would cooperate "in maintaining law and order and preventing violence in connection with federal enforcement of the court orders." Barnett phoned the White House twice but made no satisfactory reply.

Just after midnight the President issued the kind of proclamation that generally precedes the use of military force in a domestic crisis. In one whereas he noted that "the Governor

of the State of Mississippi and certain law enforcement officers and other officials of that State... have been and are willingly obstructing the enforcement of" federal court orders. In another he said: "I have expressly called the attention of the Governor of Mississippi to the perilous situation that exists and to his duties in the premises, and have requested but have not received from him adequate assurances that the orders of the courts of the United States will be obeyed and that law and order will be maintained." He therefore commanded "all persons engaged in such obstruction of justice to cease and desist therefrom and to disperse and retire peacefully forthwith."

In an executive order signed at the same time, the President directed the Secretary of Defense "to use such of the armed forces of the United States as may be necessary," and to call the 11,000 men of the Mississippi National Guard into "the active military service of the United States...."

Sunday morning there were more calls from Governor Barnett to the White House. The Governor suggested that the safest course would be to install Meredith on the campus that same day before nightfall -- ahead of the crowds of angry segregationists, already headed for Oxford, who were expected to converge upon Ole Miss Monday. He said that, if there were a display of federal force, he would see that Meredith was enrolled in the university and his state police would cooperate in maintaining order.

When Meredith arrived on the campus Sunday afternoon, October 1, rioting erupted and a battle raged all night between

a Mississippi mob and the Government of the United States. When Monday dawned, two had been killed, 375 had been injured and 200 rioters were federal prisoners; the campus was strewn with wrecked vehicles, hunks of concrete, tear-gas cannisters, fragments of thousands of bottles, and other debris; and several thousand soldiers patrolled the university and the town of Oxford. Military forces, arriving in the early hours of the morning, had rescued four hundred beleaguered federal marshals and 55 men of the Oxford unit of the National Guard from 2,500 rioters and restored order.

The first contingent of 320 federal marshals entered the university campus between 4 and 5 P.M. (CST). They surrounded and took over the Lyceum, the administration building, which became the federal post and was in constant telephone communication with the White House in Washington. Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach, Assistant Attorney General Schlei and Chief United States Marshal James P. McShane were in the party. With a view to diverting violence from him, Meredith, who arrived shortly afterward, was deposited at Baxter Hall on Dormitory Row; he remained there all night -- in fact, went to bed -- well-guarded and little sought after by the rioters. Although the mob, screaming, smashing and burning, surged over the entire campus during the ~~long~~ night, the central and decisive action was the seige of the Lyceum.

The discipline and valor of ~~to~~ federal marshals and their handful of National Guard allies during that long battle averted unquestionably a greater cataclysm. Had they resorted to firearms

-- which they were forbidden to do -- the death toll would have been appalling; if they had yielded to the swelling throng of rioters, the ultimate suppression of the uprising might have assumed the proportions of a civil war. The attackers used stones, clubs, iron bars, bricks from construction sites, jagged hunks of concrete from smashed benches, gasoline bombs made of soft drink bottles and some shotguns, pistols and rifles. Just before eight o'clock, after their eighth casualty, the marshals began using tear-gas; this became their principal weapon. One hundred and sixty-six federal marshals were injured, of whom twenty-nine suffered gunshot wounds; miraculously none were killed. The dead were a Frenchman, Paul Guihard, correspondent for the Agence France Presse and the London Daily Sketch, and Ray Gunter, an Oxford onlooker -- both of bullet wounds.

As the night wore on, the Ole Miss students in the mob were gradually outnumbered by outsiders. Of the two hundred rioters arrested, only twenty-four were from Ole Miss; another score were students from other Mississippi colleges. The rest were self-appointed vigilantes who had no connection with any university; most were Mississippians but they included visitors from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Tennessee and Texas.

The two hundred men of the Mississippi Highway Safety Patrol -- the state police force -- assigned to the university were an uncertain element and their performance was later a subject of much controversy. Their sympathies were instinctively with

the rioters and those of their chief, the Governor, were far from clear. However, State police officers led the first cavalcade of marshals when it entered the campus. Patrolmen were helpful in establishing roadblocks to bar outsiders; the main body took up positions in front of the Lyceum, mingling with the front ranks of rioting students and exerting some restraining influence. But soon after tear-gas came into play, the long line of state police cars retired in a slow file from the campus. A Mississippi legislator who is also a National Guard captain, said afterwards the patrolmen "stood around their cars" and offered no help in clearing the way for his men. (Attorney General Kennedy the next day accused Governor Barnett of going back on his word and withdrawing the state police; the Governor "emphatically and positively" denied this. A statement issued by Mississippi Senator James O. Eastland said the state police were "urging the students to withdraw," when "without warning, the marshals fired tear gas projectiles, some of them... point blank at the students and Highway Patrolmen.") Several hours later Lieutenant Governor Johnson, arriving on the scene, ordered the Highway Patrol back into action, stationing patrolmen again on roadblocks, where, by his own estimate, they stopped over six hundred cars loaded with armed riders. (Mayor Robert W. Elliott of Oxford said that when the rioting spread into his town Monday morning, "patrolmen actually saw cars demolished and saw mobs on the streets and did nothing about it." Later in the week the state senate resolved that by "their faithful and courageous efforts to maintain peace and order, the Highway Patrol and

other officers reflected credit on themselves and on the State of Mississippi.")

The manner in which members of the Mississippi National Guard answered the call of duty was a reassuring demonstration of Mississippi manhood and integrity. These part-time soldiers included a score of members of the legislature and many active segregationists, a son of United States Senator John C. Stennis and even a son of the Governor, Lieutenant Ross Barnett, Jr. It was an agonizing situation for them, yet none faltered. The Oxford unit reached the Lyceum at 10:15 P.M. and was at the side of the federal marshals through the thick of the fighting. Its thirteen wounded included Captain Murray C. Falkner, a nephew of the famous novelist (who spelled the name "Faulkner"). About midnight two hundred members of other National Guard units made a heroic entry to the campus through roadblocks, brick barrages, gunfire and a wall of flaming gasoline. Approximately 2,000 Guardsmen were to be deployed in the area by 10 A.M. Monday

A pathetic leader of the mob was Edwin Walker, an embittered former major general in the United States Army (who, incidentally had commanded the federal troops in Little Rock five years before). Resigning in anger after a rebuke for his attempt to indoctrinate of troops under his command with ultra-rightist fanaticism, he had thrown himself into the arms of extremists of that ilk.

Walker left his home in Dallas, Texas, with a call for Americans to follow him; arriving at Shreveport, Louisiana, he broadcast an appeal: "Rise to stand behind Governor Barnett -- 10,000 strong, from every state in the Union!" The ex-general appeared among the students at Ole Miss Sunday at about 9 P.M. -- when a leader of dignity was what they most lacked -- and urged them on.

(Early Monday afternoon Walker was arrested at a roadblock just outside of Oxford on charges of "rebellion, insurrection and seditious conspiracy" and flown to a hospital for federal prisoners at Springfield, Missouri, for psychiatric observation.)

The President addressed Mississippi and the nation over television and radio Sunday at 10 P.M. The broadcast, originally scheduled for 7:30, had been postponed until he could better appraise the developments at Ole Miss. There it was only 8 P.M. then, but the rioting was in progress as President Kennedy spoke; Governor Barnett had issued a partial-surrender statement.

"The orders of the court," the President said, "... are beginning to be carried out. Mr. James Meredith is now in residence on the campus of the University of Mississippi."

His nine-minute speech reflected a desperate desire to avoid using military force in a domestic conflict, but he implied clearly that massed federal troops would be used if necessary. It was a gently worded appeal to reason and patriotism. He

explained carefully the constitutional situation which made his responsibility as President "inescapable." Addressing directly the students -- few of whom listened to the broadcast -- he urged them to "accept laws with which you disagree as well as those with which you agree. The eyes of the nation and the world are upon you," he said, "and the honor of your university and state are in the balance."

The President spoke to Governor Barnett several times after the broadcast and some of the exchanges were heated. Barnett had made his "surrender" statement at 9 P.M. "Surrounded by armed forces," he said, "... and physically overpowered..., we must preserve the peace and avoid bloodshed." Some 2,000 of the Governor's supporters were milling about the mansion in Jackson; a Citizens' Council spokesman said federal forces were planning to seize the Governor, and the crowd stayed on in a circle around the grounds to fight off such an attempt.

Barnett's appeals for peace and order alternated with expressions of anger and defiance. At midnight (2 A.M. EDT) he said in another broadcast: "Surrounded on all sides by armed forces... and the oppressive power of the United States of America, my courage and convictions do not waver...." To the federal officials he said: "Gentlemen, you are trampling on the sovereignty of this great state and depriving it of every vestige of honor and respect as a member of the union of states.... May God have mercy on your souls. Mississippi will continue to fight the Meredith case through the courts.... We will never surrender."

At about the same time a force of Regular Army Military Police left Memphis for Oxford, some by helicopter, more by

truck. The first company reached the university at 1:48 A.M. Two hours later more Regular Army units rolled into the campus. The mob was pushed steadily back and began to disperse. At 3:30 A.M. (CST), 5:30 in Washington, President Kennedy went to bed.

Shortly after 5 A.M. (CST), the military and the marshals swept forward together and drove the last two hundred rioters from Ole Miss. The swelling tide of soldiers engulfed both the campus and the town. Chief Marshal McShane escorted Meredith to the office of the university registrar and he was enrolled at 8:35 Monday morning. Sporadic rioting against federal soldiers in Oxford was quelled before noon. Thereafter the United States Government had the situation firmly under control.

At 1:42 P.M. Governor Barnett broadcast this message, which was later repeated several times on tape.

> My fellow Mississippians:
>
> Even though our state has been invaded by federal forces, we must have peace and harmony throughout our state.
>
> As Chief Executive of this great state, I now prayerfully urge each citizen to remain at home in his community. We must not have violence. Law and order must prevail.
>
> To those who have come to the Oxford area from other states, I have said many times before, and I say again, go home. I say this with great deference.
>
> To the people of Mississippi I say with all the sincerity that I possess, stay in your community and be calm. Restore law and order and let us all pray that no one else will be injured on our soil. Thank you.

But in another broadcast Monday night the Governor said: "The people of Mississippi are enraged, incensed -- and rightly so." Though he urged "our people to calmness," he called on "the federal authorities to put a stop to further violence by the immediate

withdrawal of Meredith and the withdrawal of federal troops and marshals from our soil."

By nightfall the federal military forces in the area had reached 7,000; this number was more than doubled the following day. At the peak the federal government had, counting Regular Army and Air Force and National Guard contingents, nearly 30,000 troops committed in the area. But withdrawal began almost at once. By the end of the month only 500 soldiers were left and a few weeks later, only 300. These and a force of federal marshals guarding Meredith would remain indefinitely.

Governor Barnett's performance brought few cheers outside of Mississippi and neighboring Alabama, except among scattered extremists. Governor John Patterson of Alabama denounced the federal action and announced that he had dispatched a telegram to President Kennedy asking "if he is prepared to invade us in Alabama too." But Governor Ernest Vandiver of Georgia said: "I hope this tragic exercise in futility is over;" and Governor Terry Sanford of North Carolina declared: "I've never been prouder of the President!" The reaction to the upheaval in the nation generally was one of anger and disgust; press and politicians agreed that the Administration had acted correctly in suppressing the revolt. Criticism was mainly to the effect that the President should have acted sooner with greater force — as in this comment of Time Magazine of October 12: "President Kennedy could have learned one lesson from Eisenhower's performance in the Little Rock crisis: if forced to intervene, then

intervene with sufficient force. That is what Ike did, and there was no death toll in Little Rock, nor any serious casualties. From the time of Meredith's first attempt to register under federal court orders, he was a sort of U.S. Government ward, accompanied by federal officials and transported in federal planes and cars. But not until hours after the attackers besieged the marshals in the Lyceum did Kennedy commit enough force to do the job...."

Abroad, the news from Mississippi caused excitement and strong emotions; but the image of oppression of Negroes in the United States was substantially mitigated by this massive exertion of federal power to secure the rights of a single Negro citizen. There was almost universal praise of President Kennedy and condemnation of Governor Barnett. The Ghana press and radio, often critical of United States policies, reported the news without emphasis on race discrimination here, and the Ashanti Pioneer said: "We are heartened, of course, that the Kennedy Administration is doing everything possible to remove this shameful show from the states." European comment reflected impressive conversance with America's race problem. Le Monde of Paris, noted that there had been a lot of talk about violence in connection with school desegregation in the United States, "but mostly silence about many schools where the law has been respected without the least trouble." The Times of London, said the President's action in the Mississippi crisis "will do a great deal to lift the record of his Administration." The Frankfurter Algemeine said: "Governor Barnett, Governor Faubus and Governor

Patterson of Alabama were carried to political success on a wave of prejudice without regard to the damage to American prestige." The Sueddeutsche Zeitung, of Munich, said that both Kennedy and former President Eisenhower were convinced "that the dragon seed of slavery, abolished one hundred years ago, would continue to flourish if it were not torn from the Southern soil with a hard hand."

At a late hour Mississippi business and professional men spoke out for a "sane" approach to the crisis. Monday morning before order had been restored at Oxford, William H. Mounger, president of the Lamar Life Insurance Company, made a ringing appeal over Jackson television station WLBT-TV, which his company owns. He referred to "the conviction which many of us had that the events which were taking place would lead to violence," but he confessed that "none of us were willing to speak out and try to inform the people of Mississippi of the terrific tensions that resulted on the University of Mississippi campus last night."

He appealed to Governor Barnett "to stand up before those rioting crowds and explain to them that he had based his entire case on the law and the constitution of the United States of America and that it is not his desire that violence be carried forward." "...We are a part of the United States of America," he said, "and must obey the laws of the United States of America."

****

"While we are concerned with the lives of young people, we are more concerned with the fact that we as adult leaders

in Mississippi have failed to stand up and counsel and give them guidance and we have allowed them to be incited to the point that they themselves have caused violence and resisted the United States of America."

Accepting Mounger's challenge, 127 of Jackson's business and professional leaders met the following day and signed a statement calling for "law and order and not mob rule."

There were other manifestations of compunction and shock among Mississippians. Two Episcopal ministers and several professors had made vain attempts in the heat of the melee to calm rioting students -- who after all were only a minority of the student body. The student newspaper, The Mississippian, came out as usual on October 1, Monday being its regular publication day; its editor, Sidna Brower, writing in the sound of gunfire and exploding tear-gas shells, told her fellow students they were bringing "dishonor and shame" to Ole Miss.

The Rev. James H. Nicholson, pastor of the Byram Methodist Church in Jackson, felt "that our hands are all filled with the blood of these dead and injured" and called for "repentance." He aimed a bold shaft at the powerful Citizens' Council. "For the past eight years," he said, "we have known of a well organized movement spreading a doctrine of hate. We knew this, yet we did nothing to offset this movement. We have let this group discredit our national government, the United Nations, the courts, the church and some of our basic ideals. We sat idly by while this movement gained control of our press and state government.... We must stand before God in repentance for this matter."

The Rev. Duncan M. Gray, Jr., pastor of St. Peter's Episcopal Church at Oxford, in a series of eloquent sermons, placed the blame "upon our leaders themselves; and upon you and me and all the other decent and responsible citizens of Mississippi, who have allowed this impossible climate to prevail." Of the rioting students he said: "Who could really blame them when the governor of the state himself was in open rebellion against the law?"

The fact that ministers could say these things without losing their pulpits was indicative of a certain change in Mississippi. There were more admonitions from the clergy. The ten ministers of the Oxford-Ole Miss area issued a statement calling for "repentance for our collective and individual guilt in the formation of the atmosphere which produced the strife at the University of Mississippi and Oxford...," and the statement was formally endorsed by the district superintendents of the North Mississippi Methodist Conference. Twenty-eight Methodist ministers issued a statement affirming their faith in the position of their church against "discrimination because of race, color or creed;" significantly, they agreed "to stand together in support of these principles."

In a series of articles in the Pascagoula Chronicle, later published in a brochure, a member of the state legislature, Representative Karl Wiesenburg, recalled the falsehoods and folly which led to the night of horrors at Ole Miss and declared: "That innocent blood was shed was not the fault of the President, the federal courts, the Attorney General or Chief Marshal James P. McShane. It was the price of defiance."

A resolution adopted by the University of Mississippi chapter of the American Association of University Professors, of which

Dean Farley of the law school was among the signers, said it had "evidence that attempts to place all the blame for the October 1 and October 2 rioting on federal marshals are unfair and almost completely false." Under prodding by Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach, the university belatedly expelled four students for their part in the rioting.

But sackcloth and ashes were not conspicuous in Mississippi. The official position was that the state's conduct had been correct, that the rioting was a natural reaction to federal provocation; and most of the populace embraced this view. In the systematic intellectual isolation of Mississippi the roar of condemnation that rose from the nation and the world was scarcely heard within its borders. Notwithstanding the voluminous accounts of every phase of the upheaval from an army of the nation's best reporters, at the scene, the Mississippi public was given a very different picture.

Governor Barnett's Monday night, October 1, broadcast more or less established the official line. He said the students "were noisy and boisterous, but were not violent." He explained the outbreak of violence thus:

"The unarmed highway patrolmen, with their backs to the federal marshals, were peacefully moving the students when a pop bottle thrown by one of the crowd shattered in the street. The marshals immediately fired point blank into the backs of the state officers, who were only a few feet from them, and into the groups of young people. This was the direct cause of violence on the

campus. Five unarmed highway patrolmen have been hospitalized from effects of tear gas fired by federal marshals. The federal marshals were inexperienced, nervous and trigger happy.... In this matter the federal government has been the aggressor from the outset."

The Mississippi Junior Chamber of Commerce further attributed the turmoil to the "unwillingness of President Kennedy and Attorney General Robert Kennedy to await the outcome of judicial processes they had invoked," as if nineteen months of litigation were not enough!) It undertook to set the nation right in a brochure entitled, "Oxford: A Warning for Americans." A Mississippi grand jury, after a solemn "investigation," rendered a report giving substantially the Barnett version. It said "the actions of the crowd consisted primarily of shouting, name-calling, flipping of cigarettes, throwing of eggs and small rocks" until "the gas was fired with no warning in the backs of patrolmen and university police. This," it concluded, "was done for the purpose of inciting a riot. We find this illegal action on the part of Chief Marshal McShane set off the tragic violence which followed."

Governor Barnett said: "I shall never apologize for anything I have said or done...."

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Chapter 18

The Fuse Burns Short

There remained two states where, excepting the brief and stormy adventure of Autherine Lucy in 1956, no Negro had been admitted with whites to a state institution of higher learning. They were South Carolina and Alabama. With Mississippi, these were also the three states which had yet to enroll the first Negro pupil with whites in a public elementary or secondary school.

The situation in South Carolina, however, was less ominous than that in the other two. A significant change in South Carolina's attitude toward desegregation had been discernible since early in 1962. It was not a sudden conviction that segregation was wrong, though condemnation of the system on moral grounds was heard increasingly among a few South Carolinians. Rather a determination to resist at all costs had given way to a concensus that adjustment to the Supreme Court ruling was inevitable and that, when it could no longer be delayed, it should be effected with a minimum of disturbance. Traditions of gentility, perhaps somewhat more devoutly cherished in South Carolina and Virginia than elsewhere, militated against brawl and panic. When Charleston bowed painfully to a federal court order for the desegregation of its public golf courses in 1961, the "dignity of Charleston" precluded unseemly disorder.

Though many echoes of South Carolina resentment of the Brown decision have sounded in these pages, South Carolina had not produced any crisis of sufficient magnitude to draw our attention at length to developments in that state. There had been no breakthrough in the wall of public school segregation to record; and, though demonstrations and some rioting had attended the

broad Negro protest movement, there had been no convulsions in South Carolina comparable to those that shook Montgomery, Tuscaloosa, Clinton, Little Rock, New Orleans or "Ole Miss."

South Carolina has a larger proportion of Negroes among its people than any other state except Mississippi -- approximately 35 per cent of the total population. The attitude of paternalism toward Negroes -- though since the Brown decision it had yielded much to the harsher tenets of white supremacy -- was nowhere more deeply rooted than among the whites of this state. To most of them racial integration seemed a revolutionary and evil thing, and for eight years they offered uncompromising resistance. The chorus of denunciations of the Brown decision reached a high pitch. In addition to Governor Byrnes, Senator Strom Thurmond and voluble politicians at all levels, South Carolina furnished two of segregation's best known literary defenders: Thomas R. Waring, the belligerent editor of the Charleston News and Courier; and William D. Workman, a columnist and author, who recently emerged as a Republican political leader.

On the other hand, James McBryde Dabbs, the eloquent champion of racial integration who heads the Southern Regional Council, was presiding over his ancestral cotton plantation in the heart of South Carolina. Dabb's personality so strikingly approached the Southern gentleman ideal that he continued to enjoy general respect. Two editors of minor newspapers, J. E. Chaffin of the Greenwood Index Journal and, more emphatically, A. M. Secrest of the Cheraw Chronicle steered a moderate course without

significant molestation. Most of the advocates of adjustment, however, were not so fortunate. When in 1956 editor Jack O'Dowd of the Florence Morning News, undertook to convince his readers that "the South cannot maintain its policies of racial segregation," a storm of protest forced his resignation. In 1957 a dozen prominent citizens, led by five Protestant ministers, expressed concern over the cloud of racism and defiance which hung over the state in a brochure entitled South Carolinians Speak. They were subjected to a hail of criticism and abuse and the home of one of them was bombed. The latter outrage evoked condemnation from the South Carolina press, the Spartanburg Herald-Journal offering a reward of $2,500 for apprehension of the perpetrator. The posture of unrelenting defiance continued to prevail through the term of Governor George Bell Timmerman, Jr. and into that of his successor, Governor Ernest F. Hollings.

Hollings in his inaugural address in January 1959 promised continued resistance to school desegregation, but, significantly, he took a strong stand for law and order. Midway in his term of office he began to exert a quiet influence looking toward a more realistic policy. The legislature ceased to grant funds to institutions "on a racially segregated basis only." In the 1962 appropriations bill earlier provisions for the closing of schools or colleges to prevent desegregation were reversed by a clause which read: "No institution or activity for which the legislature has herein provided shall be discontinued."

Early in 1962, following some consultation among editors and with the governor, the press executed a concerted swing toward a more moderate approach to the desegregation problem. In his farewell address to the General Assembly in January 1963 Governor Hollings counseled: "... We of today must realize the lesson of one hundred years ago, and move on for the good of South Carolina and the United States."

The new governor was Donald S. Russell, a wealthy business man, a former president of the University of South Carolina -- and a moderate. Two weeks after Governor Russell's inauguration, on January 28, 1963, a Negro entered a previously all-white institution of higher learning for the first time since Reconstruction.

A suit in behalf of Harvey B. Gantt, the 19-year-old son of a Negro employee at the Charleston Naval Yard, had been filed in federal court six months earlier to restrain the state agricultural college of Clemson from refusing admission to him and "other qualified Negro residents" because of their race. Clemson has schools of architecture, arts and sciences, engineering and textiles as well as agriculture. Gantt had dropped out during his junior year at Iowa University, where he had a good record, and he now desired to resume his education in the field of architecture at Clemson.

The legal fight ended in January. The Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed a district court decisin and directed that Clemson be ordered to admit the Negro applicant and "others similarly situated," a request for stay was denied by Chief Justice Warren

and the order was duly issued on January 22. In the meantime the public had been prepared by many voices for mild acceptance of the outcome. A Columbia Record editorial of December 11 called on citizens for "obedience to the law," on public officials for "responsible direction," and on the schools for "continued compliance with court directives and provision for the protection of all individuals in their care." Governor Russell told Attorney General Kennedy that no federal marshals were needed at Clemson, and none were sent.

The event proved sensational only in its felicity. When Gantt arrived at the college to enroll, the 160 representatives of news media outnumbered the students on hand. The latter were indifferent or even friendly. News photos registered smiles all around, the broadest smile on the face of Harvey Gantt.

The admission of Negro students to the University of Alabama in June 1963 furnished a day of tension and drama, but no violence. It diverted attention only briefly from an historic nation-wide upheaval. In Birmingham in the same state a few weeks earlier the flames from a series of massive Negro demonstrations and their suppression by the police with spectacular ferocity had lit the tinder of Negro discontent throughout the land.

The magnitude and sweep of the onrush then took almost everyone by surprise. At the beginning of 1963 the race problem was obviously growing more urgent, but the situation still had the outward

appearance of one that would await corrosive attack upon prejudice and step-by-step adjustment over a period of years.

The fact that January 1, 1963, marked the one hundredth anniversary of the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation added some sentimental impetus to the Negro push for fulfillment of the promise of freedom. President and Mrs. Kennedy observed the centennial by entertaining four hundred prominent Negroes, together with a number of white champions of the Negro cause at an evening reception. The presence of so many Negroes in the White House was itself significant of the changing times. Complying with an earlier request of the President, the Commission on Civil Rights produced "a report on the civil rights progress of the nation during the past century" in book form under the title -- using the words of Lincoln -- Freedom for the Free. In its concluding summary the report said: "As the century following emancipation draws to a close, more forces are working for the realization of civil rights for all Americans than ever before in history. Government is active in every branch and at every level, if not in every region. Voluntary associations in the field have multiplied at such a rate that it is difficult to catalog them... The final chapter in the struggle for equality has yet to be written."

On November 20, 1962, the President had issued a long-awaited order prohibiting race discrimination in federally-assisted housing. On February 28, 1963, he delivered his first message to Congress devoted exclusively to civil rights. In it he renewed an earlier proposal to substitute a sixth-grade education for the literacy tests which in some Southern states

were freely manipulated to prevent Negroes from voting; he noted that under existing law the government can initiate suits to end discrimination in registering voters and proposed a measure authorizing federal referees to register Negro voters while suits are pending in counties where fewer than 15 per cent of those eligible were on the rolls; he recommended provision for technical and financial assistance by the federal Office of Education to school districts facing the problem of desegregation; and he asked that the life of the Commission on Civil Rights be extended at least four more years.

His recommendations contemplated some further gains for Negroes, but did not go as far as many liberals desired. They suggested a reluctance on the President's part to alienate support from what at the time seemed more important legislative objectives.

A major battleground of the Negro protest movement in 1962 and at the turn of the year had been the tightly segregated city of Albany in south Georgia. That experience had been discouraging. The long seige in the form of desperate but nonviolent demonstration, led for a time by Martin Luther King, had resulted in more than ~~750~~ a 1000 arrests and had failed to make any significant change in the regime of discrimination there.

Through the month of March attention focussed on the town of Greenwood, in Le Flore County, Mississippi, where white resentment of the efforts of Negroes to register for voting was expressed in incessant harassment and police brutality. There was some shooting, in which a Negro worker in the cause was wounded. The Voter Education Project on March 31 released a

listing of 64 acts of violence and intimidation committed against Negroes in Mississippi since January 1961. The situation in Le Flore County was indefensible to begin with: 92.5 per cent of the 10,274 whites and only 1.9 per cent of 13,567 Negroes of voting age were registered; and widespread sympathy was aroused with the Negroes struggling for the right to vote there. When the Department of Justice moved to secure the release of jailed Negroes and stop intimidation, quiet was restored and a trickle of Negro registration proceeded.

William L. Moore, (space) a white Baltimore mail-carrier and an eccentric idealist, set out in April from Chattanooga, Tennessee, to walk through Alabama and Mississippi with a message of brotherhood. On April 24 he was found murdered on a lonely Alabama road, his bullet-pierced body still holding signs, one of which read: "Equal Rights for All."

The state of Alabama was the chief stamping ground of the Ku Klux Klan. It operated more openly there than elsewhere; Ku Klux signs of welcome were posted on highways at the entrance to many towns along with the signs of churches and civic clubs. Though only a small fraction of the populace was actually identified with the organization, the Klan spirit characterized much of that state's reaction to the aspirations of Negroes for human dignity and citizenship. Citizens' Councils were also active in Alabama. The attitude of white Alabama was not as monolithic as that of white Mississippi; in the former state there were substantial elements favoring moderation and adjustment, and these became notably more articulate in 1962. But Alabama's political leaders, supported by a majority of the electorate, were second to none

in their posture of reckless resistance to change. The industrial city of Birmingham was under the control of rampant white supremacy extremists. ¶ The situation in Birmingham was investigated in the spring of 1960 by Harrison E. Salisbury, a reporter for the New York Times, who was writing a series of articles on interracial relations in Southern cities. His findings appeared in a startling Times article of April 12, 1960, under the headline: "Fear and Hatred Grip Birmingham."

"Every channel of communication," Salisbury wrote -- "every medium of mutual interest, every reasoned approach, every inch of middle ground has been fragmented by the emotional dynamite of racism, reinforced by the whip, the razor, the gun, the bomb, the torch, the club, the knife, the mob, the police and many branches of the state's apparatus."

The white leaders of Birmingham reacted to this disclosure with a roar of indignation. The three city commissioners filed a libel suit (ultimately unsuccessful) for $500,000 each against the Times and its reporter, and Salisbury was indicted by a grand jury on 42 counts of criminal libel. The article amazed white Southerners; many liberals were incredulous. It was not a balanced survey of the whole city; as the Times stated later, it "did not stress the obvious fact that an overwhelming percentage of the citizens of that city lead happy and peaceful lives...." Most Birmingham whites in their rigidly segregated world were unaware of the barbarities which were committed in their city. But Negroes and the few persecuted white workers for interracial

justice in Birmingham recognized the picture that Salisbury had drawn. They sent out warnings from time to time during the next three years that the city was moving toward a convulsion of fearful proportions.

The Times article noted that some Negroes had nicknamed Birmingham "the Johannesburg of America." Indeed, nowhere was the oppression of Negro Americans more to be compared with the regime of apartheid in South Africa. That Birmingham was the largest American city still refusing to admit any Negro child to a school with whites was but one symptom of the infection there. The Negro 34 per cent of the city's total population of 340,000 was crowded into ghettoes outside of which it was practically impossible for Negroes to find homes. In the white business section where most of their income was spent, Negroes were denied employment except in menial capacities; they were barred from eating places; and lavatories, water fountains and theaters were segregated or closed to them. There was no Negro on the city police force. Most galling of all for Negroes was the daily denial of human dignity and equal protection of the law: the arrogance of official Birmingham, the unwillingness of whites to listen to Negro complaints, the exposure of Negroes to harassment and violence from racist ruffians and their harsh and insulting treatment by the police.

The city was ruled by three commissioners, one of whom -- Arthur J. Hanes -- was also mayor. But the city was largely dominated and its racist tone was set by T. Eugene Connor, better known as "Bull Connor," the coarse, bellowing 63-year-old veteran commissioner of public safety.

an explosion was feared by many in January 1962 when the commissioners closed all the city's parks, playgrounds and golf courses rather than submit to a federal court ruling that they must be open to all citizens. This headstrong action precipitated a surprising movement among white business men for a more moderate interracial policy. By autumn it had grown into a formidable campaign against the Connor regime.

Birmingham voted in November to abandon the commission form of government and adopt the mayor-council plan. Connor ran for mayor, and in an election on April 2, 1963, he was defeated by a vote of 29,630 to 21,648. Chosen mayor instead was Albert Boutwell, a respected Birmingham lawyer and former lieutenant governor of Alabama. The Birmingham News announced the election results under the headline: NEW DAY DAWNS FOR BIRMINGHAM. However, legal difficulties prevented the new administration from taking over until May 23, leaving Bull Connor in control during the April and May convulsions.

The Negro direct-action campaign began, on a small scale at first, the day after the election. Martin Luther King, arriving the night before, joined the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, and other local Negro leaders and became the central figure in the crusade. In the imminence of a change of administrations in Birmingham, many liberals thought the move untimely; some local Negro leaders held back, some white moderates were angered. Officials of the Department of Justice, among

others, urged King to wait until conciliation had been tried in the new atmosphere. But King was never one to wait upon problematical differences in official attitudes or to compromise for paltry gains. He favored headlong attack upon all racial wrongs -- a spirit which was to characterize the larger Negro uprising. Sit-ins, picket lines and parades, staged almost daily, grew into the largest and boldest Negro demonstrations yet seen. (A Negro boycott of white merchants was already in effect.) When one demonstration was beaten back by the police and many participants arrested, a bigger demonstration followed the next day. Negro students in their teens were brought into action until they predominated in the mass demonstrations.

During the first week of May, a series of conferences took place between Negro leaders and a group of prominent white business men. Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall played an active mediatory role. The newly-elected city officials kept in touch with the negotiations, but the group still in power would have nothing to do with them. "It breaks my heart," the outgoing mayor said, "to see some quisling whites negotiating with him (King) when we've got him on the run!" Nevertheless, an agreement was reached; it contemplated desegregation of some downtown lunch counters and public facilities "within 90 days," an upgrading of Negro employees, release of jailed demonstrators and "public reestablishment" of interracial communication. For his part, King announced May 8 that demonstrations were being suspended.

The truce was short-lived. On Saturday night, May 11 -- following a meeting of the Ku Klux Klan near the city -- two dynamite blasts demolished the home of the Rev. A. D. King, a younger brother of Dr. King. The minister, his wife and five children raced to safety before the second blast. The street quickly filled with angry Negroes. Within the hour two more bombs exploded at the Gaston Motel, headquarters of the Negro movement. Thousands of Negroes surged through the streets now, and despite the pleas of their leaders for nonviolence, they were flinging bricks, brandishing knives and pummeling policemen. A white man's store was set on fire; two Negro homes nearby went up in flames, then three more white men's buildings. Rioting continued until dawn Sunday, when 250 Alabama state troopers came to the aid of the embattled city police. Fifty persons had been injured badly enough to require hospitalization. The next day 3,000 federal troops were sent to positions near Birmingham, but returning calm made their presence unnecessary in the city.

By mid-May (the ninth anniversary of the Brown decision) 3,000 Negro prisoners were crowding the Birmingham jails. The turmoil, copiously reported by news and camera men -- most of all the use of police dogs and the playing of powerful fire hoses upon crowds of Negroes, including women and children -- had shocked the world. One photographic masterpiece, a white policeman clutching the shirt of a Negro youth with his right hand while his dog on the leash in his left hand lunged at the Negro's belly, became familiar to millions. A tenuous peace reigned in Birmingham when the new city administration took over on May 23, and two months later some lunch counters and

public facilities began to be desegregated in accordance with the interracial agreement. But the nation-wide Negro protest had burst into flames.

Demonstrations erupted in a hundred cities. A sign carried by Negro students in San Francisco said: "Birmingham is everywhere." Solidarity was expressed with the Negroes of Birmingham, while attention focussed on local grievances. Los Angeles Negroes crowded Wrigley Field in a "Freedom Rally for Birmingham," but they called for an end to de facto school segregation and discrimination in housing, employment and labor union membership in Los Angeles; in St. Louis demonstrations protested segregation in school classrooms; in Nashville, where many race barriers had been dropped, mass demonstrations against continuing restaurant segregation led to clashes on the streets with whites; in Philadelphia fighting occurred between police and Negroes protesting exclusion from labor unions; in New York demonstrations in building trade unions forced suspension of work on a city hospital; in Tallahassee, Florida, police arrested 200 students protesting Negro exclusion from two theaters and broke up a crowd of demonstrators with tear gas; Cambridge, Maryland, and Danville, Virginia, were torn with interracial strife; in North Carolina, a state which had gone farther than most of the South in removing racial barriers, Negroes demonstrated against remaining discrimination in a dozen cities and a riot in one of them, Lexington, resulted in the death of a white man. Day after day in city after city demonstrations and incidents continued.

Savannah, Charleston, Jackson, murder of Medgar Evers.

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STB

Concluding pages

The Supreme Court had manifested impatience with the slow pace of this process in two significant opinions. In a decision rendered May 27, 1963, in the case of Watson v. Memphis, the high tribunal said that its 1955 ruling "never contemplated that the concept of 'deliberate speed' would countenance indefinite delay in the elimination of race barriers in public schools."[1] In cases involving the desegregation plans of Davidson County and Knoxville, Tennessee, it ruled June 3 that the liberal transfer privileges that had attenuated school integration in a number of Southern cities "do not meet the requirements of Brown." It said: "Now... eight years after this decree was rendered and over nine years after the first Brown decision, the context in which we must interpret and apply this language to plans for desegregation has been significantly altered."[2]

During the 1963-1964 term a total of approximately 26,000 Negro children attended school with whites in the South. In the border states the residential pattern, or Negro apathy and a few pockets of stubborn white resistance had resulted in the survival of a few segregated school districts, but in these states and in the District of Columbia approximately 250,000 out of a total of 475,000 Negro pupils were in integrated public schools. Over 150 districts had desegregated for the first time, more than three times the number desegregating for the first time in 1962-1963. In 130 of the districts desegregating in the fall of 1963 the action was taken voluntarily; only a score of school boards moved in response to federal court orders.

In Texas, the hampering requirement of prior referendum approval was removed on January 1 when State Attorney General Will Wilson ruled that the 1957 act of the legislature was unconstitutional. In September no less than 61 more Texas school districts desegregated, bringing the total in that state to 238 out of 919 biracial districts. Elsewhere in the South, some of the cities such as Charleston, Savannah and Jacksonville, in which earlier public hostility had aroused the greatest apprehensions, accomplished the feat of enrolling Negroes in previously all-white schools without incident. Only in Alabama was serious trouble encountered.

Compared with previous years, the South's school desegregation performance in 1963-1964 represented a leap forward. Five or six years earlier it would have been considered encouraging. But at this stage in history it was grievously inadequate. Ten years after the Supreme Court had declared the practice unlawful, 99 per cent of the South's Negro children were still segregated. Virtually all of the Negro children who had reached the third grade at the time of the Brown decision had graduated or left school without ever emerging from the public education ghetto. The long way from fulfillment of the bright promise of Brown was still fuel for the fires of Negro protest.

In Alabama, Governor Wallace indulged in ten days of pyrotechnics before yielding once more to federal authority. Twenty-four Negro children were under federal court orders to be admitted to previously all-white public schools in four cities: two in Mobile, thirteen in Tuskegee, five in Birmingham and four in

Huntsville. Local authorities were prepared to go ahead with desegregation in each city and there was little evidence of impending disorder -- excepting the chronic tension in Birmingham-- until the governor intervened. The latter, in what seemed to be a desire to create a spectacular crisis, dispatched state troopers hither and yon to prevent desegregation plans from going forward, declaring: "We are going to show them they're not dealing with demoralized Cubans or regimented Balkans!"

Wallace's maneuvers followed no consistent plan. He ringed the public school at Tuskegee with one hundred troopers on Monday, September 2, when that school was scheduled to open, and forced it to remain closed -- over the protests of the school board and the city's mayor. Tuesday, on the eve of school-opening in Birmingham, he sent six hundred state troopers to that city against the wishes of the city authorities. But on Wednesday he yielded to the pleas of local officials and kept his troopers in their hotel rooms while the schools opened and enrolled two Negro pupils with whites. Several small white mobs gave the police some trouble and half a dozen arrests were made before they were dispersed. That night a dynamite explosion damaged the home of the Negro leader Arthur Shores and injured his wife. Hundreds of Negroes swarmed into the streets and in the ensuing battle with police one Negro was killed and twenty other persons were injured. The next day the schools to which Negroes had been assigned were closed.

State troopers also closed four schools in Huntsville, which the Negroes had not yet entered -- over angry white protests; but

the affected schools in Mobile were allowed to open Friday without the Negro pupils. It was announced that all schools would be allowed to reopen Monday, September 9. On Monday state troopers barred the Negroes from the white schools in Mobile, Tuskegee and Birmingham, but he allowed them to enter and enroll in Huntsville. The same day five federal judges in Alabama's three judicial districts issued orders restraining Governor Wallace from further interference with school desegregation.

At this point Wallace decided to replace his troopers with members of the National Guard. Guardsmen surrounded the schools in three cities early Tuesday morning. But President Kennedy acted quickly; before the school bells rang the Alabama National Guardsmen had been called into federal service and whisked back to their armories. Twenty Negro children entered white schools in Mobile, Tuskegee and Birmingham and, except for a week of abortive white student boycotts, the crisis was over.

Wallace said: "I can't fight bayonets with my bare hands!" But it was the governor who sent the soldiers to the schools and the President who sent the soldiers home. If Wallace expected the kind of local acclaim that greeted Faubus in 1957 and Barnett in 1962, he was sadly disappointed. His maladroit intervention against the wishes of city authorities drew criticism even from many of his former supporters. The Montgomery Advertiser, whose editor had enjoyed a close personal friendship with the governor, said: "The Advertiser must sorrowfully conclude that, in this instance, its friend has gone wild." The Birmingham News said: "...Birmingham was done a disservice by the governor."

Nevertheless, letters applauding his performance poured in from many sections of the country. The governor's office at Montgomery boasted that its incoming mail was greater than that of the White House. Wallace had become the latest national symbol of anti-Kennedy racism and a host of widely scattered extremists quickly welcomed him in that role. The Alabama governor even talked of running for President of the United States. Nearer home Negrophobes were encouraged to acts of savagery.

Sunday morning, September 15, a dynamite bomb blasted a crowded Negro Baptist church in Birmingham. Four girls, aged ten to fourteen, were killed in their Sunday school classes, their bodies mutilated. Many other worshippers were cut and bruised by flying debris; a score required hospital treatment. In two hours of rioting which followed before incensed Negroes were quelled by police or calmed by their own nonviolent leaders, a Negro youth was unintentionally shot by a policeman. During the excitement, but elsewhere in Birmingham, two young whites callously shot to death a 13-year-old Negro boy riding past on a bicycle.

The church-bombing could hardly have been better calculated to shock the nation and the world. In Birmingham the well-meaning new mayor wept when he heard the news. Some horrified white citizens gathered in churches to pray. But in that warped city many still missed the significance of the sickening outrage. Grieving for the murdered children, many Birminghamians still said the Negroes had "brought it on themselves." Rewards offered for the arrest of the perpetrators totaled over $76,000; $52,000 was

offered by the city. Governor Wallace offered $5,000, saying the tragedy had "saddened all Alabamians." But Martin Luther King wired the governor: "...The blood of four little children.... is on your hands. Your irresponsible and misguided actions have created in Birmingham and Alabama the atmosphere that has induced continued violence and now murder."

The grisly fanatics who planted the bomb in the Birmingham church -- and the innocent children whose lives were taken -- may have done as much to advance the Negro cause as the March on Washington. But even without that poignant stimulus, Negro leadership was committed to a fight, nonviolent, but massive and unrelenting, to the end. Nonviolent action had become an elaborate science. Earnest planners were multiplying and refining techniques that would have bewildered Mahatma Ghandi. Cadres of probably 5,000 field workers from various Negro organizations were undergoing systematic training and plans of attack in scores of cities, with timetable, for coming months were on file.

Day after day the nonviolent offensive went on. Sitins took many forms for many purposes. There were also lie-ins, "study-ins" (Northern schools), "kneel-ins" (churches), "sleep-ins" (apartments), and "wade-ins" (beaches), as well as road blocks, picket lines, parades, boycotts of discriminating establishments and the products of discriminating companies. "Jail-ins" were massive, as thousands of Negroes were arrested. Many submitted to arrest almost gleefully, others scuffled and some fell limp so police would have to carry them away.

Negro demonstrations offended many. Cynical observers held that "pressure" harmed the Negro cause, that the proper way to achieve its goals was not in the streets, but in friendly talks around the council table. The critics of direct action were not all hostile to the movement, but thpy were seldom close students of the Negro's long struggle. Experience had taught Negro Americans that no significant advance is ever made without pressure; negotiation with whites around the council table all too often had ended with no appreciable change in the status quo. On the other hand -- even as criticism mounted -- direct action was opening public facilities and bringing other concessions in hundreds of cities.

The usual demonstrations were not merely an exercise of the right of peaceful petition or a dramatization of grievances. They obstructed traffic, caused business to suffer and invited clashes with unruly whites, taxing ~~which added to the service of~~ the police. They were frankly coercive. The granting of specified concessions was often the price of surcease from parades and picketing. Moreover, the decorum and restraint that marked the March on Washington were far from characteristic of many lesser demonstrations. In much-publicized instances Negroes lay on the pavement to block entry to segregated establishments or to impede construction work in which Negroes were denied employment. Militant Negro youths insulted some friendly leaders, both white and colored, whom they considered "too moderate;" they were most obstreperous sometimes where their grievance was minor or uncertain. Some Negroes marched merely to "get into the act." There was rivalry among Negro leaders and organizations and some angry friction. Was there ever a mass movement without undisciplined elements and a measure of human egotism and folly?

Among the nation's 170 million whites a mountain of prejudice still stood in the path of the Negro advance. A wave of sympathy for Negroes had been touched off by Bull Connor's fire hose and police dogs. It deepened with the Birmingham church-bombing horror. But the feeling subsided in many quarters when the realities of the Negro upsurge came nearer home. Many who deplored race discrimination from a distance, were aroused to fierce resentment when a Negro family moved into their neighborhood. The old image of the Negro and the subconscious antipathy were still present among a majority of white Americans. The influence of these whites was felt in Congress and the ignorant and unruly among them, as among the Negroes, were increasingly ready for interracial clashes. Negro leaders, while passionately urging nonviolence, could not say how long demonstrators could be restrained. "Nonviolence" was not in the vocabulary of white hoodlums.

Stewart Alsop and Oliver Quayle reported in the Saturday Evening Post of September 7, 1963, the results of an informal poll of white attitudes in the East, the Middle West and the West Coast. They showed a startling ambivalence. Many who condemned race discrimination in theory showed stubborn prejudice in their feeling about personal association with Negroes. Seventy-seven per cent of those interviewed thought a white man should have a legal right to refuse to sell a home to a Negro. "The danger," these writers said, "lies less in violent Negro action than in violent white reaction."

A formidable task confronted the clergy, the educator, the publicist and all who labored to hasten the "change in the hearts of men." Another task confronted the statesman. The decade had

furnished abundant examples of the truth that law and compulsion also can change not only practice, but in turn, habits and attitudes. Under the discipline of the Armed Forces recruits of prejudiced background were adapting themselves to racial integration quickly and cheerfully. In civilian life many whites who had inveighed vehemently against the lowering of race barriers were accepting the change with complacency after the fact.

The unrest will end sometime because it is inevitable that in America justice and humanity in time will prevail. The revolt will tend to diminish as Negroes find racial exclusions ended in one community after another. Individual integration in government and industry will both accomplish a prime objective and deplete the ranks of the militant intelligentsia. The latter trend is already visible. The captain in the Negro's greatest legal battle -- Thurgood Marshall -- has moved to the detachment of a United States circuit judge. A former vice-chairman of the NAACP -- Robert Weaver -- is head of the National Housing Administration. Carl T. Rowan, as ambassador to Finland, has turned from literary assault upon racial injustice to national foreign policy. A hundred other Negroes hold important national, state and city offices with responsibilities to all the people. Similarly more and more talented Negroes will serve the public in managerial and executive positions in private life.

Shortcomings in training and experience will delay the full integration of the Negro in the national economy beyond the day when restrictions on account of race shall have been removed.

The time when a Negro will be able to choose his home in accordance with his wishes and his means is probably even farther off. It is early to attempt to visualize the consummation of a movement that has a long, hazardous way still to go. What convulsions, what solutions, what miracles lie ahead no one can say.

Is there instruction for us in the experience of other times and places? We will look in vain in modern history for a prototype of the American Negro Revolution. In some respects it is unique. It bears most resemblance, perhaps, to the long struggle of the Irish people for dignity and freedom. There we saw rivalry of factions and leaders, moderates and extremists in all degrees, zealots both nonviolent and very violent. Britain waited tragically too long to face the problem with tolerance and understanding. Years and generations, of "talk around the council table" brought no solution -- until depredations, bombings and assassinations were widespread. It is not an impulse of hysteria to find in the violence and terror in Ireland in the early 1920's a warning for the United States today. On the other hand, the aim of the Negro movement in America is in a sense the opposite of what the Irish were fighting for. The Irish wanted to get <u>out</u>, the Negro wants to get <u>in</u>. That is a thought full of counsel for the near term and of hope for the long future.

The Negro population has been in America as long as the white. Negroes joined the settlers at Jamestown before the <u>Mayflower</u> reached Plymouth Rock; Negro arrivals in the United States virtually ceased before the nineteenth century flood of European immigratinn began. To the Negro American this is his country; he knows no other. What he was striving for in the

tenth year after the Brown decision was no more and no less than to become at last a part of the American people.

Footnotes

Chapter 1

1. Harry S. Ashmore, The Negro and the Schools, p. 139.
2. Ibid., p. 15.
3. C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow, p. 105.

Chapter 2

1. J. L. Blair Buck, The Development of Public Schools in Virginia, p. 232.
2. Harry S. Ashmore, The Negro and the Schools, pp. 60-65.
3. Langston Hughes, Fight for Freedom, p. 138.
4. J. W. Peltason, 58 Lonely Men, p. 10.
5. Southern School News, Oct. 1, 1954, p. 16.
6. Edmund Cahn, 30 N. Y. U. L. Rev. 150, 159 (1955).
7. Harry S. Ashmore, The Negro and the Schools, p. 106.

Chapter 3

1. New York Times, May 18, 1954.
2. Richmond Times-Dispatch, May 18, 1954.
3. Richmond News Leader, May 18, 1954
4. John Bartlow Martin, The Deep South Says NEVER, p. 48.
5. Southern School News, Sept. 3, 1954, p. 12.

Chapter 4

1. Southern School News, Sept 3, 1954, p. 10.
2. Ibid., p. 14.